

Nothing for Workers in Roosevelt Message

President's Demagoguery at Congress Opening Hides Ruling Class Plans

With millions listening on the radio, President Roosevelt opened the regular session of the Seventy-third Congress Wednesday with the keynote that the fundamental features of the "New Deal" are permanent features of American reconstruction. Old methods had to be replaced by a "permanent readjustment" of many of our ways of thinking and therefore of many of our social and economic arrangements.

The tasks facing Congress, Roosevelt contended, are as great as those which faced the Congress of 1789. The problem is "to build on the ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the present problems of modern civilization. He felt well satisfied with the cooperation of Congress in meeting this situation.

In typical demagogic style, he then proceeded to enumerate the accomplishments of the NRA. Forgetting his bellyache about the need for increased purchasing power of the masses, Roosevelt claims a decrease in unemployment of several millions, uniform standards of hours and wages, adequate pay and reasonable profits as achievements of the NRA.

Increase of Unemployment

The increase of industrial unemployment of over one-half million in the month of November, the decrease in real wages or purchasing power of the masses due to increased prices, the use of the NRA boards against the unions, the organization of company unions under the NRA—all these facts which fly in the face of Roosevelt's optimism, were carefully omitted.

Like Wilson, his liberal Democratic forerunner, Franklin D. Roosevelt thrives on promises, more promises and still more promises. With Wilsonian solemnity, he speaks of "the protection which the State can give against exploitation by their fellow-men or by combination of their fellow-men." Radical language, but meaningless phrases. By exploitation Roosevelt means misusing the workers to a point where they revolt or are no longer of value to the bosses. "Reasonable profits" is the aim of Roosevelt. The fact that millions are dependent on a few for their livelihood—this is not slavery, this is not exploitation. It is inherent in modern civilization and American institutions!

"Balancing Production and Consumption"

In face of the farmers' revolt Roosevelt consoles Congress and the American people that "the experiment of seeking a balance between production and consumption is succeeding." Why then the farmers' revolts? Not a word from the spokesman of the American bosses—for to even mention the revolt is to shatter his entire hollow aim at the aid given to the masses of farmers.

Instead of an analysis of what Roosevelt offers more promises. He envisages for the not distant future a national plan (his emphasis) under which annual appropriations for public works will be covered by current revenue. What an empty boast! On the one hand we are told that there exists an unnecessary expansion of productive facilities. On the other hand, Roosevelt proposes to reconstruct American economy by increasing these facilities. The fact that the existing productive capacity cannot be utilized because of the impoverishment of the masses, their existence as wage slaves; that real, permanent readjustment is only possible by a social change, a social revolution through which the masses can own the mines, mills and factories—this simple fact runs against Roosevelt's class logic.

The Joker in the Peace Policy

This clever representative of American big business understands that one possible way out of the crisis is at the expense of other capitalists.

OPEN FORUM

WAR DANGER IN THE FAR EAST
WILL JAPAN ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SPRING OF 1934?

What Will Be the Effect of Recognition of the Soviet Union on the Conflict Between America and Japan?

Speaker:
JACK WEBER
Sunday, January 14, 8 P. M.
International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
New York City

Court Threat to Labor Witness

Preparations are being made by the Terzani Defense Committee and its attorneys to defend Samuel Z. Wein, ex-Khaki Shirt member who testified in behalf of Athos Terzani, anti-Fascist, and who faces a perjury charge because of his admission that he gave false testimony before the grand jury.

All workers and working-class organizations are urged in a current appeal by Herbert Mahler, treasurer of the defense committee, to rally to Wein's aid. "Our fight is not yet ended," says Mahler. "Wein took the stand to save Terzani, knew he was in danger of prosecution, but did not flinch. He admitted that he told the grand jury Anthony Plerro was killed by a man in a brown suit, such as Terzani wore, but swore he did this because his life had been threatened by Commander Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts."

All who have collected money for Terzani's defense, not yet turned in, are asked to send it at once to the committee at 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The committee, which includes delegates from the American Civil Liberties Union, will remain intact until Wein is clear.

Phila. Food Workers Strike

Fight Against Heavy Odds to Organize Industry

Philadelphia.—During the last couple of weeks a wave of strikes has been sweeping Philadelphia. We had the Taxicab strike, the strike at E. G. Budd Wheel Company and a number of minor labor affairs. Comrade Goodman mentioned the above strikes in the issue of the Militant of December 30. But he failed to mention the strike which hit the food industry. During the last four weeks the recently organized Transit clerks union, which is in the A. F. of L., has been putting up a militant fight to organize this industry. Up until now it has not been touched by organized labor.

The Fruit Clerks Union has been putting up a magnificent battle against odds. The Penn Fruit Company, which this union has been fighting for union recognition has the backing of the Retail Fruit Dealers association in its fight to smash the union. They are spending thousands of dollars, telling the workers the union is a racket, etc. Also they have tried to frame the leaders of the strike, in particular the organizer, Eddie Greene, who is the real backbone of the strike.

Four weeks ago before they went on strike the Fruit Clerks union came to the meeting of the Philadelphia Meat Cutters association, also a newly organized union, independent of the A. F. of L., and asked their support of the strike. The organizer made a speech to the effect that since the meat cutters, who also worked for this concern,

Saturday the head of the meat (Continued on page 4)

CIVIL WORKS AND THE NRA

Throughout the crisis mass unemployment has been one of the most complex problems of capitalism. As the crisis passed from months into years the ruling class followed every phase of the problem of the unemployed and endeavored to check this rising tide from finding an outlet into the class struggle.

At first they denied its existence. Then the exploiters claimed it was a temporary phenomenon. Next they denied its magnitude. Only after a long period of many months with resistance every inch of the way, did the capitalists admit that charity and local and state relief must be replaced by a national policy to cope with the "emergency." They continue to fight against considering unemployment as a social problem and oppose social insurance. Many far-sighted exploiters, it is true, now realize that unemployment is a permanent problem. The majority, however, and they dominate the government policy—continue to try every form of emergency relief possible in order to avoid facing the issue of unemployment insurance.

Title Two of the Recovery Act provided for a public works program and the expenditure of over three billion dollars. The method of handling the problem of unemployment under the NRA was coordinated into a two-fold policy. On the one hand the public works program was to take millions of the relief lists. The reduction of hours was to put more millions back to work at reduced real wages. The government had to admit at a very early date that the public works program failed to accomplish this purpose. It did, as we stated before, enable a goodly number of exploiters to get in the pork barrel. All but a half a billion of the fund has been allotted and has failed as a factor to cause re-employment.

When this phase of the NRA cracked wide open the administration inaugurated the Civil Works Program designed to give jobs, in place of relief to four million. Stripped of its high-sounding pretensions and its publicity tricks the Civil Works Program was an emergency stop-gap—a scheme for winter, which is the worst period for the unemployed, to give them just a sufficient amount to keep them from starving to death, until spring. Four billion dollars four million workers, deducting the regular American grant along the way, leaves less than fifty dollars for the winter for the "bread winner" of an average family of four. The Civil Works Program was a necessary supplementary measure to prop up the breakdown of the NRA.

The Civil Works Program, like all other government measures dealing with the problem of unemployment, is so organized that the relief work given is spread over the nation through a process of selecting the most menacing sections of

the problems and taking off their sharp edges. The object is, first, to protect private property from individual acts of robbery and, last but not least, to protect capitalist property from the threat of expropriation by the working class. This is attempted by singling out for attention the most difficult family cases as well as by a consideration of all other social factors in the given local situation.

The record for 1933 shows March to be the peak month with four and a half million receiving public aid. Over five million families were placed on a fifty cents per day average last winter; at the present time with all the new measures taken for their "benefit," they are doing good if they get sixty cents a day. In addition to this large number on the relief list, there exists that growing army of destitute individuals below this level who sleep under viaducts and on doorsteps by night and roam the streets looking for a handout by day. Above the multitude on relief list there is a still larger number of families, with the bread earners out of work, which exist precariously one way or another—some families are broken up and dispersed in the homes of relatives or friends; some used up their treasured rainy day savings; others have become houseworkers and janitors in exchange for the necessities of life.

The government adopts these measures for the problem of unemployment which benefit the ruling class. But they twist the question upside down so that it looks as though they are trying to solve the problem for labor's benefit. The majority of the unemployed as well as the employed are not yet disillusioned and accept as correct the bourgeois explanation as correct. The workers must be taught that the bourgeois charity and relief, which take from the super-abundant supply and overproduction only a sufficient amount of food and necessities to keep the wage slaves from starving to death, are not really designed to help them. The object in reality is to prevent individual and, later, social expropriation of capitalist property and, at the same time, to insure the capitalists an abundant supply of cheap labor power. This is the dominating motive of all unemployment measures of the capitalists.

The Civil Works Program will face its death crisis in the spring as the public works program of the NRA confronted it in the fall. The ruling exploiters look forward to warm weather and the hoped-for revival. If the revival does not take place they will drive through another "emergency measure."

—HUGO OEHLER

Free Yakima Defendants

All 32 I. W. W. orchard strike pickets who had been jailed in Yakima, Washington, since August on a charge of assaulting a mob of 500 vigilante farmers who had beaten them with pick handles, have been released without trial, according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union. The prosecution agreed to drop the case on the eve of trial when it learned that the defense was ready to put scores of witnesses on the stand in behalf of the accused.

Prosecutor Sandvig found himself in a tight place as the trial date approached. Because of the great number of persons involved, and the many witnesses which would need to be called on both sides, it was obvious that the proceedings would cost Yakima County several thousand dollars. There was widespread complaint from the taxpayers about this.

A few days before the scheduled trial date the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, of which the defendants were members, held a protest meeting in Yakima attended by 500 workers, at which the clear to the community. This appears to have been an important factor in revealing the fimsiness of the prosecution's case.

On the N.Y. Waterfront

Seamen Subjected to Vicious Treatment

The unemployed seamen of New York are subjected to severe ill treatment and abuse down in the Seamen's Institute.

If a seaman comes ashore and applies for a cheap bed at the Institute's dormitory, the first question asked there by the clerk is: "Have you got money?" Then he is grilled about his credentials as a bona fide seaman, when and where born, citizen or not, mother's maiden name, religion, what companies sailed on and, finally, the clerk takes a deep smell of the applicant's breath.

Before closing the deal he does not forget to inform the seaman, if he sniffed some of the recent salt on his clothes, that they have a bar, lunch-room and a cigar stand on the premises.

It surely is depressing to see able seamen living here like prisoners, after they have slaved away ten or twenty years of their lives aboard the stinking hulls—thrown ashore and into this dump, often with no more than soles shoes, ragged pants and a shirt on their bodies, and taking all the insults and abuse on top of it.

The shipping agencies are very particular nowadays in picking the operating staff (crew). One must be a young, husky, and good looking O. S. to get a job as able seaman. Next in order are the licensed men—former officers; and the work-ways are also considered before an A. B. has a chance. The latter are despised mainly for the reason that they are too wise to be the tricks of the old man and his mates and refuse to do things not ordinarily expected from a sailor.

The conditions on board are intolerable. Repair bills are held down to the lowest possible level, the green seamen themselves doing the job usually done by shore contract.

Prussian militarism was defeated. Wilson went to Paris full of hope for his idealistic solution of the conflict only to find that the victorious bandits of Allied imperialism scorned his pacifism, demanding their share of the spoils they had won. Wilson capitulated. He signed the ignominious Treaty of Versailles, which perpetuated and deepened all the imperialist wounds of the war, receiving in return trouble concessions, like the League of Imperialistic Brigands at Geneva, self determination of several nations which were meat for France and Great Britain, etc. Wilson was hailed in Europe as the evangel of peace. The social demagogue went wild over the great American demagogue. He was acclaimed as a godsend, literally. Then he returned to America....

The Downfall of Wilson

The capitalist class wanted none of his peace of Versailles. They lined up the country solidly and hostilely against him. The pacifism of Wilson, that had led America into the war and had prosecuted it successfully, was now outlived. American imperialism had other interests. Congress repudiated Wilson and he was showered with a storm of abuse by the press which called him a "hopeless visionary."

Wilson died a broken man, but pacifism did not die with him. The clouds of a new imperialism war for a new division of the world's territories and a further annihilation of the flower of the working class, hang heavily as it there had never been a "war to end all wars." Pacifism stands at the helm again. Another Wilson, many Wilsons will be on hand to lead us into a war, with other slogans perhaps but with fundamentally the same aims—profits, profits and more profits.

Be wary of pacifists and pacifism! This is our message, our commoration of the late Woodrow Wilson.

—GEO. CLARKE

Increase in Lynchings Reported for 1933

Bourbon South Leads in Mob Murder; Sheriffs Assist Gangs

The ghastly practice of lynching has increased 180 per cent over the number in 1932, according to the annual review made public by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Translated into actual figures this means that 28 men were the victims of the sadistic fury of barbaric murder mobs in 1933, compared to 10 lynchings last year.

Highly significant is this alarming jump in lynching in face of the fact that the fourth year of the shattering economic crisis has set the nerves of large sections of the population on edge, with the American individualistic type of pogrom—lynching—as the outlet.

The protectors of the public morality, the guardians of law and order have been silent or active partners in this gruesome sport, practiced by the degenerated dregs of society. Legal actions of democracy and the due-process-of-the-law have been ripped to shreds by the tacit and not-so-tacit support given to the lynch mobs by sheriffs

and their sworn-in-deputies and the ardent endorsement by the Governor of California, of the murders of the two alleged kidnapers.

The "honors" in the mob murder competition for the year 1933 go to the state of Alabama which leads the country with five lynchings to its credit. The bestial ruling class of Alabama, it will be remembered, has earned special recognition by the death verdict it awarded the Scottsboro boys. It is quite adept at supplementing legal lynching with the extrajudicial activities of the mob. Georgia and Louisiana follow a close second with four each. Six human beings, doubtless negroes, and possibly share-croppers were lynched in South Carolina and Tennessee respectively. California and Mississippi lynched two each. Florida, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina and Texas bring up the rear in the 1933 roster of lynchings with one each. The Bourbon South, it will be seen from these reports, still holds front rank.

The N. A. A. P. reports that the lynch mobs spent the outgoing year in a very humane manner. "Thirteen of the lynch victims were shot to death and two of the bodies burned. ... Eight were hanged and two of their bodies burned. Three were beaten to death, two were hanged and shot, one was beaten and shot and one was beaten, shot and strangled."

According to press reports the lynch mobs are beginning the New Year in the right way. Ernest McGhee, Johnny Jones and Isaac Howard, all young negroes are reported to have confessed in Memphis, Tennessee to "attacking a 17-year-old Mississippi girl." The same old gag for the rope-and-tagot gangs to get to work.

A negro, Johnny Wade, has been "spirited" away by the sheriff in Angleton, Texas. He is accused of an ax-slaying and the sheriff has taken action presumably to "avoid" lynching.

A young man, Walter R. Reppin, has been sentenced to die by Colorado's new lethal gas method. The governor has been warned by Spencer Penrose, Colorado Springs business man and mining magnate who sent a telegram to the latter "in behalf of the people of El Paso County" that if he grant clemency to Reppin "there may be a danger of a lynching...."

Unemployment Increase

According to the A. F. of L. figures made public by William Green on December 30, over a half million workers were thrown out of employment during the month of November. "The worst lay-offs," said the report, "were in manufacturing, where over 330,000 lost their jobs. These factory lay-offs are much larger than in any normal year for which we have records; larger also than in any year since depression."

These factory lay-offs, the report continues, represent over half the increase in unemployment from October to November, which was in all about 580,000.

—A MARINE WORKER.

Chaco Imperialist Battleground

Having waged for two years the fight between the South American republics, Bolivia and Paraguay, for the possession of the Gran Chaco region continues almost without interruption. The complicated interests involved, the existence of various "peace" agencies interfering with each other's activities, and the extreme difficulty of military operations in the region, are the principal reasons why this war has dragged on for so long a time without any solution.

The Seventh Pan-American Congress which met recently in Montevideo was unable to do anything to settle the Chaco dispute. In part this failure may be due to the fact that while U. S. imperialism dominated at the congress it was British imperialism's protégé Paraguay, who appeared to have the upper hand in the war during the period of the Congress. While American imperialism emerged from the Pan American Congress with some gains, imperialist rival, Great Britain, is still far from defeated. The recent successes of the Paraguayan army indicate this, although the growing influence of Wall St. in Argentina may yet defeat their plans. Argentina, while formally working for peace in the region, has in reality given moral and material support to Paraguay. In this the Argentine government has only served the interests of British imperialism to win support in Argentina.

There is reported to be some oil in the Chaco itself but this is a matter of secondary importance, as are also the other natural resources of the Chaco, such as hardwoods, grazing land, etc. The Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company is sparing no pains to block the interests of Standard Oil. In this of course the

Royal Dutch counts on the full support of British imperialism, which has therefore for several years aided Paraguay in her long-standing frontier dispute over the arena.

War Two Years Old

The dispute over the Gran Chaco dates from Spanish colonial times, and has on numerous occasions threatened war. On several occasions in the late 1920's frontier clashes were reported, but the actual warfare on a large scale did not commence until about two years ago. Since then a continual saw-saw of fighting has been going on over a wide front, without either side gaining any decisive advantage. The same "foots" that were being first few weeks of fighting are still captured and re-captured during the being captured and re-captured today. There have been periods in which the Bolivian forces would win victory after victory and then it would be time for the Paraguayans to come in for their share. During the rainy season, operations had to be almost completely suspended, and during the dry season scouting parties would die of thirst in the grassy desert and the waterless forest. There have been close to a hundred thousand killed in all since the war commenced, which is a terrible toll when one considers the population of the countries participating (Bolivia: 2 1/2 million; Paraguay a scant 700,000).

(Continued on page 4)

The Recovery Program of the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party has issued a five-point program for recovery from the crisis: reduction of interest on all indebtedness; reduction of the capital structure of all business and utilities affected with a public interest; a capital levy; a steep increase in inheritance taxes; the issuance of currency to finance the public works program.

It is clear at one glance that this program offers no threat to the capitalist system. On the contrary, it is designed as its name indicates, to **HELP THE CAPITALISTS RECOVER FROM THE CRISIS**. That is also the aim of the official political parties of the capitalist class, and of all the government agencies including the vast network of the governmental agencies including the vast network of the recovery administrations.

Let us take a closer look at the program. Point one calls for a reduction on all indebtedness including farm mortgages to 2 or 2 1/2%. Whom will this benefit? According to the December bulletin of the National City Bank—"the chief debtors are governments, corporations and credit institutions." It is plain from the figures of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., that the overwhelming bulk of the debts are owed by corporations or by persons falling within the rich or to-do income groups, and not by the poor. The Socialist Party recovery program would cut down the interest the banks pay on workers' savings, afford them some relief in connection with mortgages and lift a tremendous load from the shoulders of the capitalist class.

Point four calls for "a steep increase in inheritance taxes." What does the Socialist Party recovery program propose to do with this money? Use it for unemployment insurance? No. "The proceeds would be used for the retirement of government bonds."

Point five calls for the issuance of currency to finance the Public Works program. Inasmuch as this runs into billions of dollars, point five is tantamount to outright, unlimited currency inflation. What this means for workers is well known—drastic cuts in real wages through soaring prices.

The Socialist party has the brass to say in its statement accompanying its recovery program that it is against currency inflation. It explains the contradiction on the all-too-familiar philosophy of the lesser evil. To finance its Public Works program the government issues bonds on which it has to pay interest. The Socialist Party wants to save the capitalist government about four million dollars in interest. Instead of selling bonds, says the S. P., run the printing presses. It is true this is inflation but it is justified by "other inflationary measures already undertaken."

Not only is the S. P. recovery program designed to help the capi-

talists get out of the crisis, but it is aiming squarely at the workers. For a proletarian, revolutionary party every difficulty of the capitalist class is an opportunity to press forward for its overthrow. The revolutionists fight to ameliorate the conditions of the workers but not to help the capitalist system to "recover." The periodic crises of capitalism create objective conditions favorable for the mass movements of the workers to develop to higher political levels until at last they reach the plane of the revolutionary situation and the overthrow of the capitalist system. The only recovery program the party of the proletarian revolution puts forth is the program of the proletarian dictatorship and planned economy under it.

The Story of a Boy Who Made Good

At the disgraceful affair in Brownsville last week, where the Party officially mobilized to prevent comrades Shachtman and Dasch from speaking, one of the wildest of the party hooligans was Joe Ross. In the three years or so that he has been in Brownsville, Ross has fought steadily ahead in the ranks of the Y. C. L. and Communist Party to the position of the section Workers School Director. He proved by hard, untiring, unstinted, devoted and conscientious day to day work that he is fit for nomination as one of the best disciples of the "best discipline." A thorough account of his revolutionary life and activities would read like a dime adventure story. Sufficient be it to merely honor him by pointing out some of the bright spots in his career.

Hero's Career Begins
In 1930 the district office of the Young Communist League sent him down to take complete charge of Pioneer work. After a few months of complete control and organization, the hooligans withered away. The Y. C. L. decided that a change of scenery might prove beneficial to all parties concerned, so he was sent in to the American Youth Club, where the Party and League fraction voted him in as general secretary of the club. Joe proved to be long on speeches and short on work, so one membership meeting when it was found that the membership amounted to more than the fraction, Ross was politely removed.

The Paterson silk strike then broke out. It was remembered that our hero had done some sterling work among the Brownsville Pioneers. To Paterson he then fled himself.

On the basis of the wreckage he spread around in Paterson, Ross was appointed Section Organizer of the Young Communist League—no less. Inside of two or three months he was demoted, which is quite a record even for the Y. C. L. Not one whit discouraged his next function which was to become the Agit-Prop director of the section. A month of this and the enraged League members cried halt. If ordinary rank and file could not recognize ability the District Office could. He became literature and Young Worker agent of the Brownsville section. Poor Joe, at the first membership meeting after this latest appointment, he was requested to try his hand at something else.

Still Running Strong
Our hero obliged by joining the Students Forum, and carrying out a furious tirade against a "counter-revolutionary" "Trotskyite." After a bareheaded and intensive struggle in the line of 15th plenum (this was before the famous open letter) against these disrupters, Joe succeeded in having them expelled. Strange to say, with the expulsions out and the Forum kosher, Joe removed himself from the club. Some were unkind enough to say that as long as slander was the main activity of Forum, Ross would have remained a member. This was however, traced to one of the expelled counter-revolutionaries, which of course whitewashed Joe. His next venture was as **Daily Worker** agent. Perhaps he had visions of building up a tremendous route, being recognized by Franklin, Hathaway and the District Office and—alas!—the routes decreased the sales fell down and Joe with them.

As a reward for his outstanding work in the Y. C. L. Joe Ross was assigned to full time work in the Party. Recently a workers' school was organized in Brownsville. Who better fitted as its head—whose record better entitled them to the important position of guiding out best disciples—than Joe Ross?

There may be one thing that Joe will have a hard time explaining to his students. And that is why despite his howling at the Shachtman-Dasch meeting, when the time passed from slander, bravado and hooliganism to action—he was seen sinking down the stairs accompanied by another disciple—Gilbert nee Joseph Simonoff (expelled from the Workers Party) alias Simmons (expelled from the Communist Party). It will be a good trick if Joe can do it—we hope to be permitted to be a member of the class when he tries it.

—AL DASCH.

MOVIE REVIEW

Like *Cavaleade*, which heads the list, George Cukor's and Kenneth Macgowan's pictorialization of Louisa May Alcott's famous novel, *Little Women*, is considered by writers in the capitalist press as one of the ten best pictures of 1933. We have not seen all the pictures put out in the past year and we cannot presume to offer a list of the best pictures. But we are positive that this picture should not be included in any list save one which aims to name the worst pictures.

The picture is well cast and well acted. Nice words can be said about the direction and photography.

But what would only emphasize still more the bitter triviality of its content. As most of our readers know from having read the book it is a story of four girls who grow up in a prim New England home. Their feelings for one another and their love for their parents and, later their husbands, forms the theme of this story. Great art can be woven out of this stuff. But for that it is necessary to illuminate profoundly the human soul.

The picture does not begin to do that. It says nothing original or profound about the well springs of the mind and heart. It reeks from beginning to end with sickening sentimentality. All the people in this story, without exception, be they of high station or low, are kindly souls. Generosity flows without interruption from opening to close. Verily, it is Pollyanna's paradise.

But from the social point of view the picture is even worse. Its action takes place in the period of the Civil War and, presumably, the years following. The time element is so badly handled that its passage is not clearly indicated. The horrible suffering which the war and the reconstruction period brought in their wake sweeps by this family to leave them untouched except for a temporary but not too serious poverty and the wounding of the girls' father, also not too seriously. It almost never enters their conversation and it has almost no influence on their actions.

The inflation of 1861-65 increased the cost of living to more than double what it was in 1860 and ruined thousands of workers' and petty bourgeois families. But you would never guess it from this picture. On the other hand a mysterious invalidism, a result of an attack of scarlet fever contracted in a charitable visit to a neighbor, carries off one of the girls.

It is no good to argue that these shifts are aimed at the book for the defects of which the picture makers are not responsible. If the function of art is to illuminate life and the cinema is an art form—then it becomes the duty of every artist, whether he be actor, producer or director, to strive with his whole soul to tell the truth about life.

The players in this picture did the best they could within the limits of the scenario. But the producers have fashioned a false picture of life in general and of life during the Civil War in particular. For our part we do not expect anything much better from the talent which sells itself body and soul to the capitalist propaganda machine. Before a man can tell the truth in art he must own his soul. Cukor and Macgowan apparently do not.

—KINO.

FREE TORGIER, DIMITROFF, POPOFF AND TANEFF
The N. Y. Herald-Tribune for Jan. 2, apprizes us of the fact that the Nazi murderers who failed to frame-up the Reichstag fire defendants are looking for a country willing to grant asylum to the three Bulgarians. Nothing is said of Torgier. Nor is anything mentioned concerning the outcome of this "search."

Meanwhile all four of the innocent Communists remain imprisoned in the Fascist dungeons. The request of the Committee to aid the victims of the Hitler "Terror" to safely escort the exonerated prisoners over the German Border has been denied.

It is quite obvious that Hitler's Brown Beasts are not at all disposed to liberate Torgier, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff. Their salvation rests, as before, with the international working class.

There may be one thing that Joe will have a hard time explaining to his students. And that is why despite his howling at the Shachtman-Dasch meeting, when the time passed from slander, bravado and hooliganism to action—he was seen sinking down the stairs accompanied by another disciple—Gilbert nee Joseph Simonoff (expelled from the Workers Party) alias Simmons (expelled from the Communist Party). It will be a good trick if Joe can do it—we hope to be permitted to be a member of the class when he tries it.

—AL DASCH.

The Railroad Brotherhoods Ritualistic Mummery at Meetings

IV.
We think it can be truthfully said that all reactionary arrangements of today were at one time progressive forces in human development. It was only as they outlived their usefulness that they became gradually reactionary and therefore oppressive to the people. This same law of development applies to the secret work in our Lodge and Division meetings.

Pioneer Needed Secrecy

When the Brotherhood pioneers first started to organize the railroad unions they did so at the risk of losing their jobs and were often fired and blacklisted against getting another job. It was therefore quite natural for them to act in secret and to throw all kinds of protection around their meetings against the bosses' stool-pigeons and informers. Pass words, signs and counter signs, grips and other ceremonies, well known to the ordinary Brotherhood member, were useful and therefore progressive.

Today all ritualistic and secret work has long since outlived its usefulness and is therefore a reactionary force and serves just the opposite purpose to that was originally intended. Originally the secret work was intended to protect the organized labor movement against its enemies. Today the secret work protects the enemies of the labor movement by serving as a gag-law and as an obstruction against the spreading of ideas.

Secret Work Now Isolates the Unions

The secret work as it acts today serves to isolate each local lodge from the others. It also keeps them separated from one another, and

Discussion Article

On the Youth Resolution

The draft resolution of the National Youth Committee states that it bases itself "in all essentials" upon the youth thesis of the second national conference. The predominant note of the 1931 thesis was to stress the educational and cultural character of youth work and at the same time to follow dutifully the line of the Y. C. L. in the participation in the economic struggles of the working class.

In 1931 our thesis declared that "in textile, coal, automobile, radio, etc., the youth should be organized into the revolutionary unions or leagues." Our 1933 resolution—in the face of the triumph of Fascism in Germany, the collapse of the 2nd International and the need of building a 4th International and a new Communist party in America—not only fails to correct this fundamental erroneous trade union policy but slurs over the tasks of the young Communists in the trade union field, which are intimately linked up with the new tasks before us—the building of a new party and its youth section. These are the tasks of the period when we were a faction of the Y. C. L. must be cast aside. Today they can serve only as a millstone around our necks.

The Policy of 1921

In 1921 when Muensenberg was the spokesman for the policies laid down by Lenin and Trotsky and not the Stalinist mouthpiece of today he wrote that the first and foremost duty of the young Communists "consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into young Communist organizations, to train and teach them in these organizations and bring them into the Communist parties as trained, capable, and tried revolutionaries and Communist fighters. This means of gaining millions of young Communists is above all an economic struggle."

When Muensenberg wrote these words the problem was these: that we face today, the development of mass Communist parties. The 2nd C. L. thesis states "It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advanced guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole 'New Course'." At this moment it is of utmost importance to stress these fundamental aspects of our work

in connection with educating and training young workers to become Communists. It is of primary importance to stress that this can be achieved only through the political subordination of the Spartacus Youth Clubs to the C. L. A. This political subordination, however, is not a mechanical process. Our relationship to the C. L. A. must be viewed in the same manner as expressed by comrade Trotsky in the "New Course." It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat over formulas, it is necessary that the youth should take their revolutionary formulas fighting, transfer them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion with that courage that comes from sincere conviction and independence of character."

Tasks of Immediate Period

For the immediate period before us, the success or failure of our work depends upon the degree of our participation in the main task that faces the C. L. A.—the building of a revolutionary party of which the youth section must be an integral part. It is not enough to say that "the strategy and tactics of the Party (C. L. A.) are the strategy and tactics of the League (S. Y. C. L.);" it is also necessary to lay down a concrete program of action whereby we may, together with the C. L. A., and under its guidance enter upon new fields of the economic struggles of the American workers. Only in this way can we recruit fresh and healthy reserves and build a firm foundation for a Communist youth organization that will serve its revolutionary function in the class struggle.

Aids System of Gag-Rule

The secret work helps the Grand Lodge Officers to keep the railroad workers uninformed and separated from one another. Together with the rest of the gag-laws and strictly censored Brotherhood Press the secret work rounds out a complete system of gag-rule in the Brotherhoods that must be exposed to light and eliminated by the progressive minority.

Brother progressives, use the columns of the *Militant* to spread progressive ideas in the railroad unions.

—A. E.

Pioneer Publishers

We are starting a drive to build up the Pioneer Publishers. It is superfluous to explain to you the need of a Marxian publishing house in America in these critical times for the working class. Reaction is marshaling its forces on an unprecedented scale as a result of the betrayals by the Social Democracy and the bankruptcy of Stalinism. Never before was there a greater need to make the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky accessible to American workers than today; never before was the American proletariat more ready to digest the great experiences of the October revolution and the lessons of the ten years relentless fight of the Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Leon Trotsky.

The Pioneer Publishers have been spreading these ideas in the past, thanks to great sacrifices on the part of individual comrades and friends who come along at the right time with contributions and loans. Many of the books and pamphlets published by us are now out of print; more are going to be so in the very near future. Manuscripts are piling up. Many brilliant writings in foreign languages await translation and publication. The workers are literally knocking at our doors for literature.

Here is a practical plan to help the Pioneer Publishers. Comrades should buy a \$5 certificate in the U. S. which will entitle them to a 40% discount on books published by the P. P. and to 20% reduction on books of other publishers ordered through us.

LAST OPPORTUNITY

We are glad to announce that we have a few more copies of *Labor and Internationalism* by Louis L. Jordan. The supply on hand is limited. All those who want to obtain this 700 page book should rush their orders immediately. It is only \$1.50 postpaid.

Have you a copy of *My Life by Trotsky*? It not only order one from Pioneer Publishers it sells for \$2.50. (Publishers Price: \$5.00).

CORRECTION

Comrade Trotsky's article that appeared last week (*Hitler the Fascist*) was made from the French text and contained a number of errors.

The following corrections should be made:

In the first paragraph instead of "No more consulting is the fact, etc." read, "All the more consulting is the fact, etc." And in the same paragraph the last sentence instead of "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able, etc." read, "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he should not be able, etc."

In the third paragraph instead of "It is not very difficult to dispel their doubts," read, "It is not very easy to dispel their doubts."

The fourth paragraph is a hedge-podge because several lines were left out. Beginning with, "And the Leipzig trial shows" the next should go on to read as follows: "that the medico-legal expert testimony of the Nazis merits unbounded confidence. If in this world there existed only sincerity and love of peace, life would probably be made an eternal delight, etc."

In the sixth paragraph instead of "His nervous system at all times had succeeded, etc." read "His nervous system by that time should have succeeded, etc." And further down instead of "the light avenger von Papen" read "the light-minded avenger von Papen."

In the seventh paragraph (first sentence) instead of "Hitler still inclined in those days, etc." read "Hitler was still forced in those days, etc." And in the very next sentence instead of "... from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change, etc." read "... on its own inclination France cannot come to an agreement on the basis of a change, etc." And in the same long sentence (at the close) instead of "the Germans must re-arm at once" read "the Germans must rearm beforehand."

In the ninth paragraph instead of "... or, to use a better known expression, a passport" read: "... or, to use a more precise expression, a 'live war,' etc."

Roosevelt's Speech on Latin America

Roosevelt's speech at the Wilson Dinner is heralded by the press as a new policy of "cooperation" in the western hemisphere based on the renunciation of armed intervention and the desire for world peace. In reality, behind this speech lurks a new stage in the rivalry of the imperialist powers for hegemony over Latin America. The speech comes on the heels of American imperialism on the heels of American imperialism, behind the talk of non-intervention, armament reduction and peace is cloaked America's bitter struggle with England for the domination of Latin America.

The Roosevelt-Hull talk of non-intervention in Latin America is an attempt to line up a South American bloc and to keep Europe out of Wall Street's "backyard." The talk of intervention has about as much real weight as the talk of peace and arms reduction. Hull's position at Montevideo on this question is a joke that only fools and puppet delegates can accept.

The Argentine representative endeavored to save Hull's face by suggesting that the subject of non-intervention be referred to an Inter-American committee for definition. Hull supported this move, but it was impossible to jam it through the convention; and when the final vote was taken Hull was forced to retreat and vote for the resolution with reservations that make the proposal meaningless and an insult to Latin America. Roosevelt said as if there were not several other forms of intervention which, under certain conditions, are more effective. The Roosevelt-Hull non-intervention talk coincides with the most subtle form of intervention in Cuba and other Latin American countries.

The position of Roosevelt on the League of Nations, is just a polite way of saying that America intends to continue her role of dominating "observer" at the League Council. There the struggle of the U. S. against Europe takes on special forms. The meaningless gesture of non-intervention in Latin America, a sop to the Western Hemisphere, must be supplemented by a more intense struggle against Europe. The aim is to retain the dominating position in Latin America by preventing England, Germany and others from absorbing the markets.

The talk of world peace and armed reduction is only a maneuver to cover up the mad race of America in the competition for armaments. The basic antagonism of the imperialist powers for control of Latin America is that between the United States and England. Roosevelt's speech is a warning of a new onslaught. Competition from Fascist Germany comes second and America will fight on this front also. But it must be kept in mind that trade in Latin America revolves around the pound and the dollar, not the mark and the yen.

The economic position of America in relation to Latin America is the key to the policies at Montevideo and what has followed. Before the war America held a secondary position in the economic life of Latin America; after the war, America dominated. Exports to Latin America grew 27% from 1910 to 1929 while imports increased 120% in the same period. Capital investments increased from one and a

master-key, etc." And further on, instead of "Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, etc." read: "With all due respect to the testimony of the two deeply-moved journalists, etc."

In the next paragraph instead of "it is not at all the intention of the present article to give counsel to those, whoever they may be, who decide the fate of Europe; they truly know themselves what they have to do" read, "Least of all is it the intention of the present article to give any counsel whatever to those who decide the fate of Europe; surely they themselves know what they have to do."

And in the last paragraph instead of "Paris would rather have a knife" read "Paris *vaud bien une messe!* (Paris is well worth a mass!). And finally, instead of "Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war, etc." read: "Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war, etc."

Thus the C. P. of the U. S. A., and presumably the C. I. which gives it its line, have made another turn and, as usual when the turn is in the right direction, it is a turn to the line laid down by the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists first persistently rejected and ignored. Of course, you can't expect them to thank you for the idea. What you can do is to try to bring the idea off paper and force the Stalinists not simply to talk about a transportation boycott, but to do something about it. Can't you call a united front conference on the matter? Sincerely,

—HARRY STRANG.

three billion dollars in 1913 to five billion in 1929. While the percentage of American export is about eleven percent of the total production, in many South American countries the percentage of export reaches 35 to 65% of production. Cuban export reaches 85%. The peristal powers for hegemony over Latin America. The speech comes on the heels of American imperialism, behind the talk of non-intervention, armament reduction and peace is cloaked America's bitter struggle with England for the domination of Latin America.

A greater share of the world market is a burning question for the continued domination of American imperialism. Since Latin America offers possibilities in this sphere America's struggle against England and other contenders will be carried on in the most ruthless manner there.

A Letter on the Hitler Boycott

Dear Comrades:

December 30, 1933
Some months ago the International Left Opposition and the Communist League of America came out in favor of a militant transportation boycott of Hitler Germany. At the time you published an editorial on this question, I was moved, although not a member of your group, to write you endorsing your stand. I still feel that the consumers' boycott for Jewish relief is no substitute for a labor struggle on behalf of labor. Only by international labor action, the refusal to transport goods in and out of Germany, until certain demands are granted (release of political prisoners, restoration of right to organize workers independently, publish labor papers, etc.), can a smashing blow be dealt to Hitlerism.

The Old Position of Comintern

As I pointed out in my letter some weeks ago, a similar view was taken of similar problems years ago by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. At the time of the Hungarian White Terror and the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain, for example, the C. I. sent out ringing calls for international action by all workers to smother these reactionaries by means of a transportation boycott. When the idea was first brought up with respect to Hitler, however, the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin's office boys, turned a cold shoulder to it. They found it to be ineffective, unrevolutionary because it would divert some trade from Germany to other countries and thereby benefit other capitalists, etc., etc. The C. I. denounced the proposal in the *Rundschau* (Basel) and elsewhere.

But the validity of the idea could not be obliterated. Spontaneously, workers in France, Belgium, Spain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere began to take the transportation boycott into effect. The chief struggle was by longshoremen who repeatedly refused to unload ships displaying the Nazi flag. On one occasion even, Scandinavian members of a Red Trade Union refused to load Soviet naphtha on a German boat flying the Hakenkreuz. Efforts made by the International Left Opposition and other organizations to spread the idea of a united front transportation boycott for joint, immediate demands have not been entirely fruitless; important labor organizations of various political tendencies in half a dozen countries have endorsed the idea.

A Typical Stalinist "Turn"
After attacking the idea, the Comintern and its sections shut up on the matter like a school of clams. But now they have quietly executed a change: the *Daily Worker* of December 30, attacking Bill Green for his sure-enough rotten piece of fakery on the consumers' boycott, comes out in favor of "the formation of united front committees to be set up for effective action to stop the import and transportation of German goods." It even contrives to find a quotation from Bela Kun: "The revolutionary workers must see clearly that the merchandise boycott of German fascism is a deception if isolated from the general anti-Fascist struggle, if conducted without a transportation boycott."

Thus the C. P. of the U. S. A., and presumably the C. I. which gives it its line, have made another turn and, as usual when the turn is in the right direction, it is a turn to the line laid down by the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists first persistently rejected and ignored. Of course, you can't expect them to thank you for the idea. What you can do is to try to bring the idea off paper and force the Stalinists not simply to talk about a transportation boycott, but to do something about it. Can't you call a united front conference on the matter? Sincerely,

—HARRY STRANG.

IN JEWISH

EUROPE AFTER HITLER'S SEIZURE OF POWER

Speaker:

JACK BERLIN

Just Returned from a Trip to Europe

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Toronto Mass Meeting on Russian Recognition

Toronto.—On Tuesday, December 19th, the Toronto branch held a mass meeting on recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. A., with comrade MacDonald as speaker and comrade Spector in the chair. This meeting was one of the best attended we have held, there being fully 700 jammed into the assembly hall of the Labor Lyceum. The seats were filled and workers were standing around the back and sides of the hall.

The Stalinists turned out in full force to this meeting, making their presence known by frequent and noisy attempts to disrupt the meeting. The questions of the Stalinists reflected the extremely low ideological level which prevails among them but the discussion period revealed their complete bankruptcy even more plainly. Only one young comrade, a member of the Y. C. L. attempted, on three or four short sentences, to open the grounds that the Russian workers have the task of building Socialism while the workers in the capitalist countries have the task of fighting capitalism. Apparently the two have nothing to do with each other. A "Friend of the Soviet Union" who carefully denied that he is a Stalinist made a feeble attempt to justify the agreement. After this no one could be persuaded to take the floor. The Stalinists, victorious enough when comrade MacDonald was speaking, could not so much as get up on the feet to defend their case, if they have one, in discussion.

This meeting was a decided gain for us. Our case found wide support in the audience. The Toronto branch is experimenting in a form in one of the suburban districts, Mt. Dennis. We have held two meetings already and judging by these there seems every possibility of carrying it through.

OPEN FORUM

Manhattan Spartacus Youth Club

WILL THE UNITED STATES

RULE THE WORLD?

Speaker: Herbert Capelis

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THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

How the Question is Posed

The break with the Communist International and the orientation toward the New International have posed anew the question of the social character of the U. S. S. R. Doesn't the collapse of the Communist International also mean at the same time the collapse of that state which emerged from the October Revolution? Here, indeed, in both instances one and the same ruling organization is concerned: the Stalinist apparatus. It had applied identical methods within the U. S. S. R. as in the international arena. We, Marxists, were never patrons of the double bookkeeping system of the Brandierites according to which the policies of the Stalinists are impeccable in the U. S. S. R. but ruinous outside the boundaries of U. S. S. R.* It is our conviction that they are equally ruinous in both instances. If so, isn't it then necessary to recognize the simultaneous collapse of the Communist International and the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.?

At first sight such reasoning appears to be irrefutable. But it is erroneous. While the methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy are homogeneous in all spheres, the objective results of these methods depend upon external conditions, or to use the language of mechanics, the resistivity of the material. The Communist International represented an instrument that was intended for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet government represents an instrument for the preservation of conquests of an already accomplished overturn. The Communist parties of the West have no inherited capital. Their strength (in reality, their weakness) lies within themselves and only within themselves. Nineteenth of the strength of the Stalinist apparatus lies not in itself but in the social changes wrought by the victorious revolution. Still, this consideration alone does not decide the question: but it does bear a great methodological significance. It shows us how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor, and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gate-keeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. This dual position—we may add—represents in itself one of the manifestations of the unevenness of historical development.

The correct policies of a workers' state are not reducible solely to national economic construction. If the revolution does not expand on the international arena along the proletarian spiral, it must immutably begin to contract along the bureaucratic spiral within the national framework. If the dictatorship of the proletariat does not become European and world-wide, it must head towards its own collapse. All this is entirely incontestable on a wide historical perspective. But everything revolves around the concrete historical periods. Can one say that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy have led already to the liquidation of the workers' state? That is the question now.

Against the assertion that the workers' state is apparently already liquidated there arises first and foremost the important methodological position of Marxism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established by means of a political overturn and a civil war of three years. The class theory of society and historical experience both equally testify to the impossibility of the victory of the proletariat through peaceful methods, that is, without grandiose class battles, weapons in hand. How, in that case, is the imperceptible, "gradual", bourgeois counter-revolution conceivable? Until now, in any case, feudal as well as bourgeois counter-revolutions have never taken place "organically" but they have invariably required the intervention of military surgery. In the last analysis the theories of reformism, in so far as reformism generally has attained to theory, are always based upon the inability to understand that class antagonisms are profound and irreconcilable; hence, the perspective of a peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism. The Marxian thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history madly sweeps ahead, but also to the periods of counter-revolution when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been

* Sage American Brandierites (the Lovestone group) complicate the question; the economic policy of the Stalinists, if you please, is impeccable, but the political regime in the U. S. S. R. is bad: there is no democracy. It does not occur to these theoreticians to ask themselves why then does Stalin liquidate democracy when his economic policies are correct and successful? Isn't it out of fear that if proletarian democracy obtained, the party and the working class would express much too restlessly and violently their enthusiasm over his economic policies?

The Class Nature of the Soviet State - by Leon Trotsky

gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism.

Our opponents may gainsay, this is a general methodological proposition and that no matter how important in itself it is nevertheless too abstract to solve the question. Truth is always concrete. The thesis of the irreconcilability of class contradictions should and must direct us in our analysis but cannot replace its results. One must probe deeply into the material content of the historical process itself.

We reply, it is true, a methodological argument does not exhaust the problem. But in any case it transfers the burden of proof to the opposing side. Critics, who consider themselves Marxists, must demonstrate in what manner the bourgeoisie that had lost power in a three years' struggle could resume this power without any battles. However, since our opponents make no attempt to invest their appraisal of the Soviet state with any sort of serious theoretical expression we shall try to perform this labor for them here.

"The Dictatorship over the Proletariat"

The most widespread, popular and at first sight irrefutable argument in favor of the non-proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of the liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almightiness of the bureaucracy. Is it really possible to identify the dictatorship of an apparatus, which has led to the dictatorship of a single person, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class? Isn't it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is excluded by the dictatorship over the proletariat?

Such enticing reasoning is constructed not upon a materialistic analysis of the process as it develops in reality but upon pure idealistic schemas, upon the Kantian norms. Certain noble "friends" of the revolution have provided themselves with a very radiant conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they are completely prostrated in the face of the fact that the real dictatorship with all its heritage of class barbarism, with all its internal contradictions, with the mistakes and crimes of the leadership falls entirely to resemble that sleek image which they have provided. Disillusioned in their most beautiful emotions they turn their backs to the Soviet Union.

Where and in what books can one find a faultless prescription for a proletarian dictatorship? The dictatorship of a class does not mean by a long shot that its entire mass always participates in the management of the state. This we have seen, first of all, in the case of the propertied classes. The nobility ruled through the monarchy before which the noble stood on his knees. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie took on comparatively developed democratic forms only under the conditions of capitalist upswing when the ruling class had nothing to fear. Before our own eyes, democracy has been supplanted in Germany by Hitler's autocracy, with all the traditional bourgeois parties smashed to smithereens. Today, the German bourgeoisie does not rule directly, politically it is placed under complete subjection to Hitler and his hands. Nevertheless, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains inviolate in Germany, because all the conditions of its social hegemony have been preserved and strengthened. By expropriating the bourgeoisie politically Hitler saved it, even if temporarily, from economic expropriation. The fact that the bourgeoisie was compelled to resort to the Fascist regime testifies to the fact that its hegemony was endangered but not at all that it had fallen.

Anticipating our subsequent arguments, our opponents will hasten to refute: although the bourgeoisie, as an exploiting minority can also preserve its hegemony by means of a Fascist dictatorship, the proletariat building a socialist society must manage its government itself, directly drawing ever wider masses of the people into the task of government. In its general form, this argument is undebatable, but in the given case it merely means that the present Soviet dictatorship is a sick dictatorship. The frightful difficulties of Socialist construction in an isolated and backward country coupled with the false policies of the leadership—which in the last analysis also reflects the pressure of backwardness and isolation—have led to the result that the bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order to guard its social conquests with its own methods. The anatomy of society is determined by its economic relation. So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October revolution are not overthrown, the proletariat remains the ruling class.

Dissertations upon "the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the proletariat" without a much deeper analysis, that is, without a clear explanation of the social roots and the class limits of bureaucratic domination, boil down merely to high-faluting democratic phrases so extremely popular among the Mensheviks. One need not doubt that the overwhelming majority of Soviet workers are dissatisfied with the bureaucracy and that a considerable section, by no means the worst, hates it. However, it is not only due to repressions that this dissatisfaction does not assume violent mass forms: the workers fear that they will clear the field for the class enemy, if they overthrow the bureaucracy. The inter-relationships between the bureaucracy and the class are really much more complex than they appear to be to the frothy "democrats". The Soviet workers would have settled accounts with the despotism of the apparatus had other perspectives opened before them, had the Western horizon flamed not with the brown color of Fascism but with the red of revolution. So long as this does not happen, the proletariat with clenched teeth bears ("tolerates") the bureaucracy, and in this sense recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship. In a heart to heart conversation, no Soviet worker would be sparing of strong words addressed to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But not a single one of them would allow that the counter-revolution has already taken place. The proletariat is the spine of the Soviet state. But in so far as the function of governing is concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible bureaucracy we have before us an obviously sick state. Can it be cured? Will not further attempts at cures mean a fruitless expenditure of precious time? The question is badly put. By cures we understand not all sorts of artificial measures separate and apart from the world revolutionary movement but a further struggle under the banner of Marxism. Merciless criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracy, training the cadres of the New International, resurrecting the fighting capacity of the world proletarian vanguard—this is the essence of the "cure". It coincides with the fundamental direction of historical progress.

During the last few years—appropriately enough—our opponents have told us more than once that we "are losing time in vain" by occupying ourselves with curing the Comintern. We never promised anybody that we would cure the Comintern. We only refused, until the decisive test, to pronounce the sick as dead, or hopelessly ill. In any case, we did not waste a single day "curing" it. We formed revolutionary cadres, and what is no less important, we prepared the fundamental theoretical and programmatic positions of the new International.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as an Idealistic Norm

Messrs. "Kantian" sociologists (we apologize to the shade of Kant) often reach the conclusion that a "real" dictatorship, that is one which conforms to their ideal norms existed only in the days of the Paris Commune, or during the first period of the October revolution, up to the Brest-Litovsk peace or, at best, up to the NEP. This is indeed sharpshooting: aim a finger at the sky and hit the bull's eye! If Marx and Engels called the Paris Commune "the dictatorship of the proletariat" it was only because of the force of the possibilities lodged in it. But by itself the Commune was not *yet* the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having seized power, it hardly knew how to use it; instead of assuming the offensive, it waited; it remained isolated within the circle of Paris; it dared not touch the state bank; it did not and indeed could not put through the overturn in property relations because it did not wield power on a national scale. To this must be added Blanquist one-sidedness and Proudhonist prejudices which prevented even the leaders of the movement from completely understanding the Commune as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reference to the first period of the October revolution is not any more fortunate. Not only up to the Brest-Litovsk peace but even up to autumn of 1918, the social content of the revolution was restricted to a petty-bourgeois agrarian overturn and workers' control over production. This means that the revolution in its actions had not yet passed the boundaries of bourgeois society. During this first period soldiers' soviets ruled side by side with workers' soviets, and often elbowed them aside. Only toward the autumn of 1918, did the petty bourgeois soldier agrarian elemental wave recede a little to its shores and the workers went forward with the nationalization of the means of production. Only from this time can one speak of the in-

ception of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. But even here it is necessary to make certain large reservations. During those initial years the dictatorship was geographically confined to the old Moscow principality and was compelled to wage a three years' war along all the radii from Moscow to the periphery. This means that up to 1921, precisely up to the NEP that is, what went on was still the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat upon the national scale. And since, in the opinion of the pseudo-Marxist philistines, the dictatorship had disappeared with the beginning of the NEP, then it means that, in general, it had never existed. To these gentlemen the dictatorship of the proletariat is simply an imponderable concept, an ideal norm not to be realized upon our sinful planet. Small wonder that "theoreticians" of this stripe, insofar as they do not renounce altogether the very word dictatorship, strive to smear over the irreconcilable contradiction between the latter and bourgeois democracy.

Extremely characteristic, from the laboratory and not the political point of view, is the Parisian sect of "Communist-democrats" (Souvaine & Co.). The very name already implies a break with Marxism. In the critique of the Gotha program, Marx rejected the name socialist democracy in view of the fact that it places the revolutionary socialist struggle under the formal control of democracy. It is quite obvious that there is no difference in principle between "Communist democrats" and "socialist democrats", social democrats that is. There is no a-had and fast partition between socialism and communism. Transgression begins only when socialism and communism as a movement or as a state is subordinated not to the actual course of the class struggle, not to the material conditions of the historical process but to the supra-social and supra-historical abstraction, "democracy" which in reality is a weapon of self-defense serving the bourgeoisie against the proletarian dictatorship. If during the epoch of the Gotha Program it was still possible to see in the word social democracy only an incorrect and non-scientific name for a proletarian party, whose spirit was healthy, then the entire subsequent history of bourgeois and "social" democracy turns the banner of "democratic communism (?) into the banner of an outright class betrayal."

Bonapartism

An opponent of the Urbahns type will say that there has been really no restoration of the bourgeois regime as yet but also there is no longer a workers' state; the present soviet regime is a supra-class or an inter-class Bonapartist government. In its own time we settled our accounts with this theory. Historically, Bonapartism was and remains the government of the bourgeoisie during periods of crises in bourgeois society. It is possible and it is necessary to distinguish between the "progressive" Bonapartism that consolidates the purely capitalistic conquests of bourgeois revolution and the Bonapartism of the decay of capitalist society, the convulsive Bonapartism of our epoch (von Papen—Schleicher, Dolfuss, and the candidate for Dutch Bonapartism, Colijn, etc.) Bonapartism always implies political veering between classes; but under Bonapartism in all its historical transmutations there is preserved the one and the same social base, bourgeois property. Nothing is more absurd than to draw the conclusion of the classless character of the Bonapartist state from the Bonapartist waggling between classes or from the "supra-class" position of the Bonapartist gang. Monstrous nonsense! Bonapartism is only one of the varieties of capitalist hegemony.

If Urbahns wants to extend the concept of Bonapartism to include also the present soviet regime then we are ready to accept such a widened interpretation—under one condition: if the social content of the soviet "Bonapartism" will be defined with the requisite clarity. It is absolutely correct that the self-rule of the Soviet bureaucracy was built upon the soil of veering between class forces both internal as well as international. Insofar as the bureaucratic veering has been crowned by the personal plebiscitary regime of Stalin, it is possible to speak of soviet Bonapartism. But while the Bonapartism of both Bonapartes as well as their present pitiful followers has developed and is developing on the basis of a bourgeois regime, the Bonapartism of soviet bureaucracy has under it the soil of a soviet regime. Terminological innovations or historical analogies can serve as conveniences in one manner or another for analysis but they cannot change the social nature of the soviet state.

* Those who are interested, if there are such, may become acquainted with the "platform" of "communist (!) democrats" themselves. From the viewpoint of the fundamentals of Marxism it is difficult to conceive of a more charlatanistic document.

(To be continued)

Discussion Articles

The NRA and the Corporate State

The NRA cannot be separated from Roosevelt's Administration, nor from its other "acts" such as the economy bill, the banking law, the revaluation of the dollar. Let us turn through the pages of history to find a similar bourgeois regime. We need to go back to the days when the Communist Manifesto was written. Bourgeois Revolution had shaken Europe. The "spectre of Communism" had shown itself to a victorious bourgeoisie in France. A cruel, cynical "reformism" to meet "social evils" was put forward by the ruling bourgeoisie clique. National workshops, public work armies, thieving economies, and tactical financial reorganizations and moves, subsidies to the peasantry, etc., were the elements of a state policy designed to segmentate the lower classes and to strike additional blows at the defeated monarchy. Utopian Socialists, liberals, industrialists and financiers were each given "their part to do." The Second Republic of France raised itself up, on the guns of the nation's proletariat, artisans, and peasants. The Roosevelt regime which has former classes, being socialist-minded, were demanding a Social Republic! The capitalist met this new stage of its revolution that was promising to be socialist in character by its "own" reformism. The Roosevelt regime which has been swept into power upon the paper ballots of the lower classes who in a practical American manner are demanding precisely those things which only a Workers' Government can give (cheap government, a social dollar, government ownership of banks and trust in-

dustry, social insurance of all kinds, etc.) is meeting this popular awakening with a similar program of "Reformism." In France the particular policy that applied this policy beat back the plebeian revolt for the "Social Republic" in 1851 with the strength it had gained from its policy only, in turn to waste itself and fall to the "Third Empire" of counter-revolution.

Example of 1851 Insurrection

Trotsky has pointed out that the insurrection of the Parisian proletariat in 1851, an outburst of anger against the fraud, deceit, and cruelty of the Bourgeois reform government represented in the dynamics of the social revolution, the "July Days" which were a necessary prerequisite for the Paris Commune. Between these steps for power came the successful Kornilov of the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. This was because, in the specific gravity of the social classes of France at that period, this form of reactionary state rule for the property classes came to the surface first. How will it fare for the Roosevelt regime and the social camp for whom he holds the staff of power?

When the avalanche of paper ballots (as against the Frenchmen's guns) swept Hoover down it carried with him whole sections of the political system which Finance Capital rules. "The brand of the shock was taken off the dominant class by the fact that the traditional two party system allowed it to use its blackest, oldest, most reactionary Democratic Party as a 'liberal' shock-absorber. This re-

serve of American capitalism is now being put in the most precarious position not by voluntary choice but by necessity, for the crisis is still in its leftward dead (counter-currents not withstanding).

Contradictions of Roosevelt Regime

French capitalism could aid the organization of its artissans and lumpen-proletariat, and could counterbalance them with a far more numerous peasantry subsidized by taxes upon its land gentry and nobility. Roosevelt has to rob three million war veterans and govern million employees; he had to subsidize a mass of farmers by taxes upon the rations of subsistence wages and doles of the working class; he has to shift as much as possible the burden of feeding the unemployed from over-bonded cities and counties to equally debt-ridden small and middle trade and industry in order to protect the bigger banks. He has to organize not artisans but sparsely scattered cities but a highly industrial, socially powerful proletariat of forty millions in order to perpetrate a fraud, a breach of trust of enormous dimensions upon a recklessly moving nation.

Money manipulations will not bring the necessary breaks from the declining world market; not when England and France have such stakes in the offing. Latin America joins the administration with its contributions to the Permanent Revolution (Cuba). The extreme right saboteurs—the Republican Machine of the Fords, Mellons, the mercantile and sections of industrialists, the landlords and reactionary church—thus giving the Roosevelt administration elements of bonapartism. Truly it is a government of transition.

The NRA can have only one great effect upon the working class political development in America, which shall stand above and include all other effects upon the social-consciousness of the proletariat, and that is the inevitable "outburst of anger"; a crisis similar to the July

Days, patterned to the present American situation, which will be the dress rehearsal for the "American October", providing the international revolutionists are there, in necessary clarity, in leadership and retreat. Without this condition, this revolt of desperation will be but another "76 '93, for the American working class, a decisive defeat with the resulting reaction.

II. State Capitalism and the NRA

The NRA has been accredited by every brand of social reformism as having elements of "state capitalism." From Stalinist to Liberal and back again, the question as to the exact amount of "state capitalism" has been bandied about, as though the American proletariat, which has in the main no misgivings for ordinary capitalism, is going to prick-up its ears and take notice of the new kind of capitalism he is being faced with. Since no Marxian theoretician has yet conceded that there can be an economy that is "pure" state capitalism, why should the Marxists use this term at all to describe a phenomenon in social-economic organizations that is occurring ever more frequently under imperialism, the final stage of Capitalism.

Imperialism is the rule of Financial Capital in the national economy and its state for the purpose of perpetuating and extending its particular power and influence throughout the world. Financial Capital, at the position of power in the state due to the dominant position it holds in the economy of a nation. The nation is dependent upon its enormous wealth and continued expansion in the rest of the world. The ordinary operation of the blind economic laws of capitalism leads from crisis to crisis to the greater concentration of wealth and economic power in Financial Capital at the expense of small and independent capitalist, farmers, and proletariat—with all

the ensuing difficulties and political consequences to its rule over the nation. This condition reflects itself in the state under stress of internal contradictions.

Function of Imperialist State

The Imperialist State begins to function from this manner of thought: the interests of the nation are the interests of Finance Capital, therefore the requirements of our international bankers (a bigger slice of the world market) demand that this and that internal contradiction, which will work itself out if given enough time, need to be solved now in the immediate future, in order that we can get our house in order for our next stab at the competitor powers. The difficulty may be over-capitalized, antiquated small industry and trade. The remedy is a plan similar to the NRA, which will establish a law of "fair practice" by which the stronger, more efficient plants will quickly ruin and eliminate the small inefficient workshops. This will speed up the natural process of elimination, and make the nation's economic power stronger, more quickly.

Or the case may be the exigencies of Imperialist War in which the whole nation's (that is its Finance Capital's) future is at stake. The remedy is to monopolize the banks, the railroads, the public utilities, and the munitions works, by establishing government ownership of some enterprises, government control of others, in order to regulate the investment of government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of "state capitalism" in the World War. Or the case may be that of a Capitalist nation caught in the crisis of depression and the investment of government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of "state capitalism" in the World War. Or the case may be that of a Capitalist nation caught in the crisis of depression and the investment of government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of "state capitalism" in the World War. Or the case may be that of a Capitalist nation caught in the crisis of depression and the investment of government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of "state capitalism" in the World War.

Only a complete unification of the national economy under the hegemony of finance capital can suffice for the continuation of capitalism. Then the "corporate state" of Fascism is needed to stabilize the rule of finance capital on a basis that is consistent with all tenets of its life, as was the case of Italy, Germany, etc. "State Capitalism" is practiced under Fascism to the extent that its internal and external requirements demand certain measures of this kind for the continuation of the life of Finance capital and capitalism itself.

State Form of Finance Capital

From the above it can be seen that "State Capitalism" is nothing but the reflection of the concentrated economic power of finance capital of a nation in the political superstructure of the capitalist state. The "Corporate State" of Fascism is the consistent state form for the rule of finance capital, under it all the economic forces of the nation are at the disposal of Imperialism. But let us not over-estimate the strength of this state form for capitalist rule. Fascism is the product of the decay and weakness of a national capitalist economy, which seeks to avoid with "national meanness" the international inter-dependence of each separate national unit to continue to live.

A Fascist state at the same time

peaks within the shell of national boundaries in the most concentrated form the basic, most highly explosive contradiction of capitalist economy—social production and individual appropriation—by intense practising what is known as state capitalism. This becomes a mortal contradiction when jarred by the Permanent Revolution from without and within, for the latter seeks to solve, by social revolution through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to World Socialism, the contradiction between the "advanced" tech-

nique of world economy and the "outlived" modes of production and social superstructure.

Here in America at that time we

can afford to speak less of "State Capitalism" and more of Finance Capital, that is, Wall Street. Concretely, we must show the source and inspirers of each measure that deprives the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers and workers of their freedom, their "democracy" and their "rights" (that is, their money) to be the Imperialist Bankers.

—CLEM FORSEN.

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EDITORIAL

Shoe Workers Amalgamation

A MALGAMATION of the independent unions of shoe workers into a single organization, decided by the Boston convention, is a real step forward. It promises much for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades and should encourage the militant and progressive forces everywhere. The fact that it was pushed forward at every step over a period lasting a year in the face of every kind of obstruction and opposition from the conservative officialdom of the various unions, the virtually unanimous support which the proposal received in the referendum, and, finally, the resolute decision of the convention to drive through to the goal—these facts give ground for confidence that the last-minute attempts of disgruntled officials to sabotage the unification will be frustrated.

There is a mighty sweep of rank and file determination behind the amalgamation movement of the shoe workers. The success with which it asserted itself in all the unions and came to fruition in a united convention is a striking illustration of the power of a mass movement to break through antiquated forms. Many difficulties yet remain, but it is clear that the movement is going ahead under full steam and gaining strength along the way. Progressive elements in other unions, working for amalgamation, can well take heart from the splendid achievement of the shoe workers.

One of the most important aspects of the fusion of the independent shoe unions, overshadowing even the tangible gains of the moment, is the rich prospect it opens up for a rapid expansion of the new united organization. It is not merely that approximately 70,000 workers have found their way toward a single union in place of a number of separate unions weakened by mutual competition and isolation. That in itself, to be sure, is a great accomplishment. But the unification also creates the conditions for a broad campaign to organize the unorganized and bring the power of a national movement to bear for a general improvement of conditions.

There is an attractive power in the idea, and especially in the fact, of unity. The coming together of the independents at Boston may well be the starting point for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades on a scale unknown before. A decisive move in this direction by the new organization, without losing any time, will be the most effective means of consolidating the accomplishments of the convention and flattening out attempts at obstruction from any quarter.

Trade unions, that is, real trade unions, are elementary organizations of the masses, not artificial creations cut to pattern. In their programs and, what is more important, in their practices, they reflect, by and large, the stage of development attained by the membership in the struggle against capital. Those who aspire to shape this development in a revolutionary direction, to bring the element of consciousness into the movement, can't begin to be effective only when they learn to take the unions as they find them and work among them. Their development can be seriously influenced only from within and in the process of struggle. It cannot be imposed from the outside through any special form of organization. The new union of shoe and leather workers has masses in its ranks. That is the first requirement of a union without which the best program in the world amounts to nothing. Despite all its defects the mass basis of the new union entitles it to the support of the workers in the industry, and the "recognition" of every other legitimate union.

As an independent organization, forged by the workers in struggle against the employers and the black traitors of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" union, the new amalgamated union may be regarded as a symptomatic expression of the line of development which will become more general. As a living example of the vitality of such a trend it must be attentively heeded by those who want to synchronize their conceptions with the actual development of the movement. The cut and dried idea that affiliation to the A. F. of L. is the only badge of legitimacy for a labor organization has no more foundation than the grotesque theory of the Stalinists that new unions must be organized everywhere according to one uniform blueprint, with their "control" assured in advance. The first is implicit with treachery as the second is a prescription for sectarian isolation and sterility. Both of these arbitrary "theories" have been dealt a heavy blow by the actual course of development in the shoe unions.

In firmly rejecting any idea of affiliation, either with the A. F. of L. or the Trade Union Unity League, the amalgamation convention took the only course possible under the circumstances. Independence is the necessary condition for the effective functioning and growth of the amalgamated union in the next period. The new organization came into existence and acquired a mass basis in the course of a long series of revolts against the monstrous betrayals of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" organization. The fight for a genuine union in the industry is a continued fight against the "Boot and Shoe". An approach to the A. F. of L. on the part of the amalgamated union would be the greatest folly imaginable.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Spartacus Youth Tasks

The draft resolution of the National Youth Committee is surprisingly lacking in concreteness. At no point does it make any suggestion as to the specific tasks of the Youth Clubs. There is no answer to the simple questions: "Where to begin?" "By what methods to proceed?" Our ultimate purpose must be, as the quoted thesis indicate, to organize a Youth Section of the future Communist Party, a section politically dependent, organizationally independent, with its special tasks and tactics based upon the political line and strategy of the Party. But we cannot by a conference or declaration, alone, make the Spartacus Youth Clubs into such a Youth section.

The clubs are few and isolated. Now they must begin the task of winning the youth for Communism. The slogan "Into the Working-Class Youth" must be raised, and plans of action made accordingly. The only plan the National Youth Committee presents is the uniform constitution, which, no matter how useful it is, is but a poor guide for mass work. The problem of the nature and methods of youth work demands concrete analysis.

Characteristics of American Youth
The American working-class youth is psychologically immature and impetuous, economically insecure due to unemployment and also to employment in non-industrial, irregu-

able as long as it involves the idea of a reconciliation with its corrupt affiliate in the shoe industry. There could be no better way to demoralize the movement.

The future maneuvers of the Lovestonets to steer the new union into this treacherous channel made no headway at the convention. In rejecting these suggestions the shoe workers have shown a greater sense of reality than the A. F. of L. fetishists. "Independence", of course, is no principle. As a general formula the argument for the federation of separate unions into a general labor movement is unsatisfactory. But the complex nature of the American trade union movement, now at the beginning of a new and probably variegated development, excludes any patent, universal formula. A. F. of L. fetishism—the theory that every union not affiliated to it has to be condemned as "dual unionism"—is the most false and dangerous of all the arbitrary "theories". In the last analysis this "theory" converts its protagonists into field agents for the labor fakers and closes the door to a real participation in the coming labor struggles "outlawed" by them.

If the test of trade union policy is the way it works out in practice—and we know of no other—then the Stalinist dogma of a uniform movement of "Red Unions", with program and leadership provided for beforehand, was completely discredited once again by the debate in the shoe industry. Not only did the convention refuse to hear any suggestion of affiliating to the T. U. U. L. but the Stalinist union in New York was required to sever relations with this body as a condition for its inclusion in the amalgamation. The independent unions came together into a single organization, but it does not fit into the Stalinist party. It didn't go to the T. U. U. L. On the contrary the T. U. U. L. union had to go to it. The leaders of the Stalinist union tried in every way to sabotage the amalgamation movement and to set itself up as the real union against all the others. It ended by capitulating to the amalgamation movement and giving up its own affiliation and separate identity.

This was surely the correct thing to do. But the Stalinists are not entitled to the credit. The wisdom was not theirs. The pressure of their own membership on the one side and the adamant hostility of the workers in the other unions to the T. U. U. L. left them no other choice. The Boston convention demonstrates that the independent union movement has real vitality in certain fields. And it demonstrates no less convincingly that this movement does not flow in the artificial channel cut for it by the T. U. U. L. but, on the contrary, takes its own course outside the T. U. U. L. and against it. Clear-headed militants will shed no tears over this fact. For them the real movement is important, not the arbitrary decisions of the Stalinist party. The real movement of independent unions can only gain by the elimination of the false theories and disruptive practices represented by the T. U. U. L.

Independent unions, which come into existence as a result of special conditions in certain industries, do not, by that fact alone, become revolutionary or radical. They offer, as a rule, a freer field for the work of the militants and their development on the path of class struggle is less hampered by the interference of the skilled professional labor agents of the capitalists who dominate the A. F. of L. But if they are mass organizations they reflect the composite mental attitude of the mass. That is not revolutionary today. It can become so only in the course of struggles and with the aid of the Communists who root themselves deeply in the unions and take part in the struggles. The greatest mistake is to consider an independent union synonymous with a revolutionary policy or to think such a policy can be imposed in advance.

The amalgamated union of the shoe and leather workers is by no means a "Red" union. It is a fluid movement, filled with contradictions and not a little confusion, as any real mass organization of American workers today is apt to be. The convention condemned the NRA in one resolution and praised Father Coughlin in another.

In this contradiction there is nothing fatal for the new union. The union will have its existence in the class struggle and will be influenced and shaped by it. The workers represented at the Boston convention and their prototypes in other trades will make up the bulk of the new labor movement. They have many illusions and are due for some hard bumps. The most important thing for the Communists is to recognize the real movement when they see it, take part in it no matter what its form may be and help the workers to assimilate the lessons of the struggles.

The shoe workers movement is a real one and its form, under the circumstances, is the one best adapted to facilitate a radical development. The fact of the amalgamation, which strengthens the confidence of the workers, will undoubtedly lead to conflicts on a bigger scale and work to the same end. The amalgamation convention at Boston, despite the confusion and contradictions which marked some of its actions, will most likely represent the starting point of movement which lifts the struggles of the shoe workers to greater heights and clearer aims. The whole movement of insurgent labor will be the gainer by it.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Spartacus Youth Tasks

ed organizations, which conduct educational and social activities, offers an elementary form for organizing youth. The proposed clubs are not peripheral organizations, but are elementary and necessary organizational forms for dealing with the backward working-class youth. Of course, if sufficient numbers can be organized directly into the Spartacus, the broad club is unnecessary, and should not be mechanically organized.

Sports and Social Activities
The sports or social aspects of such broad clubs, while they cannot be discarded, must be secondary. Sports and Socials cannot, in competition with bourgeois youth organizations, draw youth to us; they can only help us to hold workers won on ideological or economic grounds.

To pose baldly the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs is to pose the question in a vacuum. We can organize a Communist youth organization only when we are able to meet the young worker in his economic struggle and win him to Communism. While present conditions are extremely favorable for rapid strides in gathering and maturing Communist cadres, the necessary intermediate work cannot be bridged by command or resolution. Failure to consider the backwardness of the American youth, and the consequent skipping of organizational stages can lead only to a continued isolation of the Youth Clubs. The Draft Resolution, vague as it is as to specific tasks, by its attitude in Point 5 toward broad clubs, and its negative position to-

After the Norwegian Labor Party had rejected the proposal to elaborate a joint platform, the problem of this party among others was discussed more or less haphazardly by our German comrades and the S. A. P. In this way the question of the Norwegian Labor Party (N. L. P.) has come to the fore. This international question is extremely interesting to a large circle of people.

What does this N. L. P. represent? With 200,000 members (undoubtedly, as in the British Labor Party the largest part of this is collective membership it represents like the Austrian Socialist party the political party of the Norwegian proletariat. It is strikingly similar to the Austrian Socialist party in another way. The strong Left currents among the members (who have up to now not dared to join the Second International) who form a Left wing, use a vaguely radical phraseology, are basically reformist and are deplorably reformist and vulgar in practice, that is pursue a policy of toleration which precipitates layers of the middle classes into the arms of Fascism.

It is true that the party has gained of recent date (like other reformist parties) great election successes, but as the *New Rotterdamische Courant* correctly puts it, its conduct is at bottom especially moderate.

The Marxist Attitude
The attitude towards this party is particularly clear for Marxists: to work as a fraction inside the party as long as they (the Marxists) are too weak to create a new Communist party; the construction of this fraction on the basis of the sharpest criticism of the reformist leadership and no collusion of any kind with this leadership.

On the principle questions which face the ranks of the united front the position of the S. A. P. is quite different from the one we have met. Not only did it sign a resolution on the regeneration of the workers' movement, together with this famous party, besides the Declaration of the four not only did it sit with it in the London Bureau, but what is worse it abstained from our criticism of this party on the national and international scale.

What are the results of such procedure? There are a number of important groups and parties internationally, like the I. L. P. and the Independent Communist party of

Discussion Article

ON THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT

I.
The true political nature of the NRA must be established before a further correct analysis of it can be given.

Marxism deals with economic and political developments. Its dialectical approach and the inductive and deductive method of investigation converts it into a science. It is important therefore that each condition be analyzed and categorized correctly on the basis of the prerequisites necessary to bring it about, and its action and reaction when present. If not, there exists the danger, as in all scientific deductions—wrong conclusions which cause confusion and contradictions in their further application—the theory that the NRA is a measure of Fascism is wrong. It is a conclusion reached through emotional thinking and not by scientific or theoretical reasoning. Fascism presupposes an immediate revolutionary situation of an acute form. This does not exist in the United States at present. The machine of bourgeois democracy can not be used as a Fascist machine. The ruling class shapes the ideology of the people to suit its particular form of rule. Many who have been psychologized into the methods of democracy will not approve of the methods of open warfare.

The Fascist organization builds itself up opportunistically. It takes together with the radicalization of the masses grows the reaction of the bourgeois conscious element. When the point of struggle is reached where capitalism can no longer, with its old methods, cover up its shortcomings and finds itself faced with immediate danger of overthrow, it changes its form of rule. Discarding formalities and democracy it enlists the reactionary element in order to stage an open and bloody war against all opposition forces to continue in power—Fascist measures therefore do not come by degrees or in mild form but are quite evident when present.

To interpret the NRA as a Fascist measure would mean on the one hand to confuse the workers as to the state of the struggle we are in and on the other to minimize the terror and danger of Fascism to the working class. Workers who have received some gains through the NRA who do not understand

ward industrial work cannot help but encourage the maintenance of our present isolation.

Concrete On Primary Task
I do not wish to imply that the Clubs should carry on no other activities. But with our limited forces we must concentrate upon the primary task of winning a cadre of youth in industry. For the rest, I am thoroughly in favor of the formation of a National League of Spartacus Youth Clubs. However, it must be remembered that such a League will be as far from being the future Youth Section as the Communist League is from being the future Party.

—PERRY MEYERS.

Sweden (the latter has broken with the Brandler International) which are evolving to the left. The principal task of all the participants in the Declaration of the Four should be the strengthening of relations with these parties. Therefore it can continue openly with the N. A. P. only in the face of the growing development of opposition.

The N. A. P. and Sweden
It conducts itself in a similar manner with the Independent Communist party of Sweden. As long as the N. A. P. deems it advisable to have relations with the latter, it will exert a bad influence on it and will arrest its development. These facts are so striking that every member of the S. A. P. should take them into consideration.

But in Norway itself such passivity can only lead to disgust in the N. A. P. No Left wing can develop without criticism. On the other hand an appeal to international alliance permits Trammell to play the revolutionist in his own party.

After the Declaration of the Four the London Bureau has lost its significance. It is even unable to explain how it happens that each of its participants follows a different aim. One holds for the IInd, the second for the II 1/2, the third for the IIId, the fourth for the IVth, etc. Better yet the simultaneous alliance of two of the signs of the Declaration of the Four with a completely reformist party must compromise the conception of the IVth International not only in the eyes of some bureaucrats but before many thinking revolutionary workers.

The S. A. P. argues about the results of its alliance with the N. A. P. in a very confused and unique way. It does not help Trammell because he treats the alliance very disdainfully. Tactical exigencies demand this alliance. Yes, this element which is worthy of eulogies, still demands the entrance of the League of Communist Internationalists in the London Bureau, that is to abandon our declaration of Four for an optional and cordial union with Trammell. One should not fear compromises, etc....

The Charge of "Socialism"
Conversely the demand of the League of Communist Internationalists is called "socialism" in the largest degree (?). At every step they discover the original sin. In that they make use of Lenin's meth-

od (Dear friends, study once again in what circumstances, with what methods, and with what results Lenin marched in 1915 towards the construction of the III International! How he condemned every equivocal union containing traces of opportunism, which was precisely the reason that led to the collapse of the IInd International) in order to accuse others as socialists so that they can appear "correct".

But we ask our opponents: Is there another method of building a revolutionary organization, no matter how, on the national and international scale? What are the results of other methods, of the silent concessions, of the "flexible" maneuvers, of hesitations (of course we speak of the building of the new party and the new international, not of the struggle for concrete economic and political ends in which a united front is possible "even with the devil and his grandmother").

Our opponents can look into the long history of the revolutionary movement as much as they want, but they will not find any other workable method. Every concession to opportunism and centrism, however small or great, has ended in a 4th of August. Only Leninist intransigence has brought results. The Road of the IVth International

Only on this road is the building of a IVth International possible, the political level already acquired. On this road they do not abandon. They would do much better, not in the N. A. P. not in the Independent Communist party of Sweden, if they brought others to their point of view by means of decisive struggle.

An example. The leaders of the S. A. P. believe that they possess a sufficiently important historical experience to create a new strategy and a new tactic on the basis of this experience; their own results in winning over the S. A. P. As is known the present leadership was formerly Brandlerite. It entered the S. A. P. with 800 members in the spring of 1932. At that time the S. A. P. numbered 24,000 members according to some and 50,000 according to others. A year later

Reynolds capitulated to the social democracy, Roosevelt to the Communist party and the present leadership found itself at the head of a party which had about 14,000 members. In the meanwhile illegality has

economy—at such a period capitalism goes through a process of centralization of wealth, which means the elimination of the middle class. Of course this adds to the contradictions because it throws the bankrupt middle class into the ranks of the industrial reserve army of proletarians. The elimination of the middle class is the natural process of capitalist development and it occurs at a period essential for the further existence of that system. The NRA as a remedy for the economic crisis consciously or unconsciously accelerates this elimination.

—HARRY BRAND.
(Continued in next issue)

Chaco War
(Continued from page 1)
Numerous attempts have been made at negotiations but without results. Armistices arranged are broken with regularity. One commission made up of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru has just given way to a League of Nations commission which may or may not be able to arrange some sort of temporary compromise.

The Communist Parties of both Paraguay and Bolivia are very young, having been organized since the Sixth World Congress, and while very active "defending" the Soviet Union have been unable to organize any real mass movement in protest against the frightful slaughter taking place in the Chaco. A few protest movements have taken place locally and small army detachments in Bolivia have rebelled at different times. The South American Secretariat of the C. I. has shown impotence in the whole situation succeeding only in organizing a "Barbuse" Anti-War Congress last year which did about as much to really end the war, as did the recently terminated Pan-American Congress.

—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

Notes of the Week

WITH HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, the president proved that he stands second to none in that brand of vituperation against the bankers which is at the same time very popular with the broad middle strata of the American people as well as conveniently inexpensive to the vituperative politicians themselves. Such language, coming as it does from the lips of the chief executive standing at the rostrum of the national legislature, makes the amateur demagogues like the Reverend Father Coughlin look like wretched pikers.

Mr. Roosevelt classed the bankers in category (a) among the criminal element of the country. While the menace of the bootleggers and high-jackers (category b.), he felt, was already being offset by the 21st amendment, "stringent preventive measures" were yet required to take care of the former. Yet!—half a year after the much publicized clean-up of the Senate investigation.

An interesting comment on Franklin D.'s latest anti-Wall Street tirade was that of Kingsley Huey Long. The Senator from Louisiana is a fellow knight templar in the same crusade and he ought to be in the know. In reply to a question, Huey remarked: "It was alright... not very specific".

But Mr. Roosevelt could not very well afford to be specific with "stringent preventive measures." Such measures to be genuinely effective, would have to strike at the roots of that selfsame social and economic system which the president himself represents and defends. Of this system of private property and production for profit—"modern society" as he calls it—the head of the government also had some very sharp critical words to say. Also, nothing specific insofar as a solution is concerned. He would eliminate waste, the "ruthless exploitation of labor", speculation with other people's money. He would save "mechanical invention, industrial efficiency, etc." Public works would take care of the millions of unemployed in a generation or so...

A MORE SPECIFIC indication of how all this is to be done is offered in the example of the wood pulp industry, regarding which a bill is to be introduced in the current session of congress. We quote from the press:

"The plan involves putting all our domestic wood-pulp companies out of business for ten years. Their employees would be taken over by the Government to do reforesting instead of idling during that period. The companies themselves would be compensated by payments from the Government equal to their average annual earnings for the past ten years....

"Then the government would import wood pulp from Russia.... These imports would not be paid for in cash but would be credited instead against the Kerenky or such other pre-Soviet debts as the Soviets choose to recognize....

"Final step: The government sells its Russian wood pulp at a price sufficient to cover the costs of the plan....

"Expected results:
(1) Conservation of natural resources in the grand manner.
(2) Recognition and part payment of debts everyone thought were dead.

(3) The wheels of Russian trade speeded up.
(4) American pulp companies would get more money for doing nothing (thereby joining in a body their various presidents, vice-presidents, etc.—Ed.) than they have earned in the past few years.

(5) The labor involved to be employed in constructive projects.
(6) The plan doesn't cost the Government a penny....

(7) American newspapers will get their newspaper cheaper....
(Evening Post, New York, December 28, 1933.)

If the above plan works out, it can then be applied to the debts of the other European countries and provide a solution for all the other industries. "Expected result": Our economic needs being thus taken care of and permitting our retirement from the respective professions, those of us who cannot like the wood pulp workers go in for horticulture and botany, can—to while away our time—take up ping pong, solitaire or Walter Lippman's lectures on the New Deal.

As for the Russians, they can have their fun running those Five Year Plans of industrial construction. (Though, from the example of the wood pulp industry, it cannot be precisely told what they would get out of it.) And Stalin and Molotov may go on, for our part, leading the Soviet congresses in cheers for the propagators of such "courageous" plans.

And the American newspapers—who will "get their newspaper much cheaper"—they can make a go of such a handiwork and continue printing such solutions which will always remain, we fear, even much cheaper than the price of newsprint.

—G. M.

—HARRY ALLEN.

CORRECTION

In the report of the Brownsville meeting in the last issue of the *Militant* a typographical error crept in. The audience was 300 rather than 500.

—G. M.

—PERRY MEYERS.

—G. M.

—G. M.

—G. M.



A Capitalist Budget of 10 Billion Dollars

Debt to Exceed World War Figures; America Pays High Price for World Dominion

President Roosevelt's message to the Seventy-Third Congress calls for a budget of ten billion dollars for the coming fiscal year. Four billion dollars are to meet maturing government obligations; six billion for the current expenditures. This means that the bankers of the country will be able to invest over one and a half billion dollars each month for the next six months in as sound a proposition as can be found under capitalism in its period of decline.

It is estimated that the public debt will rise to thirty billion again, if the President's budget is not chopped to pieces in the house and Senate. Those who support the President's financial program are inviting a comparison of the "recovery" deficit with the World War deficit. The "recovery" deficit is estimated to reach 16 1/2 billion dollars. The expenditures connected with the war, not considering war debts reached the total of 41 billion dollars.

The Price of World Hegemony
The above is just the vulgar economists' way of saying that the price America must pay for world hegemony is very high. It cost over 41 billion to obtain the dominating position in world economy. And now, as the first expenditure, which is by no means the last, it has cost over 16 billion, in the struggle against the other imperialists and the working class of America, to maintain the world position.

In addition to the public debt there are the private debts. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated that private debts for the first crisis year of 1929 reach the figures of a 124 1/2 billion dollars, with interest over 7 billion. The corporations alone had a principal indebtedness of 75 billion. This indebtedness is no problem in periods of prosperity. But when a crisis continues into the fifth year it becomes a major consideration of the whole capitalist class and calls for government "subsidies" through various forms to uphold the tottering economic structure. The vast expenditures through the R. F. C., and other agencies are designed to accomplish this end.

A Class Budget
The budget that calls for an outlay of ten billion this year and six billion next year is a class budget through and through. It is a form of capitalist subsidies, with crumbs for the working class, depending upon the pressure the working class can exert in demanding relief from low wages and unemployment. Instead of social and unemployment insurance, the capitalist government plans an extension of its present methods of handling the working class.

Sixteen billion dollars dumped into the internal market is a worthwhile stimulant for a capitalist breathing spell. At the same time it is an attempt to find a market for capital investment. The question of capital investment is the key problem of American imperialism.

OPEN FORUM EUROPE AFTER ONE YEAR OF HITLER

Recently returned from an extensive visit to Europe and Germany
Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
SUNDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1934
8 P. M.

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
JOSEPH CARTER
Editor of "Young Spartacus"

PELLEY'S SILVER SHIRTS

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles devoted to a study and exposure of the budding fascist movement known as the Silver Shirts of America.)

There is a Fascist movement in America. It is small. It is inconspicuous. It lacks popular protagonists. It has no spokesmen in the accredited capitalist press. It is unknown to most American workers. It does not possess state power and is not represented in any governmental office. BUT IT IS GROWING AND IT DISPOSES OF FINANCES, FREELY GIVEN FROM SOME UNDIVULGED SOURCE.

Fascism in the U. S.
To our knowledge, the outstanding Fascist organization in the United States is the Silver Shirts of America with headquarters at Asheville, North Carolina. The literature and form of organization of this outfit, the men in the leadership and the people in back of it, give us the impression that the Silver Shirts are no fly-by-night gathering like the late but unlamented Khaki Shirts of Philadelphia. If not handled in time, and handled properly, they may become a gruesome menace to the labor and revolutionary movement, to the working class fortresses yet to come.

American Fascism, in the guise of the Silver Shirts, has borrowed its stock-in-trade of propaganda, vituperation, sulphur-and-brimstone denunciation from the Fascism that goes steps on German streets in Brown Shirts. Its creed is not a new one; rabidly anti-semitic, arch-reactionary Communist batters, violently nationalistic, they have been aptly termed "hill-billy Hitlerites."

The Silver Shirts claim to be a national organization. In *Liberation*, their weekly organ they publish an organization chart which divides the country into "nine incorporated units" and claim, pretend or boast to have tens of thousands of members. *Liberation* is a twelve page magazine printed on expensive paper. Beneath the masthead of the magazine is the ostentatious statement, printed in large type, "Edited by William Dudley Pelley."

"The Chief"
Hitler is known as *der Fuehrer*, Mussolini as *Il Duce* and our own William Dudley Pelley...the "Chief." The chief, who is the organizer, inspirer and leader, who is endowed, according to his own admission, with magical, psychical powers to communicate with the dead and the "beyond" by means of "clairvoyance" and "clairaudience," came to his present pre-eminence by a peculiar yet quite logical road.

Up till May 1928, Pelley tells us, he was a "newspaperman", which is only a more euphemistic name for the paid agents of the kept tations statement, printed in large type, "Edited by William Dudley Pelley."

Under the headline, "The Dead are Alive and Organized", he recounts his "miraculous" discoveries:

"First, I have become convinced by my own investigations and experiences that there is no such thing as Death—that life once created cannot die to extinction, that there is one continuous stream of consciousness using many lives for expression, of which physical bodies in a mortal world are the lowest and clumsiest."

"Second, I have become convinced through the training of my psychical faculties, confirmed by messages received by other psychical persons and steadfastly proven by current events, that the outstanding master-brains of the ages—the leaders in religion, statecraft, science and art who have ennobled human society by living in it—have not ceased contact with this earthly sphere... More than this, they have banded themselves together in a vast sublime Lodge of Supernatural Wisdom for a concrete and benevolent earthly purpose. Under the dynamic generalship of Christ, they are contributing their massed intelligence toward the early establishment of an entirely new social order, that shall permanently abolish Ignorance, Depression, Poverty and War." (Pelley's emphasis).

A New Pope
As can be seen from this superstitious clap-trap, refurbished from the childish idiom of the dark ages, Mr. Pelley was no ordinary sky-lark. At one blow Pelley became a pope in his own rights, the direct agent of God and the intermediary

(Continued on page 4)

"Anti-Social Activities"
"Billings," says the Parole Board, "is a second-term prisoner and was active in anti-social activities." Previous statements, emanating from leading spokesmen of the boss class, point to the fact that "anti-social" activities refer to the militant organizational work carried on by Mooney and Billings in the California labor movement prior to America's entry into the war. This Parole Board statement is strikingly similar to remarks of capitalist sycophants to the effect that if Mooney and Billings "couldn't be convicted on the dynamite charges some other charges for indictment would have been found."

Tom Mooney, rejecting an offer for parole, has long ago placed his reliance on mass movement and mass pressure to force a new trial or an exonerating pardon. Billings, on the contrary, recently put his faith in legal action. This decision of the Parole Board has made it quite clear that legal scruples do not concern the American ruling class. He will not even receive a parole on the basis of juridical points.

A Deadly Parallel! Mooney and Billings rot away in the San Quentin and Folsom Bastille while "Sunny Jim" promises to pardon all lynchings.

Under the headline, "The Dead are Alive and Organized", he recounts his "miraculous" discoveries:

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"Second, I have become convinced through the training of my psychical faculties, confirmed by messages received by other psychical persons and steadfastly proven by current events, that the outstanding master-brains of the ages—the leaders in religion, statecraft, science and art who have ennobled human society by living in it—have not ceased contact with this earthly sphere... More than this, they have banded themselves together in a vast sublime Lodge of Supernatural Wisdom for a concrete and benevolent earthly purpose. Under the dynamic generalship of Christ, they are contributing their massed intelligence toward the early establishment of an entirely new social order, that shall permanently abolish Ignorance, Depression, Poverty and War." (Pelley's emphasis).

(Continued on page 4)

Teachers of Green Urges N.Y. in Protest Nazi Boycott

About a thousand teachers responded to the call of the Teachers Union of New York City to demonstrate at City Hall against La Guardia's one-month furlough plan for all city employees which means an 8 and 1/2 per cent wage cut. The demonstration took place on Monday, January 15. It marks a new step in the leftward trend of the policy of the conservative union administration which hitherto frowned on such action.

A delegation of three went inside to see the "Little Napoleon". After some time they came out and re-

(Continued on Page 4)

War Sparks Fly in Far East; Powers Arm

Wall Street Plays Its Own Game in Recognition and Prepares for Coming War in Pacific

Speaking before the Soviet Congress on December 29th, Litvinoff said: "Inasmuch as she herself is deeply interested in the preservation of peace, America has become by contact with our union one of the most powerful factors for peace and is cooperating with us to that end." Further on in his report he added: "It must not be thought that all capitalist governments are aiming at war. For many of them, that is far from being the case, which is why we who earnestly desire peace are eager and ready to cooperate with genuinely pacifist countries—and sections of public opinion in any country, where we find them." (New York Times, December 30th). Among Litvinoff's "genuinely pacifist countries" the United States is apparently to be counted.

Just the day before this report was given President Roosevelt proclaimed at the dinner of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation: "It therefore has seemed clear to me as president that the time has come to supplement and to implement the declaration of President Wilson by the further declaration that the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."

Pacifism to Screen War Aims
Both statements, if taken at face value, are of the kind which can serve only to deceive the working masses. But they should not be taken at face value because neither statement is true.

For President Roosevelt the purpose of his declaration is clear. It is meant to shield the actual preparations now being made for the coming furious imperialist conflicts in which the United States will set out for definite conquests on a large scale.

Coming from Litvinoff the declarations quoted carry a devastating disorientation to the revolutionists who have not yet learned to distinguish between the politics of the Stalin regime and those of Lenin's leadership. We need recall only one paragraph of the resolution adopted at the Bolshevik party Congress on May 9, 1917: "Our party will explain to the people with patience and preciseness the truth that war is always bound up indissolubly with the policies of certain definite classes, that this war may only be terminated by a democratic peace if the government powers of at least some of the belligerent countries are handed over to the class of the proletariat and semi-proletariat who are really capable of putting an end to the bondage of capitalism."

U. S. Imperialist Designs
Notwithstanding Litvinoff's de-

(Continued on page 4)

Teachers of Green Urges Nazi Boycott

Tracing the steps of the German Nazis in taking over the trade unions, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a recent statement called for an intensification of the boycott of German goods and services. While condemning the suppression of the free trade unions, the social democracy and the persecution of the German Jews, Green had not a word to say about the reign of terror against the Communists or the recent Reichstag fire frame-up. Even the exposure by the capitalist press of this infamous trial finds no reflection in Green's statement.

The actual role of the German trade union leaders is well illustrated by a quotation from the May 29th Reports of the International Labour Office (Page 272):

"The Leipzigs and the Grassmanns may hypocritically declare their devotion to Hitler as much as they like, but it is better that they should be in prison."

"Those are the actual works of Dr. Ley" (the head of Hitler's trade union organization).

Green quotes these words without comment.

Green's statement should be utilized as a starting point of a movement in the trade unions against Hitlerism. Not a boycott of German goods—which has little effect on Fascism—but a complete economic and industrial boycott of Nazis Germany, should be the slogan of the militants.

The demand for free, non-Fascist, non-government trade unions should be supplemented by the demand for the freedom of all workers organizations, social democratic as well as revolutionary. Above all at the present time it is urgent to raise the demand for the immediate release of Torgler, Dimitroff, Tanev and Popoff and their safe conduct across the German border.

In some of the larger restaurants the workers were forced to join Local 16 of the A. F. of L. at the threat of losing their jobs. At the Casino de Patee, an exclusive Broadway night club, 60 waiters were locked out when they defied the bosses by joining the Amalgamated. The officials of Local 16 attempted to send waiters from the other Broadway Clubs to the Casino de Patee. The waiters, aroused by the treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, refused to scab as many left Local 16 to join the Amalgamated. The locked out waiters are picketing the Casino de Patee.

Clear the Decks!

Clear the decks for the biggest subscription campaign we have ever conducted!

The circulation of the *Militant* has nearly doubled in recent months. Now we are going after new records with a special price inducement.

Here is the proposition:
25 cents for a six-month's sub in clubs of four!
Four prepaid sub-cards, each good for a six-month's sub, can be secured for one dollar.

Send in your dollar today and sell the cards later to your friend and fellow-workers.

Or, if you lack the dollar to advance, collect the four 25-cent subs and send them in all together with the dollar.

This is a special campaign to increase circulation quickly at the bare cost of producing the extra copies. We are counting on the enthusiastic cooperation of all the old *Militant* Builders and a host of new ones to make a success of the campaign. Before starting out, please note the following points:

1. No bookkeeping, no credit. Cash must accompany all orders.
2. Prepaid sub cards. The special 25c prepaid subs are printed on postcards ready for mailing. All that is needed is to fill in the name of the subscriber and drop it in the mail box.
3. The special rate can be obtained only in clubs of four or more. The regular rate of \$1 per year and 50c for six months remains on all other subscriptions.

4. Every week the *Militant* will print the record of results. This campaign is especially designed to stir individual comrades into action. We want to establish direct contact with all who participate and hope to see the names of many new *Militant* Builders in the weekly report.

5. We want the active Builders to help in the promotion of the campaign by explaining how they work so that we can pass the experience on to others. The Builders Column during this campaign is to be collectively edited by the comrades in the field.

There are no prizes offered in this special campaign and no goal is set at present. The special offer will hold good for only a limited time and we do not want to guess what the result will be. We intend to set a goal, however, and to reach it. The mark we set will be determined in the next week or two on the basis of the response to this appeal and the votes of the active Builders. With your first batch of subs at the special rate send in your proposal for the goal of the campaign.

Various methods can be used in piling up the subs. The one that seems most feasible to us, however, is for individual comrades to put a dollar or more into a revolving fund during the drive. Invest the money in prepaid sub cards, sell them at 25c each and buy another bunch. Keep the dollar working till we bring the new campaign to a successful conclusion.

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

Friday, January 26, 1934, 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place and 15th Street

ADMISSION 15c

Lovestone Discovers Esthonia

The articles in the *Militant* commenting on the pledges made to Roosevelt by Litvinov in return for the recognition of the Soviet Union, struck the Stalinists a stiff and telling blow. By his promise to wipe out the Comintern as a factor in American political life, Litvinov—we asserted—had pledged the Soviet republic to something it had never before yielded to the imperialist bourgeoisie. By this, a flourishing Comintern had not, it is true, been suddenly dissolved. Litvinov had merely—given formal and, so to speak, organizational acknowledgment to a process of political liquidation of the Communist International which has been going on under Stalinist rule for ten years and which is not initiated but only crowned by the latest act of perfidy at Washington.

At that time we challenged the Stalinists to prove their contention that "every single one of these articles in some form or other, has been part of the numerous recognition pacts that the Soviet government has signed during the last ten years with the leading powers of Europe." Had their collective mouths been filled with hot water and a bone stuck in their throat, they could not have been less vocal. They supplemented their silence by sending hands of hoodlums to break up our mass meetings on the subject of Russian recognition.

Attorney for Stalinism

Yet it would be misguided sentiment to pity the Stalinists in their embarrassment. They neither deserve nor require it, for they have a professional champion. Not unlike the ambulance chaser who inflicts his legal services on the victims of misfortune, the head of the Lovestone group is always on the scene with a ready-drawn brief in defense of his unfortunate, unwilling but not entirely ungrateful client, Stalinism.

The *Daily Worker*, writes one of the unretained members of the firm in the current issue of the *Workers Age*, "has as yet made no attempt to answer the hysterical charges of the anti-Soviet demagogues, with Trotsky himself in the lead. It is incapable of making any serious reply because it is so sterile and ideologically servile, that it cannot even defend its own position." Having thus recorded the mental incompetency and irresponsibility of the defendant, he establishes his own role in the case: "As usual, it is left to the Communist Opposition to explain the policies of the Soviet Union and champion them against its enemies and its doubtful friends."

How do the Lovestonites proceed to explain, or rather to explain away, the Stalinist policy with regard to American recognition, and particularly the notorious Paragraph 4 of Litvinov's November 16th letter? Very simply. They offer you a choice. They present two different alibis. And each explanation is diametrically opposed to the other! Who knows? they figure. One of the two ought to work.

"Explaining" Paragraph 4.

The first explanation for Paragraph 4 is given in the form of a learned disquisition by Herberg on "The Foundation of Soviet Diplomacy," in the issue of December 15, 1933. "In 1933," he writes, "the situation is surely quite otherwise" than in 1917-1918. "To talk and act in 1933 as in 1918, would not be Marxism, would not be Communism, but would be the crudest sort of petty bourgeois romantic sentimentalism."

"The essence of the problem can be placed as follows. By 1921 (let us remember the date! Not 1918 but 1921—s.) it had become clear to all who had eyes to see that world capitalism had regained its stability and that its immediate collapse was out of the question. It became clear also that there would ensue a period, longer or shorter, in which the Soviet Union would have to live side by side with the capitalist world, economically and politically."

Propaganda Pledge Is Defended by Stalinist Attorneys

It became incumbent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to revise its foreign as well as domestic course to conform to the new situation.

Explanation No. One, therefore, is that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is not and cannot be the same today as it was in 1918 (or 1921) because of the change in the objective situation. We withhold comment for the moment on the astounding choice which Herberg makes of the date at which world capitalism regained its stability, and merely record the fact that he explains the Litvinov policy at Washington by a now twelve-year-old revision of Soviet foreign policy.

Now comes explanation No. Two, for we are dealing with resourceful attorneys who are not, moreover, tyrus at acrobatics and jugglery either. Without a ball being dropped, Herberg retires and his place is taken in the very next issue of the *Age* by Hackman, whom we quoted above. Two weeks have elapsed between issues and another and is hailed out which directly contradicts the first one. "We have given sufficient proof," Hackman concludes his explanation, "that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin in 1920 and 1921, signed agreements precisely like that which Litvinov has just made with Roosevelt. The 'new situation,' the revision of the foreign policy which Herberg establishes for 1921, is thus ignored by Hackman, it is denied and refuted by him!"

What is Hackman's "sufficient proof"? The Lovestonites have dug deep. To save the tarnished reputation of Stalinism, they must needs and some precedent for Paragraph Four.

And in the quest, the Lovestonites discovered... Esthonia!

The Soviet Treaty with Esthonia

On February 2, 1920 (that is, a year before Herberg's "world capitalism had regained its stability"), the treaty of peace was signed between Esthonia and Russia. In Article 7, Section 5 of the treaty is to be found a paragraph similar to Litvinov's Paragraph Four. On August 11, 1920, the peace treaty between Latvia and Russia was signed, containing an identical paragraph. The Russo-Polish peace treaty of March 18, 1921, even declares that "each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to create or protect organizations which are formed with the object of encouraging armed conflict against the other Contracting Party or of undermining its territorial integrity, or of subverting by force its political or social institutions."

The attorneys have won the case to their own complete satisfaction. They have presented, they assert, "sufficient proof" and are ready to rest their case. "The Communist International," Hackman concludes, "did not thereby receive a death-blow. The world proletariat was

* Soviet foreign (and domestic) policy did indeed undergo an objectively enforced change in the Lenin period—more than one change, in fact. We do not deal with them here only because they do not affect, one way or the other, the fundamental problem of the relationships between the Soviet government, its diplomacy, the Comintern and the world revolution, on one side, and the bourgeois world on the other. Herberg's references to changes introduced in Soviet foreign policy under "Lenin, with the help of Trotsky" are a jesuitical attempt to foist upon the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution the responsibility for the truly fundamental change in Soviet policy introduced by Stalinism—the change towards nationalist degeneration.—S.

not betrayed."

But softly, friends, softly. You who are so good at explanations, be good enough to enlighten us on the following questions which your alibis leave somewhat obscure.

Soviet Policy at Genoa

1. Herberg declares that not Stalin but Lenin and Trotsky "put through this reorientation" in foreign policy which Chicherin voiced at the Genoa conference, and that "it is on the basis of this fundamental viewpoint that Soviet diplomacy has operated for more than a decade and still continues to operate today." At Genoa, the imperialist statesmen demanded of the Russian delegation as a condition for recognition and material assistance that the Comintern be suppressed in Russia. On May 11, 1922, the Russian delegation replied:

"The memorandum demands that Russia should suppress upon her territory all attempts to aid revolutionary movements in other countries. If, however, by this formula the memorandum means to forbid the activities of political parties, or organizations of workers, the Russian delegation cannot accept such a prohibition unless the activities in question transgress the laws of the country."

Question: why did Russia refuse to concede those few "conventional phrases" (Herberg) to the great powers, which could have given it in return greatly needed material aid and political prestige, which were far stronger and in an infinitely better position to press for concessions than a country like Esthonia?

Policy of Tenth Soviet Congress

2. At the Tenth All-Russian Soviet Congress, Kameney declared publicly and officially: "Today, when more than a year and a half have elapsed since Genoa and the Hague, we can say: 'Not only can we not go a single step farther in concessions, but we will henceforth not even make the concessions we offered. I believe that not only our friends but also our foes know quite well that we are realpolitik, and when we assert this, then only because time is working for us, because our position is being consolidated more and more, and the decomposition in the camp of our foes reaches deeper and deeper.'"

Question: If Chicherin refused to concede the suppression of the Comintern at Genoa; and if Kameney solemnly announced a year and a half later that not even the Genoa concessions would be offered any longer; and if his thesis is correct that as Russia grows stronger she will make a still smaller and less important number of concessions—why do Litvinov-Stalin in 1933 (when Russia is declared to be on the very threshold of a classless society!) make precisely that concession which she stubbornly refused to yield in 1922?

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Continued in the next issue

Discussion Article on the NRA

(Continued from last issue)

The contradictions within capitalism which create unemployment—production for profit, and the rugged individualism grown out of it—works against any attempted planned economy under this system. This includes the NRA. President Roosevelt however will not so readily admit the failure of the NRA to stop the vast unemployment. The American people up to now have reacted to conditions by "changing their government" (By voting from Republican to Democrat and Democrat and then back to Republican) the NRA has a political significance to the present administration in Washington.

Conditions, together with the contradictions in capitalism have forced the ruling class to include some measures in the NRA which can serve in the favor of the workers—such as the right to collective bargaining, less hours of work, and the scale of wages where it is satisfactory. The workers must fight to maintain these and see to it that the employers do not use those measures for their own benefit by creating company unions, by finding ways of dodging the shorter work hours, and by making the minimum wage for the maximum. At the same time the masses should be made to understand in a clear and simplified manner that the NRA can not overcome the contradictions which exist in capitalism, or check the crisis. If slogans in reference to the NRA are to be raised, they should come out from this direction after interpreting it correctly, as a measure of bourgeois democracy and not as that of Fascism or the beginning of state capitalism.

JACK LONDON CLUB
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Chelsea, Mass.

Editor *Militant*,

Comrade:

Please insert notice in *Militant* that the J. L. C. is in need of radical literature of all kinds, advising your readers to send this literature to the Jack London Club at the above address.

Executive Committee,
—JACK LONDON CLUB.

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WORKING IN MACY'S MODEL RESTAURANT

In the summer of 1931, R. H. Macy opened their new restaurant on the sixth floor. I was one of the applicants for a position as waitress. We were all given "intelligence tests," and thorough physical examinations. Macy's, unlike other organizations of its kind, does give a thorough physical examination. Every girl hired was strong and physically fit. In spite of this, the work proved too hard and grueling for most of us. Approximately 125 waitresses were hired when the restaurant opened. Six months later there were about 25 girls remaining, who were employed at the same time as I.

"Improvements" Under the NRA

But now R. H. Macy is operating under the NRA and conditions are not the same as in 1931—not at all; they are worse. Wages are less, more work is required from each girl, and the list of restrictions grows longer and longer.

Each waitress is hired to work a certain shift at rates which vary with the number of hours of work, that is, a girl working from 11:30 until 2 P. M. five days a week receives a salary of \$2.50 for the entire week, and an average commission of \$3—a total of \$5.50 for an entire week's work. Girls working from 3:30 to 4:10 get \$10—the highest scale. The working hours are short, but they are the busiest hours of the day. As a matter of fact, in those two and a half hours each waitress works as hard and uses as much energy as some workers do in a whole day.

Under Macy's system of "no tipping" but of charging a service fee of 10 per cent of the amount of the check, the girls in Macy's are "tipped" on the average of six cents per customer, whereas the general average in other restaurants of this type is 10 cents per customer.

The stated hours of work may be from 11:30 to 2:00, but if a customer comes in at 1:59 the waitress must stay until the customer leaves.

All the girls are thus forced to do actual extra waitress duty for about a half hour or more each day.

Discipline and Penalties

The girls are held to the most rigid sort of personal discipline. Every morning they are inspected. They stand at stiff attention in line while several trained disciplinarians look them over. They are required to have well cared for nails, with the proper shade of nail polish, they must wear a certain type of shoe, their hair must be finger-waved, no less, and their uniforms must be immaculate, all at their own cost, of course.

The Macy restaurant clientele being of the "refined" type that does not approve of a great deal of make-up, the restaurant management forbids the use of lipstick. The girls are urged, however, to use rouge to hide an inevitable pallor. The uniforms and the white aprons, collars, and cuffs, which are part of it must be washed, starched and ironed every day. This means an extra hour of work each night, which is somehow overlooked when the pay envelopes are filed.

The tiniest speck on a uniform is sufficient excuse to levy punishment. The terrible offenders may be punished by being sent to work in the kitchen, for which they receive \$3 cents for the entire day, or else they may be sent home altogether and lose their salary and commission for the entire day. By a strange coincidence the greatest number of specks appears on the slowest days, and many a girl is "reluctantly" sent home to learn to keep her uniform clean in the future.

II.

The restaurant has a seating capacity of seven hundred. A waitress must make an average of four trips to and from the kitchen for each customer or group of customers, and if there are any special requests, or mistakes, another trip or so. The front tables are about a block from the kitchen. Waitresses "take turns" on the different tables. On the weeks when a girl has the front tables, her commissions are negligible, because it takes so much longer to wait on each customer at these tables. It is not possible to serve more than a few.

The "Steady Extra" Racket

Recently there has been installed a vicious system which places an added pressure on waitresses. Girls are hired as "steady extras." They receive no salary, but get the service charge for each customer waited on. They cover no regular tables, but may wait on any customer, and this is where the regular waitress must work fast so that her customers won't be grabbed by the extras.

These extras are absolutely heartless in taking orders from the waitresses. "Orders from above," they say. The bitterness existing among

the waitresses as a result of this system is not against the organization which imposes it upon them, but against the extras, workers like themselves. Meanwhile, there is a constant rivalry between them to beat each other to the orders which leaves them physically and mentally exhausted at the end of the two-hour rush period.

In the summer months the restaurant is stifling hot, and the kitchen, of course, far worse. I have seen more than one girl waiting in the kitchen for her orders fall over in a dead faint.

No Bus Boys

There are no bus boys. Waitresses must clear and set their tables. They may not enter the kitchen with an empty or half-filled tray. "If your own tables are cleared, another table that isn't can always be found," says Rule II. This rule is more important at Macy's than the Ten Commandments, and is rigidly enforced. Girls are often forced to walk across the entire restaurant to find enough dirty dishes to allow them to enter the kitchen.

The waitresses are not the only ones who suffer in this restaurant. Part of the tray girls' job is to bring silver and water pitchers to the tables. These trays weigh from 25 to 40 pounds. The tray girls are supposed to be 17 years old. My guess is that some of these kids are even younger. The average stay at Macy's of a tray girl is between two and three weeks.

Fainting spells and illness among this group of youngsters are more frequent even than among the waitresses.

This wage scale is subject to no additions such as commissions. This is all they can earn. Carrying water and silver used to be their only job, but now, under the NRA they are forced to show their patriotism by cleaning tables, setting them up, and taking orders, just as any waitress, but without any commissions. (These particular commissions go

to the "house"). None of the girls is allowed meals as part of her salary. But if a girl comes in early enough she is allowed one roll and one cup of coffee. Those who have this meagre breakfast have nothing else until they go off duty. Those who come in a few minutes later, unless they have had breakfast out, also have nothing until they go off duty.

Macy's "Mutual" Benefit.

All salaries are subject to compulsory deductions. A certain percentage is taken off each month to pay M. M. A. dues (Macy Mutual Aid). This "mutual" benefit works in a mysterious manner. M. M. A. dues are deducted very soon after employment, but in order to receive the benefits you must have been with R. H. Macy & Company for six consecutive months.

Sick employees under the M. M. A. may receive two-thirds of their salary each week during their illness, starting from the fifth day of their illness, or part payment of their hospital and doctor fees. No payments continue longer than six months, no matter how sick the employee is.

Sick Workers Not Rehired.

If an employee is sick for four days or less, she receives nothing from the M. M. A. If and when she recovers from a long illness, she cannot be rehired at Macy's. Nobody is ever rehired after a 155g illness—just one of the great store's "unadvertised specials."

The intense rivalry among the employees of the restaurant because of the conditions under which they work makes difficult any expression of solidarity among these workers. They are played off against one another in the selfish interests of their employer. The elaborate spy system, about which another article might be written, is ever present in the entire store. These workers need the message of unionism badly. Outside help and advice are sorely needed.

—MACY WORKER.

The Railroad Brotherhoods

The "Obligation" as a Gaglaw

V. All of the railroad unions who use the ritualistic and secret work—and nearly all of them do—also use what is commonly known as the "obligation" which is administered to the newly admitted member when he joins the union. And when there are several new members initiated, practically the entire time of the meeting is taken up in administering the obligation to each member and rehearsing the rest of the "secret" work.

There was some excuse for the early pioneers in railroad unionism believing that the obligation served the organization as an added measure of protection. The same was true about the secret work. Both were still, they change continually and present conditions call for a far obligations and performing secret ceremonies.

Destructive Role of Secret Work

The fact of the matter is that obligations, as well as the rest of the secret work in use in the railroad unions, have outlived their usefulness, and they now play a most destructive role. These obligations now serve the Brotherhood Officials very effectively in gagging the members. The obligation is but part of the gagrule system in the Brotherhoods behind which their official bureaucrats entrench themselves against the rank and file. For instance, to illustrate in a practical way how the obligation is used by the labor officials to cover up their misdeeds we will cite a concrete example!

A member was expelled from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers because he protested the flotation and levy, by the B. of L. E. officials, of a Ten Million dollar "Loyalty Loan" plus a Five Dollar monthly assessment for 120 months on all those members who declined to subscribe for the loyalty loan. The member in question took the position, that before such enormous tribute was levied on the B. of L. E. membership by its officials the members were entitled to an itemized statement which would definitely show the nature and kind of bills the members were called upon to pay. The fact of the matter was that the members were assessed all those millions for the personal benefit of the officials and their B. of L. E. officials themselves.

The member who fought against this wholesale looting of a labor union by its officials was found guilty of violation of the obligation and expelled for the following reasons: 1st, he had taken a "solenn" obligation not to injure the B. of L. E.; 2nd, the B. of L. E. of

ficials, the very ones who robbed the organization, ruled that in obstructing the flotation and levy of the Loyalty Loan and Assessment he had intended to injure the organization and had therefore, violated his obligation.

This is just one of the hundreds of cases which could be cited to show how the obligation works and how it is used by labor officials to hold the rank and file in check. That is precisely why all labor officials favors the obligation as well as the secret work.

The Obligation Never Affects The Officials

It might be well to add here that, although the B. of L. E. officials brought the organization to the very brink of ruin by fraud and mismanagement, not one of them has been expelled for violation of obligation.

Workers do not belong to labor unions and pay their dues there because of any obligation. They do these things because the workers in growing numbers are gradually learning that it is to their interest to act in an organized manner in dealing with the bosses.

Instead of wasting our time in repeating foolish obligations and secret work at our union meetings we should discuss the necessity and importance of workers being well organized in every industry. Whether workers know it or not, they belong to organized labor for the personal benefit and protection which they receive or expect to receive and not on account of any obligation they took when entering the union.

Whether the so-called obligation ever served a useful purpose or not in our trade union make-up is not important for us now. What vitality concerns us at present is, that the obligation serves the labor bureaucrats as a vicious gag-law to stifle the expression of the membership. Every progressive railroad worker should raise these questions and discuss them in the Lodge, Union Meeting, and Convention and there point out and explain the destructive effect of these obligations as well as all other ritualistic work in the Lodge or Division room. Motions and resolutions should be introduced at every opportunity calling for the abolition of all "obligations" and secret work in our unions.

WHY WORKERS' UNITY?

Speaker:
JOSEPH CARTER

Friday Evening, Jan. 19, 1934, 8 p.m.

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THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from the last issue)

"State Capitalism"

During the last period, Urbahns, incidentally, has created a new theory: the Soviet economic structure, it appears, is a variety of "state capitalism". The "progress" lies in that Urbahns has descended from his terminological exercises in the sphere of the political superstructure down to the economic foundation. But this descent—alas!—did him no good.

According to Urbahns, the newest form of self-defense of the bourgeois regime is state capitalism: one need only take a look at the corporate "planned" state in Italy, Germany, and the United States. Accustomed to broad gestures, Urbahns also throws in here the U. S. S. R. We shall speak of this later. Insofar as the matter touches the capitalist states, Urbahns concerns himself with a very important phenomenon of our epoch. Monopoly capital has long since outgrown both the private ownership of the means of production and the boundaries of the national state. Paralyzed, however, by its own organizations, the working class was unable to free in time the productive forces of society from their capitalist fetters. Hence arises the protracted epoch of economic and political convulsions. The productive forces pound against the barriers of private property and of national boundaries. The bourgeois governments are obliged to pacify the mutiny of their own productive forces with a police club. This is what constitutes the so-called "planned economy". Insofar as the state attempts to harness and discipline capitalist anarchy, it may be called conditionally "state capitalism".

But we should remember that originally Marxists understood by state capitalism only the independent economic enterprises of the state itself. When the reformists dreamed of overcoming capitalism by means of the municipalization or governmentalization of ever greater numbers of transport and industrial enterprises, the Marxists used to reply in refutation: this is not socialism but state capitalism. Subsequently, however, this concept acquired a broader meaning, and begun to apply to all the varieties of state intervention into economy; the French use the word "étatisme" (statification) in this sense.

But Urbahns not only expounds the travails of "state capitalism"—he appraises them after his own manner. Insofar as it is generally possible to understand him, he pronounces the regime of "state capitalism" to be a necessary and, moreover, a progressive stage in the development of society, in the same sense as trusts are progressive compared with the disparate enterprises. So fundamental an error in appraising capitalist planning is enough to bury any approach whatsoever.

While, during the epoch of the capitalist upswing to which the war put an end, it was possible to view—under certain political pre-conditions—the various forms of statification as progressive manifestations, that is, consider that state capitalism acts to lead society forward and facilitates the future economic labor of the proletarian dictatorship; the present "planned economy" must be viewed as a stage that is reactionary through and through: state capitalism strives to tear economy away from the world wide division of labor, to adapt the productive forces to the Procrustean bed of the national state; to constrict production artificially in some branches and to create just as artificially other branches by means of enormous unprofitable expenditures. The economic policies of the present state—beginning with tariff walls upon the ancient Chinese pattern and ending with the episodes of forbidding the use of machinery under Hitler's "planned economy"—attain an unstable regulation at the cost of causing the national economy to decline, bringing chaos into world relations, and completely disrupting the monetary system which will be very much needed for socialist planning. The present state capitalism neither prepares nor lightens the future work of the socialist state, but, on the contrary, creates for it colossal additional difficulties. The proletariat let slip a series of opportune periods for the seizure of power. Through this it has created the conditions for Fascist barbarism—in politics; and for the destructive work of "state capitalism"—in economy. After the conquest of power, the proletariat will have to pay economically for its political lapses.

The Economy of the U.S.S.R.

However, what interests us most within the limits of this analysis is the circumstance that Urbahns attempts to include also the economy of the U. S. S. R. under the term "state capitalism." And while so doing he refers—it is hardly believable!—to Lenin. There is only one possible way of explaining this reference: as the eternal inventor who creates a new theory a month, Urbahns has no time to read the books he refers to. Lenin did actually apply the term "state capitalism" but not to the Soviet economy as a whole, only to a certain section of it: the foreign concessions, the mixed industrial and commercial companies, and, in part, to the peasant, and largely kulak co-operatives under state control. All these are indubitable elements of capitalism; but since they are controlled by the state, and even function as mixed companies through its direct participation, Lenin conditionally, or, according to his own expression "in quotes", called these economic forms, "state capitalism". The conditioning of this term depended upon the fact that a proletarian, and not a bourgeois state was involved; the quotation marks were intended to stress just this difference of no little importance. However, insofar as the proletarian state allowed private capital and permitted it within definite restrictions to exploit the workers, it shielded bourgeois relations under one of its wings. In this strictly limited sense, one could speak of "state capitalism."

Lenin came out with this very term at the time of the transition to the NEP, when he presupposed that the concessions and the "mixed companies", that is, enterprises based upon the correlation of state and private capital, would occupy a major position in Soviet economy alongside of the pure state trusts and syndicates. In contradistinction to the state capitalist enterprises,—concessions, etc., that is—Lenin defined the Soviet trusts and syndicates as "enterprises of a consistently socialist type." Lenin envisioned

The Class Nature of the Soviet State - by Leon Trotsky

the subsequent development of Soviet economy, of industry in particular, as a competition between the state capitalist and the pure state enterprises.

We trust that is clear now within what limits Lenin used this term which has led Urbahns into temptation. In order to round out the theoretical catastrophe of the leader of the "Lenin (!) Bund", we must recall that contrary to Lenin's original expectations neither the concessions nor the mixed companies played any appreciable role whatsoever in the development of Soviet economy. Nothing has now remained generally of these "state capitalist" enterprises. On the other hand, the Soviet trusts whose fate appeared so very murky at the dawn of the NEP underwent a gigantic development in the years after Lenin's death. Thus, if one were to use Lenin's terminology conscientiously and with some comprehension of the matter, one would have to say that the Soviet economic development passed by completely the stage of "state capitalism", and unfolded along the channel of the enterprises of the "consistently socialist type".

Here, however, we must also forestall any possible misunderstandings, and this time of just the opposite character. Lenin chose his terms with precision. He called the trusts not socialist enterprises, as the Stalinists now label them, but enterprises of the "socialist type". Under Lenin's pen, this subtle terminological distinction implied that the trusts will have the right to be called socialist not by type, not by tendency, that is; but by their genuine content, after the rural economy will have been revolutionized; after the contradiction between the city and the village will have been destroyed; after men will have learned to fully satisfy all human wants; in other words, only in proportion as a real socialist society would arise on the bases of nationalized industry and collectivized rural economy. Lenin conceived that the attainment of this goal would require the successive labors of two or three generations, and moreover, in indissoluble connection with the development of the international revolution.

To summarize. Under state capitalism, in the strict sense of the word, we must understand the management of industrial and other enterprises by the bourgeois state on its own account, or the "regulating" intervention of the bourgeois state into the workings of private capitalist enterprises. By state capitalism "in quotes" Lenin meant the control of the proletarian state over private capitalist enterprises and relations. Not one of these definitions applies from any side to the present Soviet economy. It remains a deep secret what concrete economic content Urbahns himself puts into his understanding of the Soviet "state capitalism". To put it plainly, his newest theory is entirely built around a badly read quotation.

Bureaucracy and the Ruling Class

There is, however, also another theory concerning the "non-proletarian" character of the Soviet state, much more ingenious, much more cautious, but not any more serious. The French social democrat Lucien Laurat, Blum's colleague and Souvarine's teacher, has written a booklet defending the view that the Soviet society, being neither proletarian nor bourgeois, represents an absolutely new type of a class organization, because the bureaucracy not only rules over the proletariat politically but also exploits it economically, devouring that surplus value which hitherto fell to the lot of the bourgeoisie. Laurat invests his revelations with the weighty formulae of *Das Kapital*, and, in this manner gives an appearance of profundity to his superficial and purely descriptive "sociology". The compiler is obviously unaware that his entire theory had been formulated, only with much more fire and splendor, over thirty years ago by the Russo-Polish revolutionist Makhaisky, who was superior to his French vulgarizer in that he awaited neither the October revolution nor the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to define "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a scaffold for the commanding posts of an exploiting bureaucracy. But even Makhaisky did not suck his theory out of his thumb: he only "deepened" sociologically and economically the anarchistic prejudices against state socialism. Makhaisky, by the way, also utilized Marx's formulae but in a manner much more consistent than Laurat's: according to Makhaisky, the author of *Das Kapital* covered up, with malice aforethought, in his formulae of reproduction (volume II), that portion of surplus value which would be devoured by the socialist intelligentsia (the bureaucracy).

In our own time, a "theory" of this kind, but without an exposure of Marx, the exploiter, was defended by Myasnikov who proclaimed that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had been supplanted by the hegemony of a new class: the social bureaucracy. In all probability, Laurat borrowed his theory, directly or indirectly, precisely from Myasnikov, investing it only with a pedantically "learned" air. For completeness sake it should also be added that Laurat has assimilated all the mistakes (and only the mistakes) of Rosa Luxemburg, among them even those that she herself had renounced.

Let us, however, examine more closely the "theory" itself. The class has an exceptionally important and moreover a scientifically restricted meaning to a Marxist. A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political technique of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes every class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with ruling economic class, feeding itself upon

the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it.

Class Exploitation and Social Parasitism

Laurat will say that he "does not object" to the bureaucracy being paid for its labor insofar as it fulfills the necessary political, economic, and cultural functions; but what is involved is its uncontrolled appropriation of an absolutely disproportionate part of the national income: precisely in this sense does it appear as the "exploiting class". This argument, based on undubitable facts, does not, however, change the social physiognomy of the bureaucracy.

Always and in every regime, the bureaucracy devours no small portion of surplus value. It might not be uninteresting, for example, to compute what portion of the national income is devoured by the Fascist locusts in Italy or Germany! But this fact, of no small importance by itself, is entirely insufficient to transform the Fascist bureaucracy into an independent ruling class. It is the hiring of the bourgeoisie. True, this hiring straddles the boss's neck, tears from his mouth at times the juiciest pieces, and spits on his bald spot besides. Say what you will, a most inconvenient hiring! But, nevertheless, only a hiring. The bourgeoisie abides with him because without him, it and its regime would absolutely go to the dogs.

Mutatis Mutandis (changing what should be changed), what has been said above can be applied to the Stalinist bureaucracy as well. It devours, wastes, and embezzles a considerable portion of the national income. Its management costs the proletariat very dearly. In the Soviet society, it occupies an extremely privileged position not only in the sense of having political and administrative prerogatives but also in the sense of possessing enormous material advantages. Still, the biggest apartments, the juiciest steaks, and even Rolls Royces are not enough to transform the bureaucracy into an independent ruling class.

Inequality, moreover, such crying inequality, would, of course, be absolutely impossible in a socialist society. But contrary to official and semi-official lies the present Soviet regime is not socialist but transitional. It still bears within it the monstrous heritage of capitalism, social inequality in particular, not only between the bureaucracy and the proletariat, but also within the bureaucracy itself and within the proletariat. At the given stage, inequality still remains, within certain limits, the bourgeois instrument of socialist progress: differential wages, bonuses, etc., as stimuli for emulation.

While it explains the inequality, the transitional character of the present system now justifies those monstrous, open, and secret privileges that have been arrogated to themselves by the uncontrolled tops of the bureaucracy. The Left Opposition did not await the revelations of Urbahns, Laurat, Souvarine and Simone Weil*, etc., before announcing that the bureaucracy in all its manifestations is pulling apart the moral tie-rods of the Soviet society; engendering an acute and a lawful dissatisfaction among the masses; and preparing the ground for great dangers. Nevertheless, the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations, peculiar to it as a "class", but from those property relations which have been created by the October revolution, and which are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with class exploitation, in the scientific sense of the word, but with social parasitism, although on a very large scale. During the middle ages the clergy constituted a class or an estate, insofar as its rule depended upon a specific system of land property and forced labor. The present day church constitutes not an exploiting class but a parasitic corporation. It would be silly to actually speak of the American clergy as a special ruling class; yet, it is indubitable that the priests of the different colors and denominations devour in the United States a big portion of the surplus value. In its traits of parasitism, the bureaucracy, as well as the clergy, approximates to the lumpen-proletariat, which likewise does not represent, as is well known, an independent "class".

* Having fallen into despair over the "unsuccessful" experiments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Simone Weil has found solace in a new vocation: the defense of her personality against society. The hoary formula of liberalism, vivified with cheap anarchistic exaltation! And think of it—Simone Weil speaks loftily about our "illusions". She and those like her require many years of stubborn perseverance in order to free themselves from the most reactionary lower middle class prejudices. Appropriately enough her new views have found a haven in an organ that bears the obviously ironic name, "The Proletarian Revolution". This London publication is ideally suited for revolutionary melancholics, and political rentiers living on the dividends from their capital or collections, and pretentious philosophers who will perhaps adhere to the revolution... after it will have been achieved.

(To be continued)

NOTES OF A JOURNALIST

By Alpha

KOLTZOV IN PARIS

By means of telegraphic dispatches from Paris, Koltzov, the correspondent of the *Pravda*, keeps the Russian workers informed about the course of the Leipzig Trial. Here is what he writes:

"The former Trotskyite, the present Nazi deputy to Reichstag, Karwahne takes the witness stand. His present role befits his past most properly.... What is most remarkable about Karwahne's deposition is that it is entirely devoted to the defense of the position of the Trotskyite Katz group who fought, if you please, against the impossible internal regime of the German Communist Party, a Fascist deputy championing Trotskyite theses during a Fascist trial and in the presence of Communist fighters who are being condemned to death—there you have the proper and befitting harvest that has sprung from the seeds of Trotskyite teachings!"

Stalinists by tens of thousands have deserted and are deserting to National-Socialism. Many of them passed in review during the Leipzig trial as witnesses. Among the renegades, of course, there could have been a former Left Oppositionist. But neither the group of Ivan Katz nor Karwahne ever had the slightest connection with "Trotskyism". Karwahne renounced not only the ideas of the Communist party of which he was one time a member but also the semi-anarchist ideas of Ivan Katz's group. Koltzov, however, refuses to forgive Karwahne his past. Koltzov is adamant as regards the past. Is it, perhaps, because his own past is not entirely unblemished?

No; that is not the reason why. Koltzov is the consummation of the type of appointed careerists. During the period of the October revolution he was the most rabid foe of the Bolsheviks; during the years of the Civil War he prowled in the Ukraine working for Petlura's and other white-guardist papers. After the Red Army had cleared the Whites out of the Ukraine, he arrived in Moscow. Knowing full well that he had no choice, Koltzov offered his sprightly pen to the services of the proletarian dictatorship (naturally with the proviso that he receive rooming quarters and a privileged pyok — rations-card). The then editor of the *Pravda* Bucharin was in a considerable quandry. "His pen is sprightly enough—said he—but his personality is awfully dirty."

After the inception of the Left Opposition, Koltzov did not know for a long time which way to turn, and he tried to secure himself with both camps. Moreover, because of his congenital make-up, he had become very much accustomed to wag his tail before Sosnovsky, the outstanding and most influential of Soviet journalists. The moment the leaders of the Left Opposition were sent into exile (December 1927), Koltzov began spreading gossip about Sosnovsky in order to purify himself completely in the eyes of the rulers.

He did not get off scot-free. Sosnovsky's wife slapped his face in the Bolshoi Theatre at Moscow. Not only the Left Oppositionists but even the most hide-bound bureaucrats welcomed warmly the "gesture" of the energetic revolutionist; everybody without exception concurred that never had a slap in the face reached its destination so expeditiously and so appropriately.

After this bit of biographical information, we trust that Koltzov's Parisian communications regarding the "Trotskyism" of Karwahne will not require any further commentaries.

A PUMPKIN IN THE DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

The *Pravda* falls into raptures describing how a director in charge of a plant producing precision instruments is busy at the same time with a garden, a dairy, and a rabbit farm and so forth. "This summer—writes the newspaper during the drought, the workers at the close of the working day came to the gardens of the Sovkhoz with their spades and watered... the plants, in order to save them from withering away." We are here told about a factory garden. But what happens in this event, to the 7-hour working day? The *Pravda*, still enraptured, reports the results of the double labor: "the factory kitchens will be completely supplied with vegetables... no small portion of the crop will be allotted to the workers for individual use." What a fearful tenseness in the foodstuffs situation peeps out at us from this pathetic article!

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EDITORIAL

The Great American Skin-Game

WHEN Roosevelt said in a speech on the radio that all the steps taken under his administration fit consistently into a general program, he was right in one respect. Even if some of the shots miss fire, there is no doubt of their aim and purpose—that is, to lift American capitalism out of the crisis at the expense of its imperialist rivals abroad and the workers at home. Every item of the program is designed to work in one or both of these directions, usually both.

The monetary policy is the latest illustration. Despite conflicting interests in the camp of the exploiters, the general interest of the dominant section is served at the present moment by lowering the gold content of the dollar. The 60-cent dollar is calculated to give American capitalists a weapon in their assault on the world market—the cheaper dollar reduces the price of American goods in terms of foreign currencies and cuts under the foreign competitors. At the same time the new monetary policy reduces the real wages of the workers and lowers the cost of production—a necessary measure to strengthen the competing power of American capital in the world market.

The Roosevelt technique combines a ruthless aggression in the service of the imperialist masters with the most elaborate deception of the masses. The NRA, a trap for the workers and a death blow to a large section of little business people, is put through as a Magna Charta of the "people". Huge naval appropriations and elaborate preparations for war are accompanied by a sudden flood of tear-jerking pacifist oratory. Sermons on the "forgotten man" precede—and follow—the attacks on real wage standards, as denunciations of the "money-changers" go along with new concessions to the big sharks of finance.

Roosevelt has helpers in this game. The official labor leaders testify to his friendship for labor and hail him as the heaven-sent champion. Liberals swear by his fairness. And, to our shame, the representatives of the Soviet Union certify to his pacifist intentions.

There is no use denying the effectiveness of Roosevelt's methods of fooling the people. His skill in this respect is no small part of his value to the ruling class of America. Barnum, who made a lifetime business of fooling suckers, was a clumsy amateur beside the presidential expert in the great American skin-game.

The Expulsions in Local 9

RECENT events in Local 9 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union bring a burning question of trade union policy to the fore. The entire executive board of the local has been removed from office after a trial by the General Executive Board of the International and the individual members of the local board are barred from holding office for two years.

Such violent infringements by reactionary officials on the autonomy of Left wing locals are an old story in the labor movement and have to be expected. The labor agents of the bosses would not be true to their mission if they did not resort to such measures against the militants. What is new and instructive in the Local 9 affair is the ground given for the removal. The members of the local executive board were charged with allegiance to the Needle Trades Industrial Union. They were accused of working in the International under the instructions of the Stalinist union. On this ground, with the help of such "evidence" as the Stalinist leaders supplied, by their concrete acts as well as by their known policy, the local board members were found guilty and removed from office.

The violation of the democratic rights of local organizations to choose their own officials is an issue which ought to rouse the rank and file against the reactionary usurpers. Under normal conditions such an issue can be one of the most effective means of struggle against them. This has been so in the past

history of the needle trades, and not only there. A Left wing which stands on firm ground and follows a correct policy can make the labor fakers pay dearly for trespassing on the rights of the rank and file.

Why is it so in this case? What enables Dubinsky to override the local with impunity without fearing a revolt in the other locals? The answer is clear. The Left wing does not stand on firm ground. Their connection, directly or indirectly with the Industrial Union, lays them wide open to the accusation that they are working in the International only for the purpose of splitting off little sections. This is the known policy of the Stalinists. For this purpose they maintain their paper organization.

Such a course is fatal for the Left wing militants in the International. It is impossible to work effectively in one union in the interest of a rival, especially a discredited rival that has no real basis to exist. This, to the workers, means more splits, and they have had enough of that for the present. Such a course only compromises the militants and provides the reactionaries with all the pretexts they need to break up the Left wing crystallization and remove its representatives in the union apparatus.

The hopeless position of the Left wing in this case, which rules it out of the possibility to organize a real fight against the arbitrary actions of the bureaucrats, is another horrible example of Stalinist bankruptcy in the trade union movement. Also—it is another warning of the necessity to make a clean break with the Left wing can begin serious work inside the International.

The loss of the executive board in Local 9 by a mere order of the bureaucrats is a serious blow. But if it leads the Left wing workers to examine closely into the reasons for this defeat and to discard the tactics which made it so easily possible the lesson will be worth all its cost and more. Every new experience leads to the same conclusion: The condition for the revival of a genuine Left wing in the needle trades unions is a complete break with the suicidal policy of Stalinism.

The Sixty-Cent Dollar

AMONG the blessings which the "New Deal" has showered down upon the American workers, the 60-cent dollar takes now a place. It is not enough for the dollars in the pay envelope to be fewer; they are now also to be smaller—almost by half.

On top of the direct wage cuts which have so fearfully reduced the income of the employed workers, there is now to be added an indirect wage cut of devastating proportions. The unemployed, half subsisting on the relief lists must suffer a drastic cut in the purchasing power of paltry relief allowances. However Roosevelt's manipulations with the monetary system may work out in other respects, the devaluation of the dollar cannot fail to have the immediate effect of depressing the real wages of the workers.

Every form of inflation works this way. But Roosevelt's move to cheapen the dollar strikes at the workers with exceptional force because it does not stand alone as a single measure; it follows and is tied up with other measures in the "New Deal" program which will obstruct the instinctive movement to raise the money wages proportionally. Under the NRA codes wages have been fixed at a low level on the basis of the old dollar values. These codes provide the employers in advance with a form of legal sanction and governmental authority to resist any demand for wage increases to compensate for the depreciation of the dollar.

The working masses who have taken Roosevelt at his word and trusted him as their friend are due for a double disappointment. When they draw their wages in 60-cent dollars the fine speeches, which raised such hopes, will begin to sound like a mockery. And then, when the workers begin the unavoidable fight for a readjustment of the money wages, they will find that the NRA, with all its codes and complicated machinery, stands in the way. The masses thought the NRA was designed for their benefit and protection. This was an unfounded idea. In the next period there will be even less ground for any illusion in this respect.

LABOR LEADERS AND NRA

The A. F. of L. has issued its annual business review which claims three gains for the workers under the NRA. At the same time the statement criticizes the NRA for not giving the labor leaders greater representation in the bodies set up by the code apparatus. The A. F. of L. report says that the gains have been: greater employment, shorter hours and increase in pay. The statement adds that the workers are "better organized to handle their problems and share in industrial control than they were last year."

The three gains are qualified with a few ifs and buts which do not add clarity. No conclusions have been drawn by the statement regarding the relation of the working class to the NRA. In fact many bank reports have presented labor's problems with greater clarity.

Basic Problem Unouched

The report says that 1,800,000 laborers have been put back to work. But they do not state at what weekly wage. We know that the great majority of those who returned to work have been placed on the minimum wage rate. Others are on piece work with weekly earnings far below the blanket code minimum. Four and a half million have been given temporary work under the Civil and Public works programs. The report fails to explain that this is just another form of work-relief. These millions were taken off the relief list and were compelled to work for the equivalent of relief in order to carry them through the winter. The basic problem of unemployment under the capitalist system, the return of the workers to industry, has not been solved. The basic problem is not even touched.

Reduction in Real Wages

The hourly wage increase is reported to be 5¢ cents, and is qual-

ified by the fact that this has not compensated for the shorter hours nor the rise in prices. The report also informs us that wage gains have been made by low-paid workers but that workers with a higher wage rate have been forced to a lower living standard. What the report fails to say is the following: That the rise in money wages coincided with a reduction in real wages due to the increase of prices of the essentials. Further, the number of high paid workers forced to a lower standard of living outweigh the number of low paid workers who obtained a slight increase.

The main point, however, is entirely missed or covered up in the A. F. of L. report. Granting for the moment that some of the workers can register a small gain in hours, wages and employment, even though the rest of the class has sunk lower, the fact remains that this "gain" is a cheap price for the capitalists to pay to keep the workers in check while they distribute billions for their own class at the same time. The NRA and all of the internal measures for recovery, as well as the proposed eleven billion dollar budget, are for the benefit of capitalist class. Naturally, they can afford to pay the price of a few crumbs to the working class in order to be left in peace to find a way out of the crisis. The A. F. of L. leaders help the capitalists in this game.

Green Appeals to Capitalists

The A. F. of L. report devotes a couple of paragraphs to the wage slave; the rest is a warning to the capitalist class. Not a warning that the A. F. of L. will lead the workers in struggle against the capitalists, but a warning that the capitalists had better be careful lest the workers get out of control. And the best way to keep the workers

in control is to give us, the labor leaders, more of a hand in the affairs of the NRA and "industrial control". Such is Green's basic argument.

The report warns the capitalists that they had better get busy and not let the government take the whole initiative. Roosevelt knows how to use Green and Company—so why not you, the capitalists? The report warns against currency inflation but has praise for the other forms of inflation being carried out. The report ends by begging the capitalists and their government to give labor representation on the mechanism established with each code adopted. The A. F. of L. leaders desire to extend the present methods of class collaboration used by the NRA.

Role of Labor Leaders in N. R. A.

They were allowed in the first committees which were established to muffle and beat down the first strike wave. They did their job well and are reserved a place to prevent strikes and to break them. The capitalists needed them for this job and allow them to continue in this position. The A. F. of L. report is a plea for the extension of these "privileges" in the government machinery. The capitalists will grant such an extension when the need for it is clear to them, that is when the class storms break out more turbulently.

To the A. F. of L. leaders' policy of class collaboration should be counterposed the workers' struggle for the organization and recognition of shop committees in every establishment. Shop committees, in conjunction with trade unions, fighting on the basis of the class struggle, constitute the apparatus which should be counterposed to the class-collaboration apparatus defended by Green & Co.

—HUGO OEHLER.

War Sparks Fly in the Far East

(Continued from page 1)

clarations to the contrary, the time has come particularly to emphasize that in the actual and now much more open maneuvers and preparations for military conquests of new markets, for the redivision of the world, American imperialism plays the dominant part. It is already laying the basis to become the greatest aggressor. At breathtaking speed it is moving forward to the point where the ordinary imperialist pillage and thievery coupled with increasing political intervention becomes transformed into conquest by other means—by means of the most ingenious war implements modern industry can devise.

That is the only correct explanation to the Roosevelt naval construction program for an American Navy "second to none." By September 1 last year a total of 39 war ships, to cost \$238,000,000 had been contracted for; construction began immediately under the aegis of the "New Deal". That is also the explanation of the discovery by General McArthur, chief-of-staff, that the strength of the American army is far below the ordinary margin of safety.

The Game of American Imperialism
Those who control affairs in the United States pursue their own aims toward the Soviet Union and in relation to the Far East. No one should be deceived by the alleged peaceful intentions of Soviet recognition. It was calculated on gaining access to the huge Soviet market. But as far as the American government is concerned it was also hastened by the unbridled advance of the Japanese in Manchuria. Japanese imperialism puts its claws into a juicy morsel covering some 500,000 square miles, a land rich in natural resources and having a population of 40,000,000. Recent reports from the Far East reveal that in the North China market American trade is now below 15% of the total at Tientsin as compared to 42.2% in 1929 while the Japanese trade accounts for more than 40% of the total.

In which direction is Japan headed? It is pilfering sniping, intimidating and terrorizing at the Soviet border. Its military forces are pointed toward the maritime province of Vladivostok. But in any event it will also pursue the objective of further entrenchment in China. There it will encounter in the main the opposition of the United States.

The U. S. Versus Japan

China is today the most coveted booty. The fewer countries that are left in the world today into which the imperialist powers can export capital profitably, that is, colonies and dependent nations, the more bitter is the fight for the subjugation and partition of such nations. It is a life and death matter for American imperialism to find these fields for greater subjugation and partition. Hence its attention is now turning more directly to the Far East.

The Japanese imperialist diplomats and military leaders understand this perfectly well. They never fail to make it clear. They never fail to mention the role of the United States in the same breath when they hurl insults against the Soviet Union. Their statements abound in belligerence. General Araki, the fire eating supreme leader of present day Japanese affairs, declared recently before the Japanese Supreme War Council that China is being supported in its anti-Japanese policies by the United States. He points to the fifty million dollar wheat and cotton loan as proof. "There is no telling what America will do," declared Araki, "when her navy is definitely superior to Japan's after 1935." In the same speech the general conjured up the spectre of concentration of the red army in the East. The Japanese foreign minister, Koki Hirota, two days after he assumed office, on September 14, declared: "The United States should keep her hands off eastern affairs."

Japan Moving against Soviet Union

In this furiously developing tension in the Far East the part played by the American government should not escape our attention. It has very special objects in the Soviet recognition in relation to this situation. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union on its side has much to gain from American recognition. But that is not what concerns the American government. The Red Army stands at the far eastern Soviet ready to defend it. The Soviet Union seeks no conquests in China. But American imperialism does, and it will contend with the Japanese for mastery as it will, contend with the other powers there to strengthen its own sphere of influence and lay hold on the vast Chinese territory.

The Japanese diplomats and military leaders, as is known, are preparing for an assault on the Soviet border. They envision the Soviet Union becoming strengthened by American credits and are undoubtedly anxious to strike before this takes place. But does the United States extend recognition and credits in

order to strengthen the Soviet Union? Is this a sign of a friendlier attitude? Not at all. The imperialist government at Washington understands the Japanese intentions at the Soviet border as well as the Japanese imperialists understand the intended American invasion of China.

Far East Tension Increases

Both aim at the further partitioning of dismembered China and the further subjugation and exploitation of the Chinese masses already held white by the imperialist robber bands. The Japanese war lords show their growing inclination to strike northward against the Soviet Union at the earliest possible date, and before the latter can strengthen its industrial structure by means of closer trade relations with the United States.

Unquestionably this fits right in with the Roosevelt policies. It holds the prospects of speeding up American exports to the Soviet market and, above all, the prospects that the Japanese war lords may break their teeth at the Soviet border. After that the possibilities of American mastery in China would increase. In this sense the Amer-

ican recognition of the Soviet Union undoubtedly tends to accelerate the Japanese war plans.

But this will also show the more clearly why we should not be deceived about the peaceful intentions of the American government in granting recognition. It is plainly a matter of ruthlessly advancing the most direct interests of American imperialism. It brings the danger of imperialist war as well as the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union much nearer.

When President Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union the capitalist press of the country drew a clear line of demarcation between the present Stalin leadership and the former leadership of Lenin.

American imperialism remains the chief enemy of October.

—ARNE SWABECK.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Several important articles are held over till next week on account of space limitations.

NOTE

The discussion article on the NRA which is concluded on Page Two of this issue is by Harry Brand.

THE SILVER SHIRTS

(Continued from page 1)

between the world of the "light" and the "shade". He lectured to nice glibbie Christian ladies and gentlemen on the results of the clairvoyant and clairaudient communications, undoubtedly thrilling them to their toe nails, hoodwinking them out of all rationality and providing them with a convenient escape from the harsh realities of life. Possibly Pelley also received returns which were... not so spiritual.

We have every reason to believe that the Chief-to-be was likewise the master of ceremonies in the great sucker game known as seances. Dozens of mimeographed bulletins, called "readings", packed with this psychical hocus-pocus, were manufactured by Pelley and his associates and retailed at twenty-five cents a throw. The New Liberator is jammed from cover to cover with this metaphysical buncombe.

It seems that somewhere in the year 1932 Mr. Pelley had a new "revelation" in one of his not uncommon trances—to change his field of operations to the social world. Whether this was caused by a falling off of receipts in the old racket, a lust for power at any price, or possibly a sincere belief, after the manner of General Goering, who spent about one year in the Stockholm insane asylum as a dope addict, is not easy to say.

It is not illogical that an American Fascist movement should be started by a religious freak, a spiritualist crank. Pelley says he heard the "word" in California, a state which is known for its Aimee McPhersons, Holy-Rollers, Yogis men, and a hundred other kinds and descriptions of religious nuts who are patronized by degenerated middle class elements, retired farmers of Kansas and Iowa, etc., etc. Not only California. Billy Sunday claims to have made 65,492 converts and collected (alhem!) \$120,000 in cosmopolitan New York alone in 1917. Just think of the fortune he made in the provinces, the backwoods and the hinterland.

But the Silver Shirts were started in the post-depression year, 1932, and a social platform was needed, so the Fascist jargon was taken lock, stock and barrel from the German Minister of Enlightenment, The Jews, Jewish bankers, Jewish Communists, Jewish journalists, etc., ad nauseum are responsible for all the ailments of society from the time of Adam, and especially at the present time. Unless this pest is wiped out root and branch the world will go to the dogs. We will deal with this "philosophy" in all its ramifications in the next article. For the present let us see what happened to Mr. Pelley's spiritualism.

The Psychic Transformed

The transformation was: Mr. Pelley, the Psychic became Mr. Pelley, the Fascist... "Chief". Psychism became the underlying philosophy, just as Aryanism and Teuton Gods are for Hitler and his Hitlerites. It serves a very useful purpose for... the Chief. One page or more of every issue of Liberator is devoted to this psychic-seance-medium buncombe. We wish we had space to reprint some of these revelations, for they are indeed, revelations of the depths to which man's ignorance can sink, in this late day and age, to say nothing of their unconscious humor. Above each of these "revelations" appears this gem which should give some indication of its content:

"Out of the vastness of Cosmos the Psychic Antennae tune in on a Voice. If the Word was made flesh and spoke once to men, how much stronger may be its pronouncements when the handicaps of the flesh are perished? If we cannot believe

this to Whom or What shall we look for authority of commitments like the following?..."

Omnipotent, Infallible

The Fascist movement needs the myth of the impeccability of its leader, the unassailability of his ideas, the unquestioning of his instructions (leaving aside terror for the moment). Pelley has or is trying to attain this end through his psychism, which gives him the power to prophecy, through his communion with the dead, and therefore to give the right instructions at the right time. Thus, for instance, in an editorial called "A Caution to the Restless..." (Liberator, Vol. V, No. 20) which is a warning to the impatient Silver Shirts who want to go into action against Jews, bankers and Communists immediately, he makes the solemn statement:

"But no matter how this declaration is interpreted, from either foe or supporter, there is a higher import, a Deeper Voice that has faithfully in the past instructed the Chief just when, and where, and how to move. He has learned to trust that Voice and act upon it, and when he has so acted in the past he has committed few blunders. But when he has allowed himself to be swept out of step with the Infinite, so to speak, he has had to retrace his steps at great cost and sacrifice to the whole great Silver movement."

"The Higher Import"

"The Chief" admits, for the present, that others may learn to feel this "Higher Import" and hear this "Deeper Voice". But he reserves to himself the right to judge whether the new prophet has heard correctly or has been advised by a false spirit. That's as far as the game has gone up till now—it needs a little "democracy". If and when this movement of ignorance and superstition attains some power and influence, then heaven help any Silver Shirt that dares challenge the inspired orders of the Chief.

Who backs the Silver Shirts, where do they get finances? The inscription on the back side of Liberator says that the Silver Shirts of America are the active civic organization of the League for Liberation and that both Liberator and the Galahad Press, Incorporated, which publishes the magazine, are subsidiaries of the Foundation for Christian Economic, Incorporated. It should be quite obvious that these are only dummy corporations shielding some big financier, or industrialist. In more than one issue of the modern alchemists' Silver sheet "The Chief" talks of prominent men in the business and lay world who consort with him and tell him state secrets but who dare not reveal their names for fear of retaliation intimidation and blackmail from the "Jewish Press" and the "Jewish bankers".

Pelley Praises Ford

The March 1931 issue of The New Liberator has high praise for Henry Ford who, according to Pelley, "is doing, without maudlin sentiment, ... the highest type of constructive spirituality deploying throughout society by way of mass production industry". And further, "If every employer in America, England and Germany adopted the Ford principles this afternoon, and remained there, the world's economic depression would be ended tomorrow morning to stay ended."

It is well known that Henry Ford is a vicious anti-Semite and a no less vicious hater of organized labor.

Time, events will bring the real backers of this mystical, incipient but barbarian Fascist movement to the fore. Yes, and possibly more... —GEORGE CLARKE.

Furlough Protest by New York Teachers

(Continued from page 1)

ported. Lefkowitz, legislative agent of the union and leading knight in the crusade against the Left wing in the union made the report. He apologized for La Guardia; La Guardia received the delegation cordially; he had inherited a bad situation; he didn't want to cut teachers' pay; he would do it only as a last resort; if he did, it wouldn't be much, only a week or two; etc. And Lefkowitz went off to Albany to lobby in Lehman's stronghold!

The teachers were stunned by Lefkowitz's speech and his action. It was clear to them after the experience of 1932, when similar methods were employed by the union leadership in the fight against the pay cut of that year, that another sell-out was being prepared. Under the urging of the Left wing they refused to leave and shouted for La Guardia who refused to speak to them.

The Stalinist Inspired Class Room Teachers Groups, a rival organization of the Teachers Union, also came down to the demonstration. Although they came in the name of a united fight against payouts they played a disruptive role. They demanded equal right with the Teachers Union, which had organized the demonstration, to send in a delegation to see La Guardia, in the name of their organization. And their delegation attempted to force its way in to La Guardia, presenting the enemy with the spectacle of a division in the ranks of the protesting teachers.

Outside the leaders of the Stalinist led Left wing group in the union urged the teachers not to have any faith in their delegation and to go in to see for themselves.

Two things emerged clearly from the demonstration. As we foretold, the problems posed by a militant fight would help to expose the policy of the union administration, and make it possible to discredit its conservative and even treacherous leadership. On the other hand when the teachers were confronting the class enemy and needed the unity the Stalinist directed Left wing group in the union and its counterpart outside the union appeared in the role of disrupters. Of both these facts the teachers should take note.

Mystery Shrouds Fascist Killing of Van der Lubbe

(Continued from page 1)

zig on September 28. Soedermann denied having claimed to be a Professor or even a medical doctor, affirmed he did not and could not make a medical examination, and told this story:

A Dutch journalist was allowed to visit Van der Lubbe on behalf of his family. The authorities invited Soedermann to go along. He accepted because of his life-long interest in criminal psychology. On emerging, he remarked that Van der Lubbe "looked all right." The prison officials and Wolf—or both—translated this vague statement of a layman into a clean bill of health from a qualified medical expert and "Professor".

There is no way of telling whether Soedermann speaks the truth when he disclaims responsibility for this bit of Nazi swindling. But in any case it is clear that the Nazis wanted to cover something up about Van der Lubbe's condition. And a dead man tells no tales.

But the four men tied up with Van der Lubbe are still alive. Despite their acquittal they remain in the clutches of the Nazis. The world proletariat must continue the fight to save them from the fate of Van der Lubbe. —HENRY STRANG.

GROCERY CODE

Affecting over one million workers, the retail food and grocery code recently signed by President Roosevelt, provides for starvation conditions. A maximum 48-hour and 6-day week, with many employers exempt, and basic weekly minimum wages from \$10 in cities of less than 2,500 population to \$15 in those of more than 500,000, are offered the food workers in the latest code under the NRA. Here is a real case for union organization.

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SPECIAL FOOD WORKERS' STRIKE NUMBER! THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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VOLUME VII, NO. 3 [WHOLE NO. 207]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

Call General Strike of N. Y. Food Workers

600 Start Strike Wave In the Waldorf Astoria

Whole Kitchen and Dining Room Crew March in Body
To Amalgamated Union Headquarters

The biggest industry in New York, the mammoth hotel and restaurant industry dominated by the biggest banks has flung a challenge to the workers in the industry, and their challenge has been met—the workers have moved for a GENERAL STRIKE!

The issues involved are clear cut. The bosses who have dictated their own terms for years, riding rough-shod over the most elementary demands and rights of the workers do not intend to have their autocratic control questioned. They will tolerate no union except a puppet of their own choosing, one over which they have absolute control. They want a boss's "union". The workers want no "guilds" they want a union speaking and acting in their own name and for their demands.

The bosses have spoken in an ambiguous manner for a few months, temporizing for time. Now they are ready, and there is nothing ambiguous about their actions. They struck at the workers in the key hotel of the industry, in the heart of the city—the Waldorf Astoria—by discharging Andre Fournigalt, a sous-chef who has worked there since the hotel was put up after the demolition of the old Peacock Alley. This worker's services are no longer "satisfactory" to the Hotel and Restaurants Men's Association because Andre Fournigalt is an active member of the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, one of the shop delegates in fact.

Six Hundred in Stoppage
With the exception of a handful the entire kitchen and dining room staff of some 600 workers responded to this challenge by declaring an immediate stoppage. The waiters went into the kitchens, the cooks put out the lights on the stove. And at 7 P. M. at the height of the dinner hour, "the guests" sat at their tables while the orchestra played to stimulate their appetites. Here is how the New York Sun reports the details: "In the dining rooms waiter captains noticed suddenly that they were alone with the patrons. When no waiters emerged from the kitchens with the orders that had been given they went in search of them. They found them standing in groups in the kitchen, their arms folded. And side by side with them were standing the chefs and the entire kitchen help—also with 'their arms folded'. The boss, Boomer strode in to give his ultimatum—he notified the workers to return to work. But if the workers stood there with folded arms, it was only because they had folded them for action. They were by no means unprepared for this direct blow of the bosses, and they knew very well that the blow that was aimed at a single worker was aimed at the very heart of the organization they have been building for months with thousands of other workers in the industry. The course of the bosses had become clear from the very beginning of the organization drive of staffs were being infiltrated with the Amalgamated. The working 'extra-help', an intensive propaganda was carried on by the agents of the bosses against the Amalgamated, and this campaign was supplemented by an intensive drive for affiliation with the Hotel Guild.

The bosses' plan was to divide the workers and to strangle them in individual hotels and restaurants. But this time their well laid plans did not catch the workers unawares. The union has carried on months of intensive preparation for precisely this emergency; the workers learned from experience what the 'collective bargaining' of the bosses amounted to. The boss issues the orders, the workers are compelled to accept. They had their own union ready.

Waldorf Is Signal For Workers
The action of the workers in Waldorf Astoria is the signal that has been awaited for these many months. All the workers knew that the bosses would strike precisely at the strategic point—the Waldorf

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
Editor of "The Militant"
JOSEPH CARTER
Editor of "Young Spartacus"

Militant Three Times a Week During Strike!

Once more the Militant is to appear three times a week! Once more the price is to be reduced to one cent a copy! And we intend to keep on issuing it for the duration of the strike of the hotel and restaurant workers of New York.

In the crucial days of the struggle of the German workers against the coming to power of Fascism last year, the Militant also made this gigantic effort to appear on the streets three times a week instead of once, giving news of the struggle, analyzing the events, arousing the workers to an understanding, to solidarity and to action.

Now it is the struggle of thousands of workers in the hotels

and restaurants of New York which brings us out into the streets once more in our new form. During the strike, the Militant will stand as solid as a rock behind the striking food workers UNTIL THEY HAVE WON!

The Militant will give the workers' side of the strike—we leave it to the capitalist press to give the bosses' side and the bosses' propaganda and the bosses' lies.

The Militant will stand unshakably firm for the union which is conducting the strike—the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, helping in every way it can to strengthen the union, to help it grow, to support every militant and class conscious action and tendency in it.

The Militant has no intention of being "impartial" and "unbiased". We are partial. We are biased. We are prejudiced—because we are, always have been, and always will be

FOR THE WORKERS, FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS!

The first issue of the actual three-times-a-week Militant will appear on the streets this coming Monday morning, and every Wednesday, Friday and Monday morning thereafter. We are making a supreme effort in this strike—in spite of the fact that as this is written our financial position is extremely difficult. But we are counting on our numerous friends to rush money by air-mail and telegraph to help us carry on.

Strike Lights ...and Shadows

"The strike was called over the firing of the chef de manger (Park Ave. for fancy cook)." Daily News. Chef de Manger may be fancy Park Ave. language but the waiters, chefs, etc., spoke the real, good, old fashioned working class word "Strike" that even Oscar could understand.

They came in their hundreds—the well-clad, the well-fed, the prosperous. The exclusive Waldorf Astoria, noted the world over for its cuisine and its service, was crowded with the elite. Then it happened. Waiters turned on their heels and walked to the kitchen. Chefs turned off the gas and walked to meet them. In about 15 minutes, with placards and cheers, the enthusiastic chefs and waiters were streaming down the street to union headquarters. The orchestra played. Oscar raved. But the guests went hungry for once.

Union headquarters at 915-8th Ave. were humming with activity. Organizers and officials were everywhere. Committee meetings, speeches, registering of strikers, and preparations for meetings of the workers of other hotels. With precision, order and speed the union prepared for battle.

"It can't be done. You can't organize the chefs and waiters in the exclusive hotels." So said the old and tired "labor leaders". But the A. F. W. can do the impossible—and the Waldorf Astoria workers are proving that, once organized, chefs and waiters like miners and clothing workers are fighters from the drop of the hat.

Boomer waited on tables. And

The Union's Strike Demands

The Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers has issued the following demands for the New York City general strike:

Full union recognition.

Union wage scales.

A forty hour week, five days a week and eight hours a day.

Wages not to be taken out of tips.

No split watch.

No charge for meals, uniforms or laundry.

Pay by the week.

Hotel and Restaurant workers!

Support these demands! Join the

Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union! Strike till you win!

Oscar tried his fat hands at cooking. But the diners couldn't get as much as a hamburger-on-rye. It was very, very sad.

The six hundred waiters and chefs lined up solid. Oscar appealed to them. Boomer threatened and promised. A half dozen scabby looking stools stepped over to the other side. As crummy a lot of scabs as ever licked a boot.

The right to organize... The right to a living wage... These are supposed to be inherent in the constitution of the United States. But whether it be in a mine in Illinois or a Park Ave. hotel, rights and conditions, recognized or not, can only be secured by organization and struggle.

—OSCAR DE BOOMER.

**WORKERS! STAY OUT
UNTIL YOU WIN!**

Plan Big Navy Program

Congress has endorsed the \$285,000,000 navy building program presented to it with the endorsement of President Roosevelt and designed to build a "navy second to none" in the feverish international race for maritime armaments now taking place between Japanese, British and American imperialism.

Practically every vehicle of murder and destruction on the high seas is authorized in the Vinson Bill presented to the House of Representatives including aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines and providing for fifty-four new vessels in all.

There appears to have been considerable discussion and debate in the House over the most effective means for murder on the high seas, which took the form of a wrangle over the relative merits of the six-inch gun and other powerful blowers.

"Under the leadership of president Roosevelt we will sit at the next international conference table with a full treaty navy, built and building," said the chairman of the naval committee, Ayers.

The reason for this martial program, coming simultaneously with the pacific statements of the president and the budget deficit, occasioning the suspension of the C. W. A., is the tense situation in the Far East where Japan threatens American investments and commercial interests, where the struggle for the redivision of the world comes in closer proximity.

Aid is needed by the Militant.

Come to the office!

Thousands Pack Halls; Walkout Vote Solid

The Unanimously Adopted Strike Resolution

The following is the resolution passed unanimously at the huge overflow membership meeting of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union on Wednesday night. It constitutes the general strike proclamation that will make labor history in New York, if the enormous enthusiasm which swept the meeting is any indication:

RESOLUTION

"RESOLVED, that we, the members of the AMALGAMATED HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS UNION, assembled in a general business meeting Wednesday, January 24th, 1934, in view of the situation created by the aggressive steps taken by the hotel and restaurant employers in attempting to force workers to join various organizations such as the Guild societies and other company unions, violating the elementary rights of labor and endangering

the security of the worker on his job, as well as violating the provisions of the law for collective bargaining, especially article 7a of the N. I. R. A., call upon the hotel and restaurant employers, collectively and individually, to agree to full union recognition embodied in signed agreements, and to the other demands as to wages and hours put forward by this organization, and to cease all intimidation and pressure intended to force workers to join any organization against their will. In the event that no answer is given to this demand by the close of the second business day after receipt thereof, we will enforce these demands with a general strike throughout New York City and its environs. Any discrimination or intimidation during the period shall be considered as cause for defensive measures by means of a strike."

New York, January 24.—Overflow membership meetings of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union affiliated with the Amalgamated Food Workers voted unanimously tonight for a resolution calling a general strike of workers in their industry throughout New York and environs. The meetings were held at the headquarters of the union at 915 Eighth Avenue and in halls around that neighborhood.

More than 3,000 men participated in the vote. By Friday night the strike will be complete. Strike leaders described the resolution voted as an ultimatum to the Hotel bosses to come to terms within the time limit set. They declared that should the employers discriminate against or intimidate union men in the meantime, the strike action would be put into force earlier than the stipulated time.

The main hall at strike headquarters was packed to the doors, high spirits characterized the mood of the union members assembled. Soon after the meeting was opened, B.

J. Field, secretary of the union, read the strike resolution proposed for adoption. In the course of his speech, the secretary explained the resolution which, he stated, has been decided upon by a meeting of the Executive Board of the union that afternoon.

The strike call is an outgrowth of the union's fight against the inhuman conditions hotel and restaurant workers have been subjected to in this city. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has been carrying on a feverish organization campaign in the past several months with thousands of workers joining from all the major and lesser enterprises. The campaign has met with the greatest success union organization has experienced in this industry, which has been a stumbling block for organized labor in the past twenty years, since the decline of the A. F. of L. craft unions.

The call comes in the first place, as an act of solidarity with the Waldorf Astoria workers who went

(Continued on Page 4)

An Open Letter to the American Workers Party

The Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party

Comrades:

After a thorough-going discussion of the results of the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has decided to address the following communication to you for your consideration and action.

Your convention voted to take the measures it considered necessary for the founding of a new revolutionary party in the United States. "The revolutionary struggle of the masses against the capitalist system which more and more depresses their standard of living, takes various forms," declares the report of your National Executive Committee adopted by the convention. "The primary form is the economic struggle of the worker and farmer. The struggle is, however, inspired, coordinated, carried to its goal of taking power, by the revolutionary political party."

Our organization, having itself formally adopted the decision in September of last year to work for the creation of a new revolutionary party in this country and a new International throughout the world, is consequently directly concerned with and interested in the decision adopted by your Pittsburgh convention. We stated our position in our declaration four months ago and we take the liberty of calling your attention to the following essential paragraphs:

"The Communist League, as it is at present constituted, does not consider itself a party and has no intention of anticipating the real establishment of the new party by proclaiming itself as such. The task now is to recognize firmly that our role as a faction striving to reform the party of official Stalinism is exhausted, to strike out on a completely

independent path, and to prepare, in cooperation with all other groups and organizations moving in the same direction, for the formation of a new party.

"In the course of its struggle to reform the official party, as a faction of it, the Left Opposition worked out a program, consolidated a cadre of principled militants and formed the skeleton of a national organization. These accomplishments can be regarded now as part of the capital of the new movement; not all that is necessary for the formation of the party, but contributions to it.

"What is needed now is the coming together of the various groups of revolutionary workers who have broken, or who are in the process of breaking, with reformism and centrism as well as those dispersed individual revolutionists who have been repelled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and remained without affiliation. It is self-evident that the working out of a common program and the eventual concentration of these forces into a single party must be preceded by an exchange of opinion and discussion and, very probably, will involve a transition period of cooperation before the final fusion.

"Whatever form the next development may take, the Left Opposition is ready now, to enter into open and comradely negotiations and discussions with other groups which seriously set for themselves the same goal. After its long and unrelenting struggle against the arrogant bureaucracy and ultimatic methods of Stalinism, the Left Opposition least of all can seek to impose anything on others or to demand the acceptance in advance of its proposals, its program or its 'leadership'."

It is with these ideas as our point of departure that we approach the question of our relations to the American Workers Party which your convention decided to launch. We are striving to build up in this coun-

(Continued on Page 3)

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

UNUSUAL FEATURE!

The remarkable film of the death of Lenin and the funeral in Moscow will be shown at the meeting.

Friday, January 26, 1934, 8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place and 15th Street
ADMISSION 20c

Lovestone Discovers Estonia

(Continued from last issue)

3. In 1925, the British government made one of its periodical Curzon-Chamberlain demands against the residence of the Comintern in Moscow and its propaganda which had "as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States—(pardon us, we mean the British Empire!)—its territories or possessions". Zinoviev, the chairman of the Comintern, replied publicly on May 20, 1925:

"When they put forward that demand during the famine period they received from the Soviet Government the reply they deserved. Now that affairs with the Soviet Government are more favorable there can be no doubt as to the reply to their insolent demand they would receive from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics if they decided to advance such."

Question: Why did Litvinov accede to an "insolent demand" put forward in 1933, which was contemptuously rejected by the Soviet government not merely in 1925, but in the most desperate period of its existence, the famine period, when Russia's back was to the wall and it was ready to make any reasonable concession to obtain sufficient aid from abroad to keep alive?

Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. 4. Soviet Russia of April 16, 1921 comments as follows on the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement which had just been signed:

"In their preliminary draft the British attempted to bind the Soviet Government to 'restrain Russian citizens' from hostile action or propaganda against British institutions. This impossible demand disappears entirely from the final text. Thus the mooted question of propaganda resolves itself into a mutual agreement on the part of the British and Soviet governments respectively to refrain from conducting outside of their own borders any propaganda directly or indirectly against the institutions of the other. This condition was accepted by the Soviet Government at the outset of the negotiations."

Question: Why did the Soviets—in 1921, after the Estonian, Latvian and Polish Treaties—regard as impossible the demand that Russian Communists be restrained from carrying on anti-British capitalist propaganda, whereas it now considers quite possible the demand that not only Russian Communists but American Communists in Russia be restrained from carrying on anti-British capitalist propaganda? Why could not what Herberg calls the "conventional phrases" of a "Paragraph Four" be conceded in 1921 in England?

Reply to Lord Curzon

5. On September 7, 1921, Lord Curzon wrote an insolent note to Russia demanding (again!) the suppression of the Comintern in Russia, complaining that government members like Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin were actively engaged in its work of undermining the "territories and possessions" of the British Crown. Three weeks later, the Soviet Vice-Commissioner of Foreign Affairs retorted:

"The Russian Government desires to take advantage of this occasion to affirm once more, as it has frequently done before, that the fact that the Third International, for perfectly obvious reasons, chose Russia as the country in which its executive committee resides—Russia being the only country that allows full liberty for the spread of Communist ideas, as well as personal liberty to Communists—and also the fact that certain members of the Russian Government, in their capacity as private individuals, belong to this executive committee are no more to be taken as a basis for declaring that the Third International and the Russian Government are identical, than the fact that the Second International, constantly in session at Brussels, and including among the members of its executive committee the Belgian minister Vandervelde, may prove the identity of the Second International with the Belgian Government."

(The author of this reply to Curzon was none other than Maxim Litvinov.)

Question: Why, although this occurred well within the Herbergian "second period" of Soviet diplomacy, didn't Litvinov reply then as he did at Washington? Or a more pertinent question: Why didn't he reply to Roosevelt as he did to Curzon?

Chicherin on "Propaganda"

6. In 1925, as is known, England demanded that Russia sign an agreement similar to that signed by Litvinov in Washington. In his foreign political report to the Third Congress of the Soviet Union in May 1925, the commissar for foreign affairs, Chicherin, a diplomat if you please, declared:

"The same idea (as held by Curzon at Lausanne) is to be seen in the declaration of Chamberlain: 'Cease conducting propaganda'."

"What is propaganda? We stand before the main question of our foreign political relations. Our govern-

Propaganda Pledge Is Defended by Stalinist Attorneys

ment is prepared to accept, and accepts all the obligations bound up with international relations. If the English government proves that we are misusing our diplomatic connections, our diplomatic rights, our diplomatic apparatus, that this or that official person violates the international obligations, then we are prepared to agree to everything demanded of us in this respect."

"If, however, we are told that all propaganda must cease in the Soviet Union, that is tantamount to demanding that the Communist party shall cease to be a Communist party. Here is a question of whether we shall continue to exist or not. It concerns the main question of our relations with the capitalist world by which we are surrounded."

"If Chamberlain says to us: 'All propaganda must cease, the Communist party shall cease to be a Communist party', then we must answer: 'Peuples le citoyen Chamberlain!—Do it, citizen Chamberlain!'"

Question: When Chicherin called "propaganda" the main question of foreign Soviet relations, involving the existence of the Communist party and the republic itself, did he really mean it, or was he in reality giving the "Trotskyists and other anti-Soviet demagogues a basis of operations for their reactionary propaganda against the Soviet Union"—as Herberg so pleasantly puts it?

7. But enough for the moment. The dozens of remaining questions can safely be held back until the

Russia constituted a menace of serious proportions to the Soviets. The treaties demanded the dissolution or expulsion of these armed forces. In no sense was this a concession by Russia—it was Russia's indubitable victory.

Where is this situation duplicated in France, England or, most of all, in the United States? Are the decrepit Russian dukes and princesses the forces on American soil whose organization for the overthrow of the Soviet Russia has caused to fear? Or even the White Guard Ukrainians in this country? Preposterous! Infinitely more powerful counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces now on American soil threaten the Soviet Union! They are identical with precisely that regime which Litvinov praised so unstintingly as eminently pacific and war-abhorrent in his speech at the recent Soviet Congress! And these forces are not covered by the "reciprocal undertakings" of the Litvinov-Roosevelt pact. The Comintern is.

2. More important even than our first point, is this: "The masses in these small Baltic republics were then still permeated with democratic illusions, accentuated by the first whiffs of national independence they had obtained after decades and centuries of languishing under the heel of czarist tyranny. Even the tidal wave of proletarian revolution did not entirely succeed in washing away the prejudice, fear, hatred and suspicion these people felt of any 'Moscow regime'—a government of 'Great Russians'. The bourgeois democrats of these lands, more often than not in the service of a large western power sought with all their strength to intensify these prejudices and suspicions in the minds of the masses. The latter were told that the

Once, it is mentioned as being a party to the frantic armament race; a second time, it is mentioned as one of the powers helping the Kuo Min Tang campaign against the Chinese 'Red Army' AND NOWHERE ELSE!"

The Japanese imperialists, the Hitler regime, British imperialism are frequently referred to and clearly condemned. BUT—The Roosevelt regime is not even mentioned. The most important phenomenon in capitalist world politics and economics today—the vast NRA program—is not even mentioned. America's preparation for war against Japan is not even mentioned.

The Cuban situation is not even mentioned—not by a syllable. Here all comment is truly superfluous!

What the Comintern Manifesto Urged and What It Forgot to Urge . . .

"On the very day that the Litvinov agreement was made, the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an elaborate manifesto, urging the American workers to overthrow the capitalist government of this country," wrote Herberg in the *Workers Age* of December 15, 1933, in his attack upon the Left Opposition and defense of the Stalin foreign policy.

The November 15, 1933 issue of the Communist International which has just arrived here contains the manifesto referred to. A reading of it shows that Herberg overreached himself a little!

Nowhere, literally nowhere, are the American workers "urged" to overthrow the bourgeoisie here. In fact, with two trifling exceptions, the UNITED STATES IS NOT EVEN MENTIONED IN THE WORLD MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

firm of Lovestone, Herberg and Hackman has replied to the ones already put.

The Treaties with the Border States. Nevertheless—Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland!

Is it not significant that the only countries mentioned by the Lovestonians are those which once formed part of the Russian Empire and now border directly on the Soviet republic? An honest revolutionist interested in clarifying and teaching workers—not a group of Philadelphia lawyers fawning and groveling before the Stalinist dispensers of privilege and pelf—would have put and answered the questions:

Why was the Soviet Union ready to make an agreement with the former sections of the czarist empire on her frontiers which she refused to make with any of the big imperialist powers, nearby or far-off?

Did Russia have more to fear from Latvia than from America? From what standpoint was Estonia so much stronger than England that she was able with comparative ease to obtain something from Russia which England, with her armies, navies, industries and wealth, with her threats and ruptures, was never able to obtain? Did Russia grant such a treaty to Lithuania and refuse it to England because she hoped to get more material aid—food, credits, machinery, political prestige—from the tiny, poverty-stricken Baltic country than from wealth-bloated Britannia?

Not Ordinary Recognition Pacts. It is not necessary to dig far to find the answer. Latvia and the other tiny Baltic lands obtained such treaties for fairly obvious reasons:

1. The treaties were not ordinary recognition pacts; they served to put an end to a state of war existing between Russia and her neighbors. During the period of hostilities, all these Baltic lands had been the arena of activities for numerous active White Guard and other counter-revolutionary armies, some of them claiming to be and all of them aiming to be "government" of the whole or part of Russia. The continued residence of these forces on territory directly adjacent to

Bolshevik regime was no different than the czarist; both were despotic Muscovite centralists whose aim was to impose their regime upon the Letts and Poles and Finns and wipe out their just-gained independence.

The Bolsheviks attached an immense even if not all-dominating significance to the slogan of self-determination of nations even to the point of separation. They never considered it, like Wilson, as a piece of clever hypocrisy, a shrewd watchword and nothing more. They alone proved that it was realizable. The Bolsheviks granted complete independence to all the former "provinces" of the czar, even if they instantly fell under the domination of reactionaries.

Bolshevik Policy on Self-Determination

Moreover, the Bolsheviks were intent upon exerting every effort to prove in practice to these border peoples that Soviet Russia alone really guaranteed their independence, that she would not seek to impose her form of social organization upon her neighbors. The existing fear of Russia's vast size and strength in comparison with their own, was dispelled among these little nations essentially by the persistent demonstrations Russia gave of her principle of non-violation of her territorial and political integrity.

This and this alone explains why the Soviet Government was prepared, even in 1920-1921, to go to the point of giving her neighbors the assurances they received in the peace treaties cited above. What possible comparison is there between those conditions, those treaties and the relations between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. today?

Our original views stand. There are no two ways about the question. The Litvinov-Roosevelt pact remains an index to the degree to which Stalinism has abandoned the world revolution in its deterioration to nationalism. Lovestone and Co. remain the legal toadies of Stalinism, its aspiring apologist, its most anxious champion. Alas for Stalinism—its very champion cannot fight for want of a leg to stand on!

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Drive Starts for 'New Intern'l.'

In line with the proposed extension of activities of the Communist League of America in all fields of work, plans have been carefully laid for the early issuance of the long-awaited theoretical review of the Left Opposition. This political review, which will be issued once a month, is to be called *The New International*.

An early appearance of this magazine is more imperative than ever today because of the complete degeneration and collapse of the theoretical views of official Communism, namely, Stalinism; and also because of the "teachings" of opportunist politics by the Right wing (Lovestone-Brandier, et al.). Only the Left Opposition during all these years has held to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. The press and literature of the Left Opposition throughout the world has carried out these basic teachings in the face of all obstacles. The monthly magazine, *The New International*, published by the Communist League of America has in mind the projection on an even higher scale than hitherto, of the study and discussion of all the fundamental problems facing the revolutionary Communist movement.

It is desirable and necessary to get out the first issue of *The New International* with the greatest speed. *The Militant* is to be transformed much further into a mass paper and the necessary theoretical material, lengthier articles and documents are to be published in the columns of *The New International*.

To our readers we wish to announce at this time the happy news that there is a mass of hitherto unpublished documents on important questions by Leon Trotsky, Christian G. Rakovsky and other prominent leaders of the Russian Opposition, and other leaders, as well as material by Lenin, Marx, Engels, and other teachers of scientific socialism. These are to appear in the columns of *The New International*, beginning with its first number. Well known writers of the movement will contribute regularly to *The New International*.

The projected *New International* will be a 32-page magazine, published monthly, to be sold at 15c per copy. The subscription price is \$1.50 per year for the United States, and \$1.75 for Canada and foreign countries. We are now endeavoring to raise a special fund to ensure an early appearance of *The New International*. We are determined to issue the magazine soon. We have no doubt that the readers of *The Militant* will want to and will give all possible support for *The New International*. Like all working-class periodicals, and especially so in the case of the Left Opposition, systematic financial support will be needed. We are counting upon immediate donations, today, for *The New International*, as well as pledges from supporters and sympathizers to be made monthly to *The New International*. More than subscriptions are needed to maintain a 32-page magazine of the kind projected by us.

Readers of *The Militant* will be apprised regularly on the progress toward *The New International* magazine.

Meanwhile subscriptions can now be sent in to *The New International*, together with donations.

Mail all donations and subscriptions for *The New International* to:

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
c/o Martin Abern, Business Mgr.
Station D, P. O. Box 119,
New York, N. Y.

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Max Shachtman, Editor

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I am informed that the I. L. P. has weakened considerably in the last period. Its membership, it is claimed, has fallen to four thousand. It is possible, even very probable, that this report is exaggerated. But the general tendency does not seem to me improbable. I will say more: the leadership of the I. L. P. bears a considerable share of responsibility for the weakening of the organization before which all the conditions opened up and—I want to hope—still open up a wide perspective.

If a worker barely awakened to political life seeks a mass organization, without distinguishing as yet either programs or tactics, he will naturally join the Labor Party. A worker disillusioned with reformism and exasperated by the betrayal of the political and trade union leaders has attempted more than once—and is partly attempting even now—to join the Communist party behind which he sees the image of the Soviet Union. But where is the worker who will join the I.L.P.? And exactly what political motives will impel him to take this step?

The Question of a Banner. It seems to me that the leaders of the I. L. P. have as yet not given themselves a clear answer to this cardinal question. Working masses are not interested in shadings and details but in great events, clear slogans, far-seen banners. How does the matter stand with the I. L. P. about a banner? Not well, I say this with great regret. But it must be said. To suppress or embellish the facts would be rendering a poor service to your party.

The I. L. P. broke away from the Labor Party. That was correct. If the I. L. P. wanted to become the revolutionary lever it was impossible that the handle of this lever be left in the hands of through-and-through opportunists and bourgeois careerists. Complete and unconditional political and organizational independence of a revolutionary party is the first prerequisite for its success.

But while breaking away from the Labor Party it was necessary immediately to turn towards it. Of course, not to make court to its leaders, or to pay them bitter-sweet compliments, or even to suppress their criminal acts,—no, only characterless centrists, who imagine themselves revolutionaries, seek a road to the masses by accommodating themselves to the leaders, by humoring them and re-assuring them at every step of their friendship and loyalty. A policy of this sort is a road that leads down to the swamp of opportunism. One must seek a way to the reformist masses not through the favor of their leaders but against the leaders, because opportunist leaders represent not the masses but merely their backwardness, their servile instincts, finally, their confusion. But the masses have other, progressive, revolutionary traits that strive to find their political expression. The to-morrow of the masses is most clearly counterposed to their yesterday in the struggle of programs, parties, slogans and leaders. Instinctively working masses are always "for unity". But besides class instinct there is also political wisdom. Harsh experience teaches the workers that a break with reformism is the prerequisite for real unity which is possible only in revolutionary action. Political experience teaches all the better and faster, the more firmly, logically, convincingly and clearly the revolutionary party interprets the experience to the masses.

Lesson of Anglo-Russian Committee

The Leninist method of the united front and political fraternization with reformists exclude each other. Temporary practical fighting

Letter to a Member of the Independent Labor Party

agreements with mass organizations even headed by the worst reformists are inevitable and obligatory for a revolutionary party. Lasting political alliances with reformist leaders without a definite program, without concrete duties, without the participation of the masses themselves in militant actions—are the worst type of opportunism. The Anglo-Russian committee remains for ever the classic example of such a demoralizing alliance.

One of the most important bridges to the masses are the trade unions where one can and must work without accommodating to the leaders in the least, on the contrary, struggling irreconcilably against them, openly, or under cover, depending on the circumstances. But besides the trade unions there are numberless ways of participating in the daily life of the masses—in the factory, on the street, in sport organizations, even in church and saloon, under the condition that the greatest heed be paid to what the masses feel and think, how they react to events, what they expect and what they hope for, how and why they let themselves be deceived by reformist leaders. Observing the masses constantly and most thoughtfully, the revolutionary party must not, however, adapt itself passively to them ("chvostism"); on the contrary, it must counterpose their judgment to their prejudices.

It would be particularly wrong to ignore or minimize the importance of parliamentary work. Of course, parliament cannot transform capitalism into socialism, or improve the conditions of the proletariat in rotting capitalist society. But revolutionary work in parliament and in connection with parliament, especially in England, can be of great help in training and educating the masses. One courageous exclamation of MacGovern refreshed and stirred the workers deceived or stupefied by the pious, hypocritical, flag speeches of Lansbury, Henderson and other gentlemen of "His Majesty's opposition" of flunkies.

Unfortunately, having become an independent party, the I. L. P. turned not towards the trade unions and the Labor party, not to the masses altogether, but to the Communist party which had during a number of years conclusively proven its bureaucratic dullness and absolute inability to approach the class. If even the German catastrophe taught these people nothing, then the doors of the Comintern should bear the same inscription as the entrance to hell: "Lasciate Ogni speranza" ("Leave all hope behind").

The I. L. P. had not freed itself by far of all the defects of the Left wing of the Labor Party (theoretical vagueness, lack of a clear program, of revolutionary methods, of a strong organization) when it has fended to take upon itself the responsibility for the incurable failings of the Comintern. It is clear that in this situation new revolutionary workers will not join the I. L. P.; sooner will many of its old members leave it, having lost patience. If demi-reformist, petty bourgeois radicals and pacifists leave the I. L. P., we can only wish them a happy journey. But it is a different matter when discontented workers quit the party.

The International Question

The causes for the enfeeblement of the I. L. P. are seen with special clarity and precision when the problem is approached from the international point of view which is of decisive importance in our epoch. Having broken with the Second International, the I. L. P. approached the Third but did not join it. The I. L. P. is simply hanging in the air. Meanwhile, every thinking worker wants to belong to such a party that occupies a definite international position: in the unbreakable union with co-thinkers of other countries he sees the confirmation of the correctness of his own position. True, the I. L. P. enters the so-called London Bureau. But the chief characteristic of this Bureau consists, unfortunately, in the absence of all position. It would suffice to say that the Norwegian Workers Party, which under the leadership of the treacherous opportunist Thammal goes over more openly along the social-democratic road, belongs to this Bureau. Tramnel and Co. need the temporary alliance with the I. L. P. and with other left organizations to pacify their own Left wing and gradually to prepare for themselves the way to the Second International. Now Tramnel is approaching the harbor.

On the other side, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (SAP) and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (OSP) also belong to the London Bureau. Both these organizations stand on the point of view of the Fourth International. Their adherence to the Bureau re-

flects merely their yesterday. We, Communists-Internationalists (Left Opposition) have considered and consider it a great mistake of our allies, the SAP and the OSP, that until now they have not broken openly and decisively with Tramnel and with the London Bureau in general. We do not doubt, however, that the hour of such a rupture is near.

The London Bureau

What is the position of the I. L. P.? Entering the London Bureau it becomes by this very fact an ally of Tramnel, that is, essentially of the Second International. Through the SAP and the OSP it becomes a sort of an ally, or semi-ally of the Fourth International. This is not all—outside of the London Bureau the I. L. P. finds itself in a temporary alliance with the British Communist Party, that is with the Third International. Are not there somewhat too many Internationals for one party? Can the English worker make head or tail out of this confusion?

At the Paris conference the I. L. P. delegates said that they did not lose hope of attracting the Comintern to participation in the building of a broad revolutionary international. Nearly a half year elapsed since. Is it possible, that no answer came yet? How much time do the leading comrades of the I. L. P. need to understand that the Comintern is incapable of making one step forward, that it is completely ossified, that as a revolutionary party it is dead? If the I. L. P. wants to continue waiting for miracles, that is to live in hopes on the Comintern, or to remain outside of the main historic currents, its own members will inevitably lose confidence in it.

Swedish Communist Party.

The same fate awaits the Swedish Independent Communist Party. For fear of making an error it abstains from all decision, not realizing that precisely this is the greatest error. In general, there are not a few politicians who consider expectation and easiness as the highest wisdom. "Do not hurry with the Fourth International, they say, now is not the time." It is not a matter of bureaucratically proclaiming the new International but of uninterrupted struggle for its preparation and building. "Not to hurry" means in practice to lose time. "Perhaps the new International will not be needed, perhaps a miracle will happen, perhaps. . . ." This policy which seems to some people very realistic is the worst type of utopianism, spun out of passivity, ignorance and belief in miracles. If the Swedish Independent Party will not shake off its pseudo-realistic superstitions, it will weaken, waste away and finally be torn between three Internationals.

Events Will Confirm Our Slogans

"But the masses—so object some pseudo-realists—are afraid of a new International as of a new split." This is absolutely natural. The masses' fear of a new party and of a new International is a reflection (one of the reflections) of the great catastrophe, the terrible defeat, the disillusionment of the masses their bewilderment, their disbelief in themselves. How long these moods will last depends mainly on the course of events but to a certain extent also on us. We do not bear any responsibility for the course of events but we answer fully for our own attitude. The advantage of the advance-guard over the masses consists therein that we illuminate theoretically the march of events and foresee its future stages. The formless, passive longing for "unity" will receive blow after blow. The rottenness of the Second and Third Internationals will be revealed at each step. The events will confirm our prognosis and our slogans. But it is necessary that we ourselves be not afraid to unfurl our banner right now.

Lassalle used to say that a revolutionary needs the "physical power of thought". Lenin liked to repeat these words, although in general he did not like Lassalle much. The physical power of thought consists in analyzing the situation and perspectives to the very end, and having come to the necessary practical conclusions, to defend them with conviction, courage, intransigence, not fearing some one else's fears, not bowing before prejudices of the masses but basing on the objective course of development.

The I. L. P. of Great Britain must place itself right now under the banner of the Fourth International, or it will disappear from the scene without leaving a trace.

L. TROTSKY.

January 5, 1934

THE MILITANT

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Hill-Billy Hitlerites

Red Baiting and Jew Baiting

(Ed. Note—This is the second of a series of articles devoted to a study and exposure of the budding Fascist movement known as the Silver Shirts of America.)

It was a popular impression before the Nazis hoisted themselves into the saddle of power that Adolf Hitler was a clown and his supporters a bunch of "nuts." It was said that he had no program, that the storm-troops were ruff-baiting at the world and eager for blood and revenge. There was more than a grain of truth in this belief. Yet there was method in Hitler's madness—and a terrible appeal. Witness the million-headed Fascist monster that rules Germany today.

The secret of Hitler's success with his followers, in part, rested in his ability to invoke real or imaginary foes who were blamed for the grief and worries of society, to promise their heads to crazed, embittered people. Threat and condemnation—this is the Fascist credo. The positive program is a mystery or at best vague promises.

Pelley's Silver Shirts are founded upon a striking emulation of their German prototypes. On one of the pages of their rag, *Liberation*, (this is a peculiar way of saying, slavery) all of the so-called panaceas "for saving America" are decreed—taboo. These include the lightening of the farmers' taxes, the abolition of the presidential electoral college, the repeal of prohibition, the elimination of usury, government ownership of public utilities and... The abolition of the system of production for profit! No! These are only delusions, says the *Liberation* scribe, "And those who do not think deeply are led into the pathways of delusive socialism, if they belong to the 'intellectuals', and into the clutches of anarchistic Communism if they belong to the so-called proletariat."

Well, then, asks the sane worker, what is wrong with the system we live in?

The answer, recounted below, is quite worthy of the lowliest intellect in Mattawan:

"A foreign virus has been instilled into the body of the nation. Within the flesh of the citizenry, crawls the viper of materialism...."

"It is no peculiar fact that the Jews and Jewishness are noted for materialism. Nor is it strange that this gigantic fact should resolve itself into national factors with the Jews at the root and at the bottom of every major corruption and debauchery of our Christian nation and Constitutional form of government!"

In Germany the Jews were accused of having sold the nation's birthright to the Allies. In America the "Depression.... was the result of a vast JEWISH banker's conspiracy." How true to type! The ostensible cause, claimed by the German Hitlerites, for the sweeping ruin of the middle strata of the population was the treaty of Versailles perpetrated by the Jews, and the "foreign yoke" maintained by the Jews. In the United States, according to the Hill-Billy Hitlerites, 1923 was the Jewish Deluge for the "Gentile" petty bourgeoisie, which is perpetuated by the "Washington Jewish Oligarchy." This is the ancient scape-goat trotted out and spat upon in order to detract attention from the real burning issue—capitalism.

Bluntly stated, here is what the Jew-scalping "Chief" considers the insidious plan of the "traders (Jews) of this Christian form of government."

The Jewish Plot a la Pelley

"We need more Hebrews in the United States to perfect our plans and strategies for the utter despotism of Protocols over your destitute free institutions. So whether you like it or not we are going to bring them in. We will distribute them far and wide over your American nation. We shall see that they are set up as shopkeepers in cities and towns all over the coun-

try, entering into competition with your Gentile shopkeepers who are on the verge of bankruptcy through what we have done to your economic and financial system already, plus our pet NRA scheme for making it costlier for you to do business at all. We will also use them, as they demonstrate individual smartness, to worm and weasel into all your fraternal and social organizations and keep bulldog watch over their activities, to see that nothing starts within them for checkmating our international racial program."

The battle cry for the doomed middle class: Exterminate the Jews and there will be more jobs, professions and business for You!

Great pains are taken to prove that the government is dominated by Jews, that the Federal Reserve and the Treasury is under the thumb of the Judan swarm. Notice all the variety of Jews on the inside track in Washington: "It has gotten to the point that Jews and husbands of Jews, semi-Jews and wives of Jews, Gentile fronts for Jews, statistical Jews, financial Jews, analytical Jews, budget Jews, brain-trust Jews, politics Jews, diplomatic Jews, immigration Jews, Congressional Jews, patronage Jews, inc? Must we wait for the Red

mortgage Jews, assessor Jews, foreign conference Jews, war debt Jews, radio Jews, motion picture Jews, sugar Jews, clothing Jews, packing, industry Jews, railroad Jews, publicity Jews, Cuban Jews, League of Nations Jews, Colonel-House-brand of Jews, Barney-Baruch Gentile Jews, Washington editor Jews, government clerk Jews, are swarming all over the place...."

Hosannas are sung for Hitler's persecution of Jews and Communists; epithets are heaped on those who protest the savage deeds in Berlin.... This story is drummed on the ears of the ignorant, bigoted Silver Shirt,—whose brain action must become paralyzed after reading several copies of *Liberation*—until he thinks that his salvation on heaven and earth, materially and spiritually, rests with Pelley's anti-Semitism.

"The issue is sharp—how much longer are we going to permit Baruchism (Barney Baruch, the agent of Russian Communism in America according to the feverish brain of the "Chief") to direct the foreign policy of these Christian United States of America? Must we wait for the Red

Constitutional Restrictions

On page 337 of the *Locomotive Firemen's Constitution* (B. of L. F. & E.) we find the following provision in Section 10:

"The printing and distribution of circulars of a general character shall be restricted to the Grand Lodge, provided that subordinate lodges, or officers of legislative boards or general grievance committees, who desire to send out circular letters relative to co-operative enterprises, political activities, or any other matters of interest to the membership, may do so after first securing the approval of the International President or his representative."

On page 112 of the *Railroad Trainmen's Constitution* (B. of R. T.) Section 154 reads as follows:

"Any circular emanating from this lodge, or any member thereof, which is intended for general circulation among the members of the Brotherhood, shall require the approval of the President of the Brotherhood before being put into circulation. Provided, this section shall not be construed to interfere with the right of subordinate lodges, after proper lodge action, to issue calls for union meetings for the general welfare of the Brotherhood. Any member violating this section, shall upon conviction thereof, be expelled."

The *Locomotive Engineers* (B. of L. E.) have a similar gaglaw in section 85, page 81, of their Constitution. Practically all of the other Rail Unions have similar provisions designed to muzzle the membership.

As a matter of fact, these gaglaws cost the railroad unions millions of dollars annually in loss of wages and working conditions because of improper organization to get better ones, to say nothing about the huge sums paid out every year in outrageous salaries to a lot of useless and unnecessary officials. It was just such laws as these which enabled the B. of L. E. officials to nearly ruin that organization without being exposed nor expelled. It was only the members, who had sufficient courage and understanding to expose the officials, who suffered expulsion by these laws.

Brother workers, put up an organized campaign both inside and outside of your meetings to get these vicious gaglaws repealed at your next convention. Pass these articles in the *MILITANT* around to the railroad workers. Discuss these things wherever you can and thereby help to relegate all gag-laws and their beneficiaries to the political junk heap.

—A. E.

The Railroad Brotherhoods
Constitutions Reek with GaglawsVI.
The Brotherhood Constitutions Reek With Gaglaws

As a general rule when we find gag-laws printed in the constitution of a labor organization it indicates that its leadership is reactionary, incompetent, and overpaid. In other words, the leadership has become bureaucratic. It also shows that the interest of the officials and the interest of the membership is not the same. Something divides them. If this were not the case why would it be necessary for the leaders to smuggle laws into the constitution to stifle the expression of the members?

In order to show the ordinary member of the railroad brotherhoods what kind of laws he will find in his constitution, we will here cite two concrete examples taken from the current constitutions of the two leading crafts among the 21 Railroad Unions.

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—A. E.

Flag to fly over the White House, and hundreds of our people to be shot down by the American-Jewish Chekka in the streets of Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, before we will awaken and arise to a man, smash Jewish Communism in this land of Patrick Henry as Mussolini smashed it in Italy, as Hitler smashed it in Germany?"

As on the European continent, and wherever Fascism has reared its ugly head, it likewise reveals its *raison d'être*—anti-working class, destroy the revolutionary and labor movement to perpetuate the existence of the cadaver, capitalism. It is highly significant that in all the fuming and raging about Jewish bankers, moneylenders, the writer has not found a single word in the dozens of Silver Shirt magazines he has labored through, aimed at the industrialists, the factory owners, the exploiters, the slave-drivers in the mine and the mill. Naturally, the banker (for whom we have no sympathy whatsoever, and who will be eliminated not by Pelley but by the Communist movement), and especially the Jewish banker is a good mark for the chief. He is thereby committed to nothing definite. He can wriggle out any time his masters clamp down, whining "I mean the Jewish bankers, not a good Gentile firm like J. P. Morgan but his competitors Kuhn, Loeb and Co."

The Choicest Inveective

Next to the Jews the choicest invective is saved for Soviet Russia,—murderers, cut-throats, thieves, rapists, and various combinations of these and other bouquets.... Russian Communism, says Pelley, finances American Communism through the Armory and Barney Baruch, die-hard conservative banker, was and is the liaison officer through whom Communism is infiltrated into the United States. The "Chief" gets purple in the face shouting against the Recognition agreement with Russia which he claims in his delirium has tortured and murdered over 1,670,000 persons. "The Chief" does not think that Communism in this country is or would be so much of a menace to civilization (read: capitalism) except that it is directly aided by Roosevelt's closest advisors; and many is the impression given in the official organ that Roosevelt himself might be a good-standing member of the Politbureau of the Russian Communist Party....

Pelley is 100% anti-Soviet. So much so that he denounces his fellow jingo, William Randolph Hearst, for raising a hue and cry about the Japanese Yellow Peril. The Silver Shirt declares that Japan has been fighting the battle of civilization against Sovietism—when she plundered Northern China and bombarded Shanghai. A plan is recounted whereby "A ring of steel was to be drawn about Jewish-Soviet Russia, and that ring was to be tightened until the Murder-bund under Stalin was to be strangled from existence. On the East was Japan, on the West was Poland, Germany, and Czechoslovakia— which latter nation meant, of course, France."

"Japan was to commence the fight for the preservation of constitutional civilization and the continued reign of orderly governments in Manchuria. Hitler was to be lifted into power on the West, and out of this 'lifting' was to grow a formidable antagonism to Communism throughout Continental Europe. Certain equally significant and vital roles, all delineated at the time were to be played by England and Italy." (*Liberation*, December, 9, 1933). Pelley has all he can do in trying to conceal his chagrin because the brigands assault on the Worker's Fatherland has not yet commenced. And how he rages against the Recognition because it might help Soviet Russia....

Let us conclude on the same note we began this installment. The universal features of Fascism apply even to these United States. The middle class is duped, drugged and deceived but like all addicts it does not realize the damage until morning after....

—GEO. CLARKE.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL
(Winter Term)

The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from January 29th to April 2nd. The following classes are listed:

1. **FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM** Martin Abern
(Based on the "Communist Manifesto")
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
 2. **THE YOUTH MOVEMENT** Joseph Carter
Mondays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m. — Beginning January 29th.
 3. **SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY AND TACTICS** Arne Swaback
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
 4. **ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS** S. Blake
Fridays—8 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.
 5. **THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY** J. Wright
Fridays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.
- REGISTRATION:** The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arrangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening.
- Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

For the New Party

Open Letter to the A.W.P.

(Continued from page 1)

try a genuinely revolutionary party of the working class whose final goal is the establishment of a classless society. We consider the founding of such a party the central and most important task of every true revolutionist in the United States today. Your declarations assert that you have the same aim in mind. There are grounds, therefore, for assuming that a serious effort can and should be made by the two organizations to unite their forces and energies towards a harmonious accomplishment of the task they have set themselves. Two organizations with the same objective in view would obviously be militating against their own common interests if they were to pursue two different and separate paths towards that objective.

Your declarations speak of the need of a new revolutionary party in this country, organizationally and politically independent both of the reformist Socialist party and the degenerated official "Communist" party. By a revolutionary party, we understand a Communist party—one deserving of that name, and not a bureaucratic caricature—with a fundamental Communist pro-

gram. These are, as you know, those who, in speaking for a new party, have in mind one which seeks to reconcile, or to oscillate between, petty bourgeois socialism, on the one side, and Marxism on the other, that is, social democracy and Communism. Far from dignifying such a party with the name "revolutionary", we would consider it an elementary duty to fight against it in the interests of strengthening a truly revolutionary, or Marxian party. If by a revolutionary party you have in mind a conception that harmonizes with ours, we see absolutely no reason why we should not join hands for the purpose of forming it. Quite the contrary, there is every reason why our efforts in this direction, as well as those of any other group holding similar views, should be exerted in common.

Without in the least holding any narrow prejudices which would result in creating an abortive sect divorced from the life of the masses and their daily struggles and interests, instead of a vigorous, active militant party of the vanguard which has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole, we nevertheless lay the greatest stress on the question

of the program of the new party. We consider it futile, and even harmful, to proceed with the formation of a new party without having first laid down the solid foundation of a revolutionary Marxian program. It is only on the basis of a program, and the activities of the party which flow from it, that the creation of a new party distinct from the existing ones can be justified in the eyes of the working class. In our declaration, printed in the *MILITANT* of September 30, 1933, we outlined our conception of the programmatic basis of the new party.

On this score, we are obliged to state that your position is not entirely clear to us. Without any intention of anticipating in this communication the imperatively necessary preliminary and comradely discussions on this matter which we propose, we cannot, nevertheless, refrain from declaring that in many respects your position on the program for the new party appears to us to be marked by an ambiguity which can only weaken the new party before it is fairly launched. However, it is precisely because we believe that there is still an adequate opportunity to submit such questions to an objective discussion, in which neither side attempts to impose its standpoint upon the other, that we are addressing our proposals to your Committee.

Assembled and united on a sound and lasting foundation, the various revolutionary groups in this country which aim at forming a new party, would constitute a serious and substantial force. Unnecessary division and apart from one another, their efforts might prove detrimental to the movement for a new party. We need hardly emphasize to you how urgent is the need for such a party in the ranks of the American working class, how valuable a factor in time and how little we can afford to lose any. In view, therefore, of all that has been stated above, we present for your consideration the following proposals:

1. To select a committee from your organization to meet a similar body from our ranks for a preliminary discussion of our relations, for the purpose of determining the extent to which joint action for the formation of the new party is possible.
2. As a next step, to make those arrangements which are considered necessary for the broadest and most democratic discussion by the membership of both organizations of their respective views. As an indication of what we have in mind, we would mention at this point the exchange of representatives of the membership meetings of the two bodies; the convening of joint membership discussion meetings; the publication of an internal bulletin for which we are jointly responsible and in which discussion articles on programmatic and practical problems of the proposed party may be published; etc., etc.
3. To invite other groups having a similar objective to participate in these arrangements and discussions.
4. In order that this period shall not be confined merely to discussions to the detriment of the practical work which must be carried on at all times in the class struggle, we propose that immediately, without waiting until complete agreement is reached on every disputable point, the closest collaboration should be established between the two organizations in those fields in which a sufficiently common view already exists. We have in mind specifically the great possibilities for joint work of the two organizations in (a) work in the trade unions; (b) the struggle against anti-labor persecutions, the manifestations of Fascism which are already visible in this country, and for the defense of class war victims; (c) work among the unemployed millions. Cooperation in these fields would not only be fruitful in itself, but would actually facilitate the discussion on undecided questions of program.

While we consider that these proposals are necessary preliminary steps in the work of forming a new revolutionary party in this country on a firm and healthy foundation, we are of course prepared to consider any alternative or supplementary proposals which your Committee may find it appropriate to present to us. We are animated in our views and our actions by a desire to consolidate the efforts of all those who are striving in a common direction.

Fraternally yours,
National Committee of the
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
ARNE SWABACK, Secretary.

the phase of that menacing thing, social-democratic reformism, and to pass direct from the domination of capitalist ideas to the clear-sighted revolutionary struggle for Communism!"

—MAG.

Six Hundred Hotel Workers Start
Strike Wave in Waldorf Astoria

(Continued from page 1)

Astoria. And as the negotiations between the union officials and the management of the Waldorf Astoria for the reinstatement of the discharged worker took place—each worker understood more and more clearly that this act on the part of Boomer was a direct provocation.

The bosses of course thought to choose their own time and place and manner of "dealing" with the union—to deal it a death blow after a series of maneuvers, at one stroke. The choice of time—has been more or less their own; but the workers in no ambiguous manner have declared that they will not be segregated in isolated individual struggles—there is a common goal and theirs is a common battle in this industry where monopoly capital stands completely revealed in its most brutal and reactionary form.

The struggle that will unfold in the next few days will embrace tens of thousands of workers. In all the large hotels and restaurants in New York, if bands play at dinner time, or lunch or breakfast it will be to empty tables and empty floors, as was the case in the Waldorf Astoria.

Workers Act As One Man

The spirit and action of the Waldorf Astoria workers is not an isolated or an episodic manifestation—it embodies the spirit and the actions of the overwhelming majority of the workers in the industry. If the bosses had any illusions on the score, they were and will be rapidly dissipated.

In the Waldorf Astoria the workers moved and acted as one man. Leaving a picket line at the hotel, they came in a body to the headquarters of the union. There was no hysteria. The workers knew what they were doing; they were completely confident that the organization they had helped so well to build would act only as they had acted. This compact body of 600 workers was a living embodiment of the tremendous power of the workers in the industry as a whole. And at their meeting, no voice other than the voice of the working class was heard.

The capitalist papers will not report this meeting. They will not report how organizer A. Caldis cal-

led the meeting to order, and how the secretary of the union, B. J. Field, concisely and briefly reported to the men on the situation and the inevitable course ahead, nor will there be a word regarding J. P. Cannon's address to the workers. These are items of no interest to the editors.

There is no "news interest" to them in the minor detail such as the inability of worker Gilles to finish his few words of comradely greeting to his fellow workers for their genuine working class action that evening. Worker Gilles choked—not because he is not used to speaking, nor because he was overcome with emotion, but because there are no words that are suitable to express that which can be expressed only in actions. And the behavior of worker Gilles and his fellows was and will be a million times more eloquent than any speeches, or articles. One had only to be present at this meeting to understand immediately that this was a body of organized workers part and parcel of the larger army of thousands that is swinging and will swing into a solid front against the bosses in the industry.

The workers have their organization. It speaks and acts only with them and for them. It is prepared. The workers in the hotel and restaurant industry will write another page into the history of working class struggle under the banner of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union—a page which no worker will be ashamed of.

THE MAGAZINES

The January issue of *The American Mercury* is now on sale on newsstands and in bookstores. Under the editorship of Henry Hazlitt the "magazine with the arsenal of green covers" as Upton Sinclair dubbed it, is taking on a more serious character.

In the January issue this is achieved principally by two articles: one by Trotsky—How Long Can Hitler Stay?; and John Strachey's—Against An American Third Party. Trotsky's article is a polemic against the Stalinist thesis that "the Fascists are Caliphs for an hour" as the official organ of the Comintern put it. Basing himself on a Marxist analysis of the class forces at work in the present situation in Germany, Trotsky both demonstrates the falsity of the Stalinist estimation and gives a prognosis of the defeat of the Nazi monster.

Strachey's article is an attempt to apply the lessons of the political history of the British labor movement to the United States. His strong points are his strictures of the failure of the British Labor Party to advance the interests of the workers. The forces which made for this outcome, Strachey admonishes, deserve close study by "those Americans who are today supporting the attempt to set up a gradualist third party."

In conclusion he poses the question of whether "it is not just possible that by far the best feature of the present American situation, from the point of view of the workers, is precisely that there exists no social-democratic third party in America....?" "Is it not possible for the American masses to leap over a whole historical phase,

Thousands Vote General Strike in N.Y. Hotels and Restaurants

(Continued from page 1)

on strike 600 strong on Tuesday night as a protest against the discharge of Andre Fournigault, an active union man in that haughty of the country's first class hotels. The men of the Waldorf Astoria and their fellow union members considered the firing of Fournigault as a demonstration of hostility on the part of Mr. Boomer, president of the powerful Waldorf Astoria Corporation and of the Hotel Owners' Association against the union's attempt to organize their employees.

A tremendous ovation greeted the Waldorf strikers as they entered the hall and took their places in the gallery.

Following Field, Smith, of the Waldorf delegation, was introduced among cheers of enthusiasm that turned the meeting into a striking

demonstration of solidarity for several minutes. Delegate Smith reported on the strike and asked the union men to make it unanimous if the bosses do not comply by Friday.

The chairman introduced Jas. P. Cannon as the next speaker. Comrade Cannon stressed the seriousness of the step to be taken, pointed out the spirit of fighting determination that inspired the resolution and told the meeting that the eyes of all labor in America were directed upon them, urging the men to carry the resolution and follow the example of the Waldorf vanguard with a militant struggle till victory. Sweeping bursts of applause interrupted his speech from time to time as he drove home the slogans for the strike.

Garcia, one of the Waldorf men who organized and led the strike

at that establishment, spoke in French and was also given a rousing reception.

General Strike Acclaimed

Ben Gitlow, who spoke next, dwelled on the proposed strike as a means of getting action from the NRA administration. It was by action and organization, he said, that the union had brought the NRA to the point of recognizing the Amalgamated union as the legitimate representative of the Casino de Paree workers who had gone out on strike. This decision had been made known only that afternoon. An organized general strike was the only means of the workers in the whole industry taking advantage of section 7a of the National Recovery Act, he continued. There are two kinds of recovery, comrade Gitlow exclaimed. One, "recovery" of profits for the bosses who throw

the vast majority of the people into constant misery. The other, "recovery" by the workers of the right to live like human beings. The general strike would be a great step in the direction of getting the latter kind of "recovery." Applause and cheers greeted the concluding remarks of the speaker.

The chairman then proceeded to the vote. At the call for a show of hands in favor of the resolution, all hands in the hall went up as one. Not a single hand was raised in opposition to the resolution. Secretary Fields then told the assembly that this demonstration of unanimity was already in itself a very heartening stride towards victory and the meeting was adjourned.

FURTHER STRIKE NEWS

A steady flow of new applicants

for membership poured into union headquarters to sign up, as strike news got abroad, from early this morning till late at night.

1200 men, working at night shifts in their hotels and restaurants, met in shop meetings all afternoon, and declared for strike action before the final vote.

Leaders of the Waldorf strike flatly denied the claims of Oscar, maitre d'hotel at the Waldorf Astoria, and of Mr. Boomer, made in interviews with newspapermen, that some of the workers had declined to join the strike. All regular employees of the hotel, including the night watch, walked out to a man, they declared.

The Geneva Club and the Vatel Club, fraternal organizations of

hotel and restaurant workers, today displayed signs indicating support of the Waldorf strike. Strikers stated that this action, coming surprisingly from Executive Boards which had helped the bosses in their aim to set up the company union "Guild", was the result of pressure from the outraged membership. A stormy meeting at the Vatel Club this afternoon, in which the rank and file forced through an open session, compelled a vote in support of the Waldorf strikers and for an early meeting to consider withdrawal from the "Guild".

The leaders of the A. F. of L. hotel and restaurant union, who have been vociferous in their proclamations of disassociation from the Amalgamated and the general strike, received a heavy blow against their scabbing activities at the

Casino de Paree, in which they have installed strike-breakers, by a decision from the NRA local labor board. The Labor Board has recognized the Amalgamated as the only representative of the Casino de Paree workers.

Among the hundreds who signed with Amalgamated today, was the complete crew of the aristocratic Marlborough Club at Madison Avenue and 63rd Street.

Strike meetings to arrange for picketing and map out local actions will be held in halls designated by the Executive Board in all parts of the city on Friday night. The exact location of the halls will be given in leaflets to be put out by the union Friday morning. Watch for the strike leaflets.

Notes Of A Journalist

"NOT ONLY, BUT ALSO..."

In 1920, in order to save the transportation system from collapse, the party Congress, upon Trotsky's recommendation, instituted the so-called political-sections over the railroads, that is, specially picked and militarized party organs, placed over the transport trade unions and the local party organizations. This emergency measure produced results: the transportation was improved. But the workers took a hostile attitude to these political-sections which infringed upon the trade union democracy. At the beginning of 1921, these political-sections were removed and the normal order restored.

Today the political-sections once again rule over transportation, and this time with unrestricted powers. In a public report, the head of the political directorate, Zimin, was not at all optimistic in describing the situation in the railroads, and in particular the results that have been achieved by restoring the political-sections. Everywhere Zimin uncovers the activities of the Whites, enemies and saboteurs; and after each exposure, he never fails to point out that "all this took place under the very eyes of Communists."

The reporter does not offer any explanations for this unconcern on the part of Communists. As Zimin puts it, the administrative reforms introduced by the political-sections meet with resistance at every step. "It must be stressed—says he—that sabotage is current not only among the links below but also within the directing apparatus of the roads and the N. K. P. S." In this casually tossed off phrase there is impecably expressed the soul of the present Soviet regime. During the initial years after the Overturn, the havens of sabotage were the bureaus, departments and administrative organs and staffs of all sorts that were manned by the old specialists. The struggle against sabotage was led by means of control from below, through the rank and file workers, that is. Today this inter-relationship has been stood on its head: What incenses Zimin is that sabotage takes place not only amid the workers—this, so to speak, is in the nature of things—but also in the highest staffs whose mission it is to preserve the regime. Without desiring to do so, the political dictator of transportation has defined faultlessly the political bases of the entire Stalinist dictatorship.

THE DRIVE FOR QUALITY

The editors of the Pravda explain nothing, criticize nothing, but sit on a high horse. They "call to attention", "place in full view", and "demand immediate explanations". Since the question relating to the quality of products is on the order of the day (or, to put it more precisely, has been for a number of years), the Pravda, in a tone that brooks no contradiction, issues regulations how to improve steel and calico and transportation.

But what about the quality of the Pravda itself? Evidently there is no one around to "call to attention" and "place in full view". In the meantime, the quality of this newspaper, which has at its disposal exceptional resources and possibilities, is extremely low. It is printed on paper of the worst sort; from among the pile of newspapers on the entire world, the Pravda stands out by its ashy color and porous tissue. The print is dreadful, the typography atrocious. But worst of all is the newspaper itself as a newspaper. Instead of news—an incessant din. Instead of political articles—administrative decrees. Every column seeps with fulsome fawning to the "genial leader", the "greatest theoretician" and so forth. And all this is written in the style of a frustrated functionary who has been put in charge of "ideology" because he is good for nothing else.

THE CLASS ENEMY

Toward the end of October, the engineers, technologists and workers of the mine, Butovka, in the Don region, made public the successes they had achieved, in a letter addressed to Stalin. The first

victory—they wrote—did not come easily; the agents of the class enemy, disguised in a miner's blouse, offered us rabid opposition, and in the darkness of the mines they worked their dark deeds, trying to put the machines out of order, to flood the shaft, and to obstruct the veins.

"The class enemy disguised in a miner's blouse" is none other than the dissatisfied worker. The extract from the letter shows with tragic eloquence that here the matter touches not isolated and demoralized elements but a mass struggle, a civil war in the mines. If the victory over sabotage did not come easily, it was because the victors did not have mass support. The authors of the letter cherish no illusions as to how stable the "victory" is under such conditions. "We are not letting matters rest here—they write—and we cannot let them rest. We know that the class enemy and the saboteurs have not been crushed. They have gone into hiding in order to bide opportune time to execute their destructive work."

Despite the Byzantine terminology that they are compelled to use, the authors of the letter point out clearly how and why the worker is turned into a class enemy. Enumerating the victories, the letter admits casually that "in the sphere of improving the living and cultural conditions... we still continue to lag behind." What is hidden behind these words? We may gather a partial answer from their inventory of successes and victories: "Individual gardening has been widely extended in our mine... Our cadres are fully assured of vegetables for the entire winter."

Such is reality even when it is seen through the prism of a laudatory official dispatches!

CLEANSING THE PARTY

A good crop in the Ukraine was needed, and Roosevelt had to recognize the Soviet government, before the Stalinist bureaucracy would graciously consent to call a party Congress, after an interval of three and a half years. The party Congress is intended not to determine the policies to be pursued under the difficult conditions but to sing hosannas to the leaders upon these episodic successes.

But even given the conditions that we mentioned above, a preparatory cleansing of the party was felt needed prior to the calling of the Congress. The cleansing took place under various criteria. No doubt, a certain number of rascals and agents of the class enemy were cleaned out. Under the present regime, it is impossible to judge the percentage that has remained in the party. But the chief aim of the chistka was to terrorize the party prior to the Congress. Of course, the party is sufficiently cowed even without this. But who can tell? Might not the dissatisfaction brewing and collecting in the masses break out into the open in the form of a discussion before the Congress... Therefore, to prepare for the Congress not a discussion was in order, but a cleansing. This time, everybody was to be kicked out who had ever evinced the slightest inclination toward party discussion.

One needs at least three pairs of spectacles to judge the course of the chistka by the Pravda. These people have become so attuned to lying that they cannot halt their proclivities even in those instances where a minute pinch of truth would rebound to their advantage. But, in any case, one thing is clear: "Trotskyism" won't let the bureaucracy rest in peace. "Trotskyism" is no longer referred to as crushed, buried and so forth; on the contrary, the tendency is rather to exaggerate its forces.

Workers Oppose Mendieta Regime

On January 15 Grau resigned as provisional president of Cuba. He was succeeded by Mendieta, formerly one of the representatives of the Nationalist party in the Revolutionary Junta in Miami, and secretary of agriculture in the Grau cabinet. Mendieta occupied the seat of power for only thirty hours. He resigned and was succeeded by Colonel Carlos Mendieta, who is the present incumbent of the presidential office.

Mendieta is the leader of the Nationalist Party which does not differ essentially from the Liberal Party of Machado. Inasmuch as Mendieta was selected by a conference of representatives of all the bourgeois and revolutionary petty bourgeois factions, in which the hand of Caffery can be seen, the new regime constitutes a development of the Cuban situation, to the right. As first announced Mendieta's cabinet—four members of the Nationalist Party, two of Menocal's party, outrightly reactionary, three members of the ABC and two without party affiliations—has the same rightist stamp.

Workers Oppose Mendieta

The workers are reported to be opposed to Mendieta and his cabinet, but there is no serious struggle against him yet. Guiteras, Grau's Secretary of the Interior, who evidently had presidential ambitions attempted to stay the swing to the right and elevate himself to power. He threatened a general strike and has actually succeeded in calling out the Railway Workers Brotherhood, affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor, a creature of the American Federation of Labor.

Washington has already granted recognition to Mendieta. Apparently it is Roosevelt's purpose to strengthen Mendieta, as he hoped to strengthen De Cespedes. But, as yet, there is no indication that Mendieta will be more successful than Grau in dealing with the extremely delicate and complicated problems of Cuban politics and economy.

—ALPHA.

Gems From Stalin

Along with greetings to the tenth anniversary number of the Daily Worker from the Metropolitan News Co., and a big "ad" by the Modern Investment and Loan Corporation calling on workers to yield up their money to these leeches, the enterprising editors of "America's Only Working Class Daily Newspaper" include the speech Stalin made at the Congress of Soviets, five days after Lenin died. It is called The Heritage of Lenin.

To really appreciate the political period and how it compares with his line today one should read the whole of the original. Space prevents us from reprinting it. We beg the indulgence of our readers if, from the oyster, we choose only the rarest pearls.

"Lenin told us more than once that the respite we have gained from the capitalist states may be a short one." Trotskyist contraband! "Lenin never regarded the republic of Soviets as an end in itself,"—say, like building Socialism in one country—"He always regarded it as a necessary link for strengthening the revolutionary movements in the lands of the West and the East, as a necessary link for facilitating the victory of the toilers of the whole world, over capital. Lenin knew that only (!) such an interpretation is the correct one, not only from the international point of view, but also from the point of view of preserving the republic of Soviets itself." Hear! Hear! Picture of a man polemizing against his own future position!

"In departing from us comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and expanding the Union of Republics. We vow to you, comrade Lenin, that we will also carry out this bequest of yours with honor."

"In departing from us comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, comrade Lenin, that

Workers Oppose Mendieta Regime

Deadline For Harvest

The second or third week in January is the deadline for beginning the harvest if the cane is to be cut and ground in time. Delay in getting the harvest under way may mean an even smaller quota for Cuba than the 1932-33 figure with corresponding increases in the quotas of Cuba's competitors. Failure to harvest the crop will mean no taxes for the government; an empty treasury, inability to pay the principal and interest on loans, still more drastic cuts in the public services, difficulty with the army over wages, etc., etc.

Grau's failure to make even a beginning in establishing conditions for a harvest profitable to the American and Cuban owners explains why he made his exit at this time. It is Mendieta's assigned task to drive the workers off the plantations they have seized, and recover for the capitalists the ground they have lost to the workers through the strikes for higher wages and better conditions.

Before Mendieta can harvest the crop he will have to come to grips with the workers. In the period following Machado's fall they have made some improvement in their economic position, extended their organizations and repossessed themselves of a spirit of confidence in their ability to struggle against the enemy. In fact they have reached a point where they can threaten the entire social system. And they have given ample evidence of the fact that they can and will fight. They are not likely to surrender their hard-won gains without a struggle. Such is their temper that they strike at a moment's notice. On hearing a report that Mendieta intended to return to their American owners the property of Morgan's Cuban Electric Company, seized by Grau's government, the workers struck.

So far is Mendieta from being the bourgeoisie's ideal of a strong man that he forced the company's officials to agree to a committee to settle the differences between the company and the workers. Mendieta has proclaimed the postponing of the Constituent Assembly from April 22 to a future, undetermined date. That is likewise a sign of weakness.

High Mark of Struggle...

The high water mark of the workers' struggles was reached in the strike of the electrical workers of the Cuban Electric Company just before Grau fell. The company refused the workers' demand and they struck. The Grau government seized the property. But the workers ran the plant. Here was reached on a microscopic scale the first stage of the Cuban proletarian revolution—nationalization of industry under workers control of production.

The formation of a right government means that the tide has begun to set in against the workers. But it is not yet too late to advance on the road to nationalization. No decisive battles have been fought. The workers are undefeated. But this is practically their last opportunity in the present period. The government is weak. To harvest the crop it needs class peace. Moreover it has made a public demonstration of its weakness. Now is the time to hit it hard. Preparations should be set on foot for the general strike for nationalization of industry under workers control of production. The demand should be raised for the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. At the same time the Soviets should be organized in the towns and on the plantations.

The Cuban Revolution vitally concerns the proletariat of the whole world. The Cuban workers need support and assistance. The silence of the Communist International is nothing short of a betrayal. Moreover, the Communist parties outside of Cuba cannot mobilize the workers against American imperialism. That is our task as revolutionists and internationalists. Together with all those workers' organizations which are willing we must begin the organization of the movement to demand Hands Off Cuba!

—T. STAMM.

Rackets at the McAlpin

New York.—Conditions today in

the kitchen of the Hotel McAlpin are typical of those existing in the majority of hotels of this type in New York City. Therefore, I believe that I am justified in declaring that I speak not only for the food workers in the Hotel McAlpin, but for the thousands of unorganized men and women who are exploited in hotels all over the city.

Food workers in the McAlpin kitchen are divided into three departments. First there is the chef's department which includes the chef, assistant chefs, butchers, vegetable cleaners, fish men, etc. Before the owners of this hotel signed the NRA blanket code, the women in this department were receiving \$13 to \$18 per week; the men, \$16 to \$32, depending on the length of time they had been employed. Out of approximately 45 workers in this entire department there were two men who received the \$32 maximum. At that time one of these men had been employed for 17 years; the other for 20.

Wage Cuts Under NRA

Now that NRA "is in effect" everybody in the chefs department receives \$2 to \$6 less, with the exception of those women who now, as before, receive \$13. The two old-timers who were getting \$32 have been cut to \$26. The majority of the men today receive \$15. (These salaries do not apply to the chefs, who usually work under contract.)

The kitchen staff has now been cut to a fraction of what it used to be. Although it is true that business has fallen off during the past few years, the men are now required to do twice as much work as formerly. If you are hired as a butcher, you must become, during rush hours, a vegetable cleaner, porter, or whatever is required of you. This shortage of workers prevails throughout all the departments of the kitchen.

Next down the scale is the stewards department, composed of dishwashers, silver men, porters, etc. Here, too, the National Recovery Act had an adverse effect upon salaries. Before the NRA workers in this section of the kitchen received \$60 per month; under the NRA they get \$50.

The third department includes all workers in the hotel employees dining rooms and kitchens—salary \$45 per month.

Unpaid Overtime

All kitchen-help work, ostensibly, a 48-hour week. But due to the insufficient number of workers, the entire kitchen staff is compelled to do overtime very frequently—with-out pay. Once in a great while a worker is given an hour off, but that is a rare occurrence.

The kitchens are very old and poorly ventilated. Because the kitchens are built into a sub-basement, there are no windows. Improperly built air shafts and a few electric fans are poor substitutes for up-to-date ventilation. The place is always stuffy and uncomfortable; the summer months are torture.

The hotel employment offices prefer to hire Cubans, Porto Ricans and Mexicans, or any foreign-born workers who are not citizens, or have come into the U. S. illegally. There is a reason for this preference. The majority of these foreign-born workers come from countries which have lower standards of living than this country, and so are accustomed to working hard, saying little, and earning next to nothing. The non-citizens live in constant fear of being discovered by immigration authorities and all of them know full well the consequences of objecting to any abuses imposed by the hotel regulations. If they do not keep their mouths shut they are reported to the immigration authorities and stand in danger of being deported.

Compulsory Deductions From Wages

Workers receive pitifully little, but even that is subject to numerous compulsory deductions. Racket Number 1 is carried on by the chefs' Club, an organization run on the same order as the Tammany clubs. The charter members in-

clude most of the chefs in the New York hotels. Your job is never secure unless the chef receives a few dollars every now and then. Initiation fees in the chefs' Club are from \$60—to as much as they can get. Old men have to pay at least a hundred dollars, because it is harder to place them in jobs. A man who can't get a job through the regular employment offices of the hotel can always get one through the chefs' Club (if he can afford it) at the expense of somebody who is unable to give his chef enough. At one time the French monopolized all kitchen jobs because the majority of the chefs were Frenchmen. When the hotels discovered, that Cubans, Porto Ricans, etc., were "cheaper", the French lost out. The chefs' Club is no longer so "exclusive"; they take anybody's money now—and the racket still flourishes, undisturbed.

Racket Number Two

Racket Number 2 is carried on by the individual chefs in each kitchen. In the McAlpin, the chef is affiliated with numerous charitable enterprises. Several times each week he collects money from all the help for "missionaries in China", "orphan asylums in Squeunk", or "starving peasants in Armenia". Everybody knows whose pockets that money lines, but no one dares refuse.

Rackets Number 3 and 4 are carried on by the hotel owners themselves. For two years the Hotel McAlpin generously pledged support for the Gibson fund for the unemployed. For those two years a sum of money was systematically deducted from the salaries of its employees. This was advertised by them as voluntary contributions.

The last racket is the most vicious and costly of all to the workers. Several years ago the Hotel carried sickness insurance for the workers and paid the premiums. Now, the Hotel still carries the insurance, but \$1.15 to \$1.65 is automatically deducted from every worker's salary each month, to pay for the premiums. Such expensive insurance should confer many more benefits upon the workers than it does. The only benefit received is two-thirds of your salary if you are ill for two weeks or more. A worker ill for less than two weeks receives nothing.

Discrimination

Discrimination of the meanest kind is practiced on the workers in the different departments of the kitchen. The men and women who prepare and serve the food for the kitchen and hotel help receive less pay, although they work the same hours, and just as hard as the others on the kitchen staff. There are two dining rooms for the hotel help: one for members of the chef's department, chamber maids and hotel porters, and the other for dishwashers, silver men and kitchen porters. The former get food that is slightly stale and none too good, and the latter get food that is extremely stale and sometimes inedible.

—MCALPIN WORKER.

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE

The Militant has discontinued the publication of comrade Trotsky's article on the Soviet State and the Fourth International. The whole article, which is of considerable length, will appear in a very short time as a pamphlet, issued by the Pioneer Publishers. Inquiries as to price and orders should be addressed there. Complete details about the new publication will be given in an early number of The Militant.

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SUNDAY, February 4 — 3 P. M.

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Strike Spreads to Biggest New York Hotels

LEON TROTSKY

Towards the Catastrophe

In view of the increasing tension in the Far East, we are herewith reprinting an important extract from the corrected version of comrade Leon Trotsky's recent article on Japan and the Soviet Union.—Ed.

1. The Myth of Invincibility.

Manifestly, the ruling classes of Japan are suffering from swelled heads. Through policies of external aggression threats and violence, they are seeking a way out from unprecedented internal difficulties. And everywhere they meet with success. International pacts have been violated. Under the pretext of creating an independent government, an immense country has been annexed. The League of Nations piles up reports which get nowhere. America maintains cautious silence. The Soviet Union steers towards concessions and the logical conclusion seems to be that Japan is invincible and that its rulers are chosen to rule not only over the Asiatic continent but the whole world. But what are the facts?

Less than four decades ago the small island nation defeated the gigantic Chinese empire on land and sea. The entire world was startled. Fourteen days after the signature of the Treaty of Simonsen, Richthofen, the famous German geographer, wrote that Japan had won "equality" and had raised itself to the rank of the Great Powers. Ten years later came an even greater miracle: Japan routed Czarist Russia. Among the very few who had foreseen such a result were first of all the Russian revolutionists; but who at that time was interested in what the revolutionists said? The prestige of the Island Empire rose all the higher the more unexpected to civilized humanity was the victory of Japan over its two neighbors whose combined population exceeded its own more than ten times.

In the World War Japan's participation amounted to police operations on a major scale, carried on in the Far East and partly in the Mediterranean. However the very fact that it adhered to the camp of the victors and collected ample booty could not but increase still higher the national self-glorification of Japan's ruling classes. Japanese imperialism completely revealed its jaws by the "twenty-one demands" to China, issued at the beginning of the war—only fifteen years after Japan had freed itself from humiliating treaties!

General Tanaka's Memorial of 1927 set forth a complete program in which national ambitions convert into the dullest megalomania. The document is an astounding one! Official denials do not weaken one iota its persuasive force. There is no forging such a text. In any case, Japan's policies during the past two years supply irrefutable proofs of the authenticity of this document. The conquest of Manchuria was achieved with comparatively insignificant forces by means of aviation and bombs; in a few strokes the Japanese concentrated some four or five divisions in China, hardly more than 50,000 men. The operations resembled military maneuvers rather than war. But all the more "prestige" to the general staff at Tokyo!

Nevertheless the military invincibility of Japan is a devout myth which has paid dividends so far but which sooner or later must be wrecked by reality. So far, Japan has had no occasion to match its strength with the advanced nations. Japan's successes, however brilliant in themselves, have been the fruit of the superiority of a backward nation over nations still more backward. In war the principle of relativity is omnipotent. Once upon a time the empire of the Czar passed from victory to victory; from an isolated Moscow principality it transformed itself into a mighty Empire stretching over two continents from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Czar's armies were also proclaimed invincible in all the school books. But in point of fact old Russia, depending on the semi-servile peasantry, gained single-handed victories only over the barbaric tribes of Central Asia and the Caucasus, or over states which had collapsed internally, like Poland under her feudal nobility or Turkey under the Sultans. In general from the beginning of the French revolution, the Czar's armies represented a lymphatic and ponderous impotence. True, between 1907 and 1914 the army and navy were energetically reformed and strengthened with the active aid of the patriotic Dumas. However, the test of the World War brought along with it bitter disillusion; the Rus-

sian army won tactical successes only so long as it was subjected to the play of the centrifugal forces of Austria-Hungary. But in the main theatre of the war it once again revealed its utter insufficiency.

We beg the indulgence of our readers for the briefness of the extract from comrade Trotsky's article. Our desire to put into this issue as much of the latest news about the hotel and restaurant workers' strike caused technical difficulties which made it impossible to carry through the original plan. A longer section will appear in the next issue.

Thousands Surround Waldorf In First Mass Picketing Line

All day they waited in the strike hall, all prepared for a long struggle. During the afternoon the hall packed up tight, new men coming in every few minutes. By five, the fateful hour, it was jammed. The general strike was on! Upstairs, shop committees were meeting. Downstairs, they lined up for the big march to the Waldorf. At five it set out.

Most of the 2,000 who started out had never been on a picket line before. At first they seemed a little puzzled as to just what to do. But the ranks were tight and orderly, not even the heavy early-evening traffic breaking them. They walked across the city, towards Park Avenue, towards the luxury they helped make possible all these years.

Passersby looked and wondered. "Must be a parade," somebody said. "No. Something about child labor." What do they know? What do they care? At Park Avenue a woman all bundled in furs turned and spoke savagely: "You ought to be glad you're not on the headline." She was the kind these strikers cooked for and waited on and half-starved for all these years. Never again! This was the day of reckoning, of the general strike.

At each step they felt closer together, learning at last that only together and through each other can they gain the simplest thing, decent hours, decent pay, decent conditions. Only together, through the Union.

The line reaches the Waldorf, other columns join in. After a while more men come, as shop after shop is pulled out. Secretary Field rushes down the line with a bulletin—Park Central out, Breslin out, Astor, Lexington...one after another. The men came from the Lexington, bringing their tools with them. The line grew and grew. Groups of sympathizers joined on. At last 3,000 strong, marching, round and round the Waldorf.

At first quietly, feeling strange. Then confidence grew. The line became solid, marching solid, and somewhere an old-timer began to sing "Solidarity." Men listened, men who had never heard the words before, and in a few minutes the whole line was singing. "Solidarity forever, for the union makes us strong!"

"Down With the Scabs!" Men who had worked alone, each

Struck Hotels

Here are some of the most important of the 50 hotels and restaurants on strike:

Waldorf-Astoria, New Weston, Astor, Lincoln, Barbizon Plaza, Sherry-Netherlands, Savoy Plaza, 5th Ave., Essex House, Colonade Club, Casino de Paree, Lombardie, N. Y. Athletic Club, St. Moritz, Pierre, Breslin, Ambassador Roosevelt, Brevort, Montclair, Lafayette, Biltmore, Ritz Tower, Madison, Central Park Casino (settled), Paradise, Esque (settled), Warwick, Dorsey, Delmonico, Westbury, Pennsylvania, Piccadilly, Mayfair House, Park Lane, Taft, Biltmore, New Yorker, Longchamps, Weylin, Old Plaza, Colony Club, Drake, Bristol, The Forty E. 64th St., and the St. Regis.

'Ballyhoo' Won't Cook Dinners

RECOGNITION OF THE UNION 40 HOUR WEEK MINIMUM \$20 A WEEK FOR THE LOWEST PAID WORKERS.

These are the demands of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union and this is why thousands of men and women have slammed the sweat-shop kitchen doors behind them in the biggest strike New York hotels have ever known. The demands are plain enough, fair enough, to get the unanimous endorsement and response of every worker in the industry.

Behind these demands there is the story of five years during which wages have shrunk steadily, and hours have just as steadily increased. Hotels have been operating understaffed, so that on top of having wage-cuts and overtime to swallow, the hotel-workers have each had to do a three and four-man job. Then came the prohibition-repeal boom, and the hotels were packed with drinkers and diners. Out of all this profit, not one cent went to the workers, not one hour was cut off their day, and furthermore the Hotel Men's Association wrote it self a "code" which cut wages still more and lengthened hours. They boldly attempted to cut wages at tips—and the next step, presumably, would be to make the workers pay the hotel for the privilege of spending twelve to sixteen hours a day feeding somebody else!

The demands of the food-workers are so plain, the union's stand is so unambiguous, that the Hotel Men's Association is unable to cover itself and takes refuge in a silly statement, made by Lucius Boomer, that they "have no idea why the strike was called." They even make some attempt at smearing the clear issue by claiming that the whole movement is a cooked-up affair, a red devil's brew stirred up by agitated chefs!

Only three weeks ago the hotels were bragging of the tremendous wave of prosperity they were enjoying. The government was collecting millions in taxes, the banks were rubbing their hands, the hotel managers were plumply complacent. Their old excuse for cutting wages—"business is rotten," hasn't a leg to stand on. They haven't got an excuse—they haven't an explanation, nor an answer except the dirty weapons of lies, threats, and scabs.

The Labor Board is silent too. Odd, isn't it? It has a good deal of explaining to do, such as why the hotel workers' code was signed without first being submitted to the workers, and why the code prolongs and authorizes the abuses and racket that the hotel-men were able to bludgeon through during five years of "bad business"....

If anything more was needed to discredit the bright ballyhoo of the "New Deal," and to teach the workers that they have no friends but themselves, this is the lesson. You can't beat action with ballyhoo, and Mr. Boomer can pop telling the reporters that everything is rosy in the Waldorf, and forty other Boomers can join the chorus, but the workers know the truth. They know what they want, they know they are entitled to it, and they know they will have to fight for it, and they also know that in spite of ballyhoo, threats, cops, and scabs, they will win. You can't cook dinners with—ballyhoo.—B.

20,000 Out

FLASH! LATE BULLETIN!

At the moment of going to press, figures gathered by The Militant's reporters show that at least 20,000 workers are now on strike. Incomplete returns indicate that 10,000 more in houses not yet pulled are organized, have indicated their approval of the strike and are only awaiting the completion of strike preparations. Up to the minute figures on the growth of the A. F. W. cannot be given. According to Secretary B. J. Field, applications are being received and approved faster than the clerical staff can handle them.

Greetings have been received by the strikers in telegrams from labor organizations in various parts of the country.

Service Crippled As Strike Ranks Swell

Fifty of City's Most Important Hotels Successfully Struck by Amalgamated Food Workers

"The general strike is sweeping the hotels from one end of New York to the other. This report of success can already be made when the strike is not yet three days old and the wave has hardly reached its peak."

This is the statement made today by B. J. Field, secretary of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

And it can be truly said that the hotel strike is moving with irresistible power, emptying kitchens and dining rooms of one important hotel in the city after another. The waiters and the cooks of more than 50 hotels have laid down their knives, pots and trays and taken their

place in the battle lines of one of the most momentous labor struggles in the history of the New York working class.

The battle cry was first raised by the workers in the Waldorf Astoria on Tuesday evening. The workers and the industry at large were electrified by this action and close on its heels came the walk-out at the Lincoln and the New Weston on Thursday. Then came the deluge. The Hotel Men's Association was given until Friday to recognize the union and settle on the conditions demanded by the unanimous vote of the membership. The ultimatum expired at 5 P. M. When no answer was received at the deadline the union moved from threat to action, shaking the wealthy fortresses of the open shop like so many houses of cards. One big hotel after another joined the strike. The well-dressed parasites stared at empty plates, waiting in vain for the dinner that would never be cooked or served as the kitchens were paralyzed and the dining rooms crippled.

Biggest Hotels Paralyzed

What no one ever dreamed would happen, least of all the blood-sucking hotel bosses, has crashed down upon the heads of the astounded plutocrats with the force of an avalanche. All the symbols of bloated luxury on the one hand, and slave-driving oppression on the other, pass in review, robbed of their motive force, the workers of the Waldorf—the most famous in the world, Pennsylvania—the biggest, the New Yorker—modern exemplar of the exploiting chain system, the luxurious, pompous Ambassador, Astor, Biltmore and others that would take pages to enumerate.

At the time of writing the headquarters of the Amalgamated is overwhelmed with new strikers. The organizers and the office force are working with what seems to be super-human energy, unparalleled endurance, snatching a few moments of sleep in a day that always seems too short, kept on their toes every waking minute, registering, lining-up, agitating, organizing and getting the machinery humming like a well-oiled dynamo.

The spacious headquarters at 915 Eighth Ave. has become too small to hold the mass of strikers crowding into its premises in the thousands. The Amalgamated, spreading out, has already engaged the Palm Garden as a second strike headquarters and is planning to rent other halls to handle the never-ending stream of strikers.

Militant Tactics

The Amalgamated has employed militant tactics from the outset, sending committees to the hotels where the workers were being intimidated against joining the ranks, leading long parades of shouting, fighting workers around hotels employing scabs, picketing the strike-breaking employment agencies.

Success is greeting its efforts at every turn. The smashing offensive of the Amalgamated is rising higher day by day. The quick-fire moves of the union sound like machine gun reports. Hardly had the militant unionist, Andre Fournigault been discharged for his organization work than the employees at the Waldorf walked out—600 strong. The Hotel Men's Association was given a forty-eight hour ultimatum. And even before the deadline had been reached the Amalgamated gave a warning that it was prepared for action by closing down the Lincoln and the New Weston. This move was quickly followed by the calling of the general strike and the mass picket demonstration at the Waldorf.

Round and round the Waldorf the picket line circled, marking one of the most impressive demonstrations in the history of New York's labor struggles. Since then there have been mass picket lines everywhere. Only yesterday the patrons of the aristocratic Pennsylvania were shocked by an imposing gathering of the very waiters they had tipped so condescendingly, carrying the banners of the general

General Hayashi

General Hayashi is known to the public only by his decisions at the start of the Manchurian fighting in the fall of 1931, when without awaiting orders from higher up, he marched his troops from Korea to support the Japanese forces in Manchuria. The need for having the war ministry headed by a man capable of rapid decisions, especially in time of war, needs no demonstration.

Thus the resignation of Araki and the character of the man appointed to succeed him would appear to indicate not a peace move but a war move. An Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo on January 22 declared in this connection:

"Although General Araki, especially abroad, was regarded as a leader and spokesman of the ag-

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Boss Papers Launch Flood of Lies Against Hotel Strike

The bosses' press is busily slandering the general strike of the hotel workers. When the Waldorf men went out last week and the bosses still hoped the general strike call of the Amalgamated Union was a bluff like the New Year's Eve call of the A. F. of L., they were not very disturbed. The newspapers treated the Waldorf strike as something amusing and interesting, they printed Andre Fournigault's picture, and they made no heavy attack. But when it became clear on Friday that this was no bluff, the attitude of the bosses' press underwent a marked change.

"The respectable New York Times" which boasts that it has "all the news that's fit to print, the sensational Hearst papers (American and Journal) and tabloids the so-called "liberal" Post and World-Telegram, all are trying to discourage the strikers, to misrepresent them, to discredit their leaders, and to disrupt the only movement which can win the workers decent conditions and a living wage.

Boss Press Tricks

One of the standard tricks of these rags is to lie about the number of workers on strike. On Friday night, before the Union officials had had time to list the strikers, the Saturday Times already had a headline saying the response was light. On Sunday the Times said only 800 were out. The Saturday World-Telegram said 1,400. The Evening Post gave only 5,000 on Saturday. When they took up the hotels one by one, they all gave false figures as to the number of men out. In order to give an impression of fairness, each paper admitted that one hotel was "hard hit." But the funny thing is that each picked a different hotel, and only by putting them all together could you see that the Astor, Waldorf, Sherry-Netherlands, Lincoln, Plaza and a lot of others were feeling the strike where it hurts. Despite all this the papers carried headlines saying that the strike was ineffective, that service was going on as usual, etc.

The papers were particularly dishonest in reporting the Waldorf picketing of Friday afternoon. Some papers, including the tabloids and "liberals" did not carry anything about the great demonstration. For example, when the Tribune admitted that the picket line extended

Beware: Fake Telegrams!

Forged telegrams, pretending to come from strike headquarters, were received by workers yesterday from the Dorset and other hotels. One read: "GO BACK TO WORK STOP YOUR SHOP SIGNED UP (signed) AMALGAMATED HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS UNION." The workers turned these telegrams over to union headquarters, which denounced them as forgeries. Any orders to go back to work will be given personally at union headquarters. In addition to the forged telegrams, hundreds of telegrams were received by workers from bosses, ordering them back to work in language so phrased as to deceive the workers into believing that the strike was over. The Amalgamated Food Workers has demanded that the Western Union take steps to stop such outright forgeries.

Japan Moves Toward War Against the Soviet Union

Caught in the toils of insoluble and ever-sharpening contradictions, the capitalist world is hurtling along the path to war with growingly accelerated speed. This is clear for all to see. It is no longer a matter of years, but of weeks—at the outside, months. The bourgeois press recognizes the imminence of the coming clash.

"The world is closer to war today than it has been in a long time. In the Far East as well as in Austria the witches' broth of international conflict is brewing."

This wrote the New York Evening Post on January 22. Press dispatches from day to day emphasize that at any moment the match may be applied to the powder barrel. All Europe is a vast magazine of explosive material. Fascism threatens to engulf the entire continent. But the main focal center of imperialist conflict, the point at which the touch-off is most likely to be given, continues to be the Far East.

In preparation for their contemplated onslaught on the Soviet Union the Japanese imperialists are endeavoring to cultivate more amicable relations with the United States. On January 24, Foreign Minister Hirota announced in the Diet

that he was taking steps to discuss with the United States Government "a friendly solution of problems likely to arise within the next two years." In the ensuing debate on Hirota's speech, the Fascist politician, Seigo Nanako, bluntly inquired whether the foreign minister has courage enough to answer recent criticisms of Japan by foreign statesmen. The reference was obviously to the recent speech by Stanley K. Hornbeck, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the U. S. Department of State. The Japanese foreign minister promptly rebuked the Fascist spokesman, advising him to use "calmer language" when discussing foreign affairs and to avoid the term "Oriental Monroe Doctrine," which, he said, "was liable to be misunderstood abroad."

The outstanding news item last week concerning the development of the threatening war situation in the Far East was the resignation of General Sadao Araki from the position of Japanese war minister. This move has been construed by some as an indication that Japanese imperialism has switched its course onto the paths of peace, abandoning for the time being its plans for

an attack on the Soviet Union. Official circles in Washington, quoted by the New York Times on January 25, are credited with the view that "Japan is ready to change not only her recently belligerent tone but her possibly belligerent intentions." Officials of the War Department, discounting the fears of Moscow conveyed by Ambassador Bullitt, "do not believe that Japan now wishes war with Russia."

Without taking this facile belief at its face value—for the American imperialists would like to see their Japanese rivals break their teeth at the Soviet frontier—we can note that it reduces the problem of war in the Far East to the simple dimensions of subjectivity, the "wishes" of the Japanese imperialists. We have to bear in mind, however, that the wishes of the Japanese imperialists are conditioned by the entire objective situation, and first and foremost by Japan's internal situation. It is precisely this situation which is driving Japan relentlessly along the road to war.

However, there is nothing about the resignation of General Araki which gives ground for believing that Japan's imperialist designs on Soviet territory have been even tem-

porarily abandoned. Capitalist press dispatches on the subject, although confusing, would seem to point to the opposite conclusion. Thus a Tokyo message to the New York Times on January 23, on the subject of Araki's resignation, declared that "public opinion is slowly swinging away from the extreme Right and the Army's prestige is waning."

Assuming this to be the case, the conclusion should be drawn that the Army would deliberately seek to revive its prestige along the road of war.

The real motive behind the change of war ministers is, however, given in the same message, when it is pointed out that "high political circles outside the army liked General Araki personally, but his exuberant eloquence, which was taken abroad far more seriously than here, had become embarrassing." The Tokyo newspaper, Kokumin, illumined the question further in a character sketch of General Senjuro Hayashi, who has succeeded General Araki at the war ministry:

"Hayashi is a soldier in the full sense of the word. He belongs neither to the Araki (reactionary) nor the Ugaki (liberalist) factions,

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Hotel Strike Spreads

(Continued from page 1)

strike and shouting for union recognition.

Strike Spirit Excellent

The spirit of the strikers rises to a new pitch every day. Their thoughts are only of victory and their confidence in the triumph of the cause of the hotel workers is indomitable. This mounting enthusiasm can be better described than by a picture of the General Strike meeting at Bryant Hall where wave upon wave of applause greeted the stirring calls for action by the strike organizers.

Bryant Hall with its thousands of seats and its annex was too small to house the huge throngs that packed it to capacity. Hugo Oehler, strike organizer, was in the chair. Stormy applause followed his stirring appeals for militant action as he introduced the speakers. Organizer Caldas described the history of the union from the time it was a mere handful to its present surging growth. A flurry of delight and appreciation ran through the hall as organizers Kostas and Gordon, hoarse from speaking to strikers for hours on end, made valiant but unsuccessful attempts to address the audience. It remained for Ben Gitlow, veteran labor leader, to bring down the house in cheers as he denounced the slave code proposed by the NRA for the hotel workers and his sensational exposure of the "great Oscar".

Comrade James P. Cannon, special strike organizer, brought thunderous applause from the strikers in his thrilling description of the "great, wonderful union—the Amalgamated—which is giving heart and hope to the long-suffering hotel workers".

Effective Unionism

The unquestionable success of the Amalgamated in the general strike is a most fitting demonstration of the effectiveness of modern industrial unionism. No other form of union organization would be able to find the challenge of revolt into the teeth of the Hotel bosses backed at every step by the overwhelming coffers of Wall Street.

Combating the company union, "the Guild", on the one side and the strike-breaking, disruptive tactics of the Food Workers Industrial Union, which represents a negligible minority of the hotel workers, the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union has gained the confidence of the great masses of the employees on strike and preparing for strike.

An independent organization, formed on the industrial union basis, the Amalgamated has been long noted for its progressive, militant tactics. The present strike gives new, living testimony to this long known fact. Internal democracy—the free, open election of officials, the right of every union man to speak his mind—the absence of political discrimination, has brought together progressive tendencies representing a cross-section of the militants in labor's ranks, and merged them with a rank and file bent upon struggle and not collaboration with the exploiters.

By this great strike the Amalgamated is bound to inspire the entire labor movement in the United States. More than a month ago the Militant stated in an editorial, "Strike the Hotels" that "in invading this field (the hotels) and establishing the firm basis of a union there, the Amalgamated has rendered a signal service to the whole movement of organized labor." And further: "The Amalgamated has already stamped itself in the minds of the thousands of discontented hotel slaves as an organization that means business, not bluff and balldoo."

More ominous than the open shop or rather in cooperation with them are the wings of the blue bizzard. The NRA code for the Hotels and

Restaurants is the worst in the country. Twenty-eight cents an hour for the hotel slaves. Fifty-four hours for workers in this day and age! This code has been cynically thrust in the face of the hotel workers, without amendment. In the real sense the present strike is a blow at the NRA. It will help smash the illusions of the "New Deal". The workers in the hotels are seeing that the NRA is meant to drive their living conditions down to a level on which they will be as badly off as slaves.

One of the greatest strike-breakers, scab agencies in the general strike is an organization purporting to represent the workers—Local 16 of A. F. of L. The crew that heads this outfit is the most notorious gang. They don't operate as a union but as a crew of thugs, groomed as business agents who make contracts with night-club and cafe bosses without consulting the workers concerned.

The bosses got a union label from these agreements and the workers get the right—to pay dues and assessments to these leeches. Leading this band of racketeers, is Paul Coulcher who was kicked out of the

Lie Campaign Launched by Press

(Continued from page 1)

give it a black eye. For example, every paper has been printing dark hints that the strike is a "red plot." The American attacked the workers for being against the NRA. The American also hinted that the strike is a "Communist plot" because some of the workers on the Waldorf picket line sang "Solidarity". They printed a statement by Saypol, lawyer of the A. F. of L. Local 16, implying that the Amalgamated is not trying to win the strike for its members but to make a revolution.

They have also tried to discredit the strikers by charging violence and intimidation. The only case of violence was when "bosses" thugs beat up union delegates at the Pennsylvania. But the papers put the word violence in headlines in such a way as to make people think the strikers had used violence. They printed cock-and-bull stories about workers at the Plaza, Astor, and Park Central complaining of intimidation by the Amalgamated—but they never gave any names of such workers.

Several papers, including the World-Telegram, printed excuses for the bosses hiring thugs to beat up strikers and workers who want to strike. They call the thugs "detectives" and "guards", and vaguely hint that they were brought in after the strikers had attacked the hotel. But they give no evidence of such attacks—because there were none.

When one employer locked up workers who wanted to quit, and held them in the restaurant illegally against their will, the papers wrote that he was "guarding" them against attacks by strikers.

The Tribune, reporting the Friday night meeting at Bryant Hall, quoted James P. Cannon as saying the strikers were going "into all those places that didn't strike and pull them out on the street." The idea is that the strikers are going to "violate private property", intimidate their fellow-workers and do violence. This is a lie. Cannon said the strikers would go to every place that didn't strike and get them all out. This does not mean violence or intimidation. It means using orderly means to show the other workers that they need not fear the bosses or the thugs, and that they should join the strikers' ranks.

One of the dirtiest tricks of all was pulled by the respectable Times. In its Saturday edition, after trying hard to give an impression that almost nobody is striking, it ad-

A. F. W. and is now under bond on criminal charges.

Waiters are slugged and terrorized for the slightest complaint. Many of the foremost fighters of the Amalgamated are experienced union men who went through the gangster mill in Local 16 and joined the Amalgamated in open revolt against it.

Most recent in their shocking treacheries has been their application in court for an injunction restraining the Amalgamated from striking. Of a piece with this scab action is Local 16's offer to supply waiters for the strike-hit hotels and restaurants.

Revolt has already seized A. F. of L. locals against this monstrous action. Local 1, waiters and Local 329, cooks and countermen, have come out against this action. In the Casino de Paree, Broadway night club, the workers were ordered by the boss to join Local 16. The workers refused and took out cards in the Amalgamated instead. They were discharged by the proprietor who immediately obtained Local 16 aid to keep the hotel running by scabs. Their attempt to mobilize workers from the Paradise, Hollywood and Palais Royale to break the strike in the Casino de Paree met with dismal failure. The waiters in these hotels refused to scab.

Lie Campaign Launched by Press

(Continued from page 1)

mitted that hundreds of workers are joining the union. Then it went on as follows:

"Each man and woman who had come to join the union was asked to pay an initiation fee of \$2, plus dues of 75 cents, 25 cents as an assessment and 10 cents for a union book, making a total of \$3.10."

The idea is given that workers are suckers for joining the Amalgamated because they have to pay the "large" sum of \$3.10. But none of the papers has printed the fact that the A. F. of L., which is scabbing on the general strike, charges double the fees of the Amalgamated and then sells the worker into slavery not after the strike settlement. The papers do not dare charge the Amalgamated Union officials with grafting. If they did they would have a libel suit on their hands. But they try to hint at graft, hoping to destroy the workers' confidence in the union and its leaders.

Many important facts, figures and statements given out by union officials to reporters have never appeared in the papers. Others have been distorted. But whenever the bosses' Association gives out a statement it gets lots of space and favorable comment. Similarly, when the strike-breaking A. F. of L. emits one of its filthy attacks on the workers and their Union, the bosses' press treats it with great respect.

Workers who were at first surprised and thought some of the false statements in the bosses' press were due to bad eyesight of the reporters, are beginning to see that these are not "mistakes" but a systematic effort to misrepresent, discredit, weaken and slander the Union and the strike. This is an old story. It happens in every strike, and the bosses' press has not done its worst yet. It is because of this among other things that the Militant says the liberation of the working class can be achieved only by its own efforts. The bosses; the bosses' press, the bosses' police, the bosses' government—these do not help. They only hinder the worker in his fight for a decent life.

As far as the press goes, in any case, this is already clear: in this fight the bosses' press is against the strikers. The strikers need their own press to get the truth about what is going on, to reveal what the bosses and strike breakers are up to, and to defend themselves against lies and slanders.

—HARRY STRANG.

The I.L.P. and the Comintern

London.—A veritable storm blows around the camp of the British Independent Labour Party. The united front with the Communist Party has from time to time looked like falling to pieces but it still wobbles along with a patched-up unity at the bottom and a never-ceasing wrangle at the top. The immediate activities of the united front committee are the preparation of a national hunger march to London in order to protest against the new Unemployment Bill, already referred to in the Militant, and to demand the restoration of recent cuts in unemployment benefits.

The first contingent of marchers leave Scotland on January 22, and the combat forces from different parts of the country will arrive in London on February 24, where a Conference of Action will be held in order to determine the next step in the development of united front activity.

The government, through the medium of Sir John Gilmour, has warned the organizers of the march that they are assuming grave responsibilities but both the leadership of the I. L. P. and the C. P. have expressed their determination to meet this challenge with the hunger marchers solidly behind them. As the new bill contains a direct threat to the trade unions, the marchers are assured of substantial support despite the hostile attitude of the Labour party and trade union officials who are against militant action, favoring their usual remedy for all problems, namely, parliamentary protests.

Problem of Third International

But the hunger march occupies only a part of the attention of the I. L. P., the other part being directed towards the preparation for their annual conference which takes place at Easter and which will decide the future course of the party. Having broken from the Labour party and the Second International, the I. L. P. was faced with the problem of choosing a new road. Two approaches were made to the Third International and while the first overture resulted in a united front with the British Communist Party, the second brought forth an invitation to join the Communist International as a sympathizing party with a consultative vote.

In between times, however, the I. L. P. leaders had wandered further afield in their search for a new home and arrived at the Conference of the Left Parties in Paris. They also opened the columns of their official organ, the New Leader, to comrade Trotsky as well as to Thalheimer; but an invitation to Manuilsky made upon two occasions received neither a contribution nor an acknowledgment. But if Manuilsky remained silent as a tomb, the British Communist Party became as noisy as a raging lion. For days Worker has been adorned with choice abuse. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the I. L. P., was denounced as a "hound of war and Fascism", while comrade Trotsky and Lovestone are described as "international riff-raff", "corrupt renegades", etc. This brand of journalism was calculated to turn the I. L. P. rank and file against its leaders who have now made one more attempt to arrive at an understanding with the Comintern.

In this latest communication with Moscow the I. L. P. defines what it considers to be the three primary political duties of the socialist. (1) The defense of the U. S. S. R. by all means available. (2) The creation of the broadest possible united front of all militant workers in the struggle against capitalist reaction, Fascism and war. (3) The national and international unity of revolutionary socialists. After asking a nine-point question upon the difference in obligations of a sympathizing party as distinct from affiliated membership of the C. I., the letter goes on to express the I. L. P.

viewpoint as to what constitutes the functions of a revolutionary working class international:

(1) To ensure that in every capitalist country there shall be a party or group which accepts the following:—(a) the irreconcilable class struggle; (b) the dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through working class democracy. (2) To ensure that the structure of each party or group is based upon internal party democracy combined with strict discipline. (3) To pool experience of the struggle in different countries. (4) To organize joint international action, including action against war. (5) To give financial and organizational assistance, where possible, to parties in need. (6) To prepare for the cooperation and federation of Workers' Republics and the establishment of a World Socialist Commonwealth."

Then follows a vigorous criticism of the Communist International. The I. L. P. claims that the centralized structure of the C. I., complete as any military machine, was based upon a false estimate of the world situation in 1920, the prophecy of civil war being unfulfilled. It is claimed that the Communist party of Russia dominates and controls the C. I. and that in consequence of errors made by the C. I., leaders and whole parties have been wrongly expelled while in order to strengthen the position of the U. S. S. R., the revolutionary movement in different countries has been sacrificed as being secondary to trading agreements, etc.

The I. L. P. then suggests three practical proposals for the reorganization of the Comintern. (1) The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism, which today exists only for the leadership of the C. I. (2) The preparation of important decisions of the C. I. through international discussions. (3) The replacement of the actual monopoly of the C. P. U. S. in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective international leadership based upon party representatives who are in a position to pass judgment upon the class relations in their country.

A reply to this communication is requested by February 5, so that the N. A. C. of the I. L. P. can consider the question again before the annual conference. The Daily Worker answered this latest exposition of the I. L. P. with accusations of "Trotskyism" but at the Scottish Divisional Conference of the I. L. P. held in Glasgow on January 13, a motion was moved and seconded by two Clydebank delegates calling for a Fourth International and although the motion was lost, in favor of an amendment to delay a decision until the annual conference, it is a good indication that the efforts of the Stalinists to win over the I. L. P. are meeting with a definite and well informed opposition. The reply from the Comintern is awaited with interest and fireworks are expected at the Easter Conference.

—T. C.

January 17, 1934.

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Sub Drive On

In the imperialist navies they fire the guns to salute important people and events. Our big guns have boomed a great salute to the new sub drive we announced a couple of issues ago. Just look at the beginning! The New York Local votes to get four hundred subs; Philadelphia undertakes to gather in a hundred subs; and Minneapolis—Minneapolis sets the pace by sending in fifteen dollars for sixty half-year, Club Plan subs at the new rate of twenty-five cents.

Two individual comrades have fired an excellent salute. Comrade S. in Philadelphia put the Club Plan to work with four half year subs at a quarter apiece. Right alongside him is comrade Papoun of Davenport with four half-year, Club Plan subs.

Other comrades have been busy, too. There are so many that it is impossible to list them all as we used to. We can put down only the leaders: O. Coover—5; R. Sharron—5; J. Ruby—5; A. Konikow—3; L. Goodman—3; B. M.—3. Three comrades got two subs apiece and seventeen got one. The total number of new subs at the beginning of the drive stands at 115.

That is a good beginning. But it is nothing, literally nothing to what can be done. At twenty-five cents for a six-months sub there is almost no limit to the number of subs we can get. Remember—in order to get the reduction from the fifty-cent rate for a half-year sub it is necessary to send them in to us here in blocks of four or more.

Build the Militant! Help circulate a Marxian paper for workers! Order for Club Plan half year sub cards for one dollar! Use the blank below!

THE MILITANT

126 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$.....for.....(four is the minimum) Club Plan half year sub cards.

Name.....
Address.....
City.....State.....

Thousands in Waldorf Picketing

(Continued from page 1)

acting. When the plans are outlined for the next day's campaign, a grim mood sweeps the room. Build committees, post pickets, pull shops, stop scabs! This is no picnic..... it's the general strike....the workers' fight against the bosses for a right to stand up and like like men!

Ben Gitlow leads off. He packs in plenty in a few words. Best of all are his stories of Oscar. Oscar the Great, the darling of the fat-feeders of Park Avenue. Oscar the slave-driver. How he used to run the bar at the Geneva and hand out jobs only to men who spent plenty of money at his bar. How he used to be a partner in a brothel on Broadway. That lovely man!

Kostas tries to speak. He is too hoarse. The croak that comes out of his throat is greeted with friendly applause. Gordon, too, is worn out with the effort of months and the strain of the last few days. He manages a few words but his voice vanishes amid the same comradely applause and laughter. The hoarseness is a sign, a symbol of work done.

Secretary Gund of the A. F. W. is speaking. He mentions the A. F. of L. A wave of boos. Those strike-breakers! The Amalgamated—that's our union, the union of the General Strike.

Cannon speaks about the Union, the Amalgamated. He speaks of its racial and religious and political democracy, of its solidarity, of the grand principle of industrial unionism which brings together in one solid fighting mass the workers in every shop, every kind of worker from the most skilled down to the

least skilled, all workers together, backing each other and going on to victory together! "This is your Union! It's what you make it! Stand by the Union, build it strong, and victory must come." This is the keynote of the evening.

There is a tremendous burst of applause. The meeting is over. Somewhere the words of the song learned on the picket-line are heard. "Solidarity forever, for the union makes us strong!"

Down the rickety wooden stairs to the street. Groups of strikers in excited talk. The fight is on... no let-up now until victory comes. One young striker turns to another: "This will be good for the labor movement," he says. "All over the country," the other answers. "All over the world, I think," says the first. Yes, this strike is part of the labor movement. Fellow-worker Wright of the Dressmakers Local 22 brought that message too: "We are with you, fellow-workers, your fight is our fight!"

In the street one man says "Let's go to Headquarters, there's another meeting there." His fellow-worker says it's too late. "Let's go anyway." They go, and others with them. They want again to stand together, to feel their new power, the power of the union, of solidarity.

That is how the General Strike was launched in the hotel and restaurant industry of New York City, the first step to winning for the workers in the hotels and restaurants of the whole country, decent working conditions and the right to live like men and women instead of like slaves. —DIANA RICE.

See the Play that Has Stirred Thousands

"PEACE ON EARTH"

AT

THE MILITANT BENEFIT SHOWING

HERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL OUR FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS TO WITNESS ONE OF THE SEASON'S BEST PLAYS AND AT THE SAME TIME HELP THE ONLY MARXIST PAPER IN THE COUNTRY —THE MILITANT

Civic Repertory Theatre, 14th St. & 6th Ave.

THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 8, 1934, at 8:45 P. M.

Tickets at 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 are available at 126 E. 16th St.

New York City or 154 Watkins St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

(Winter Term)

The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from January 29th to April 2nd. The following classes are listed:

1. FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM Martin Abern (Based on the "Communist Manifesto") Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
2. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT Joseph Carter Mondays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m. — Beginning January 29th.
3. SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY AND TACTICS Arne Swabeck Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning January 31st.
4. ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS S. Blake Fridays—8 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.
5. THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY J. Wright Fridays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.

REGISTRATION: The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arrangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening.

Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

—LUCIFER.

Japanese Imperialism Moves Toward War Against the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

gressive military Nationalist movement, strongest force in Japanese politics in the last two years, his retirement is not expected to weaken the military's domination of imperial policy.

"General Hayashi is a militarist of the same stamp and, if anything, a stronger Nationalist than General Araki."

War propaganda in Japan, which for the past two years has gone on openly and uninterrupted, with the Soviet Union plainly spoken of as the enemy, meanwhile supplements the war moves being made behind the scenes, notably the reorganization of the army in Manchuria. It includes the building of a "case" on which Japan will go to war. The Japanese foreign office protests against Soviet leaders' "violent and provocative words against Japan and Soviet newspapers' accusations that Japan is intending to invade Russian territory" (N. Y. Times, January 22). Soviet exposures of Japanese interventionist plans and protests against Japanese provocations are made to appear as "Soviet provocations." To "prove" that Japan's intentions are entirely pacific, the Tokyo police, on January 21, arrested nine Japanese reactionaries who were demonstrating before the Soviet Embassy after a mass meeting of the Junjo Kenkokukai Society, at which a resolution was adopted demanding that the Soviet Union withdraw troops from the Manchukuo border.

A war by Japan on the Soviet Union will set not only the Far East but the whole world ablaze. The

British imperialists are alive to all the possibilities, including the Japanese threat to their Pacific possessions, and, among other preparations, they are speeding the completion of their naval and air base at Singapore, where at the present time the admirals of the British, Australian and New Zealand navies are conferring on "problems of common defense in the Far East." The London Daily Herald declares that Singapore is beginning to rival Gibraltar as a fortress. "The whole colony today is an armed camp and its defenses await only the rapid completion of the naval base to become almost impregnable." The tiny islands in the Straits of Malacca near by are nests of hidden artillery, the Daily Herald says. On one of them, Palanbrani, "three of the greatest pieces of ordnance in the world, capable of outraging the biggest naval guns afloat," are said to lie hidden beneath the tufted palm trees.

"It is significant," the Daily Herald adds pointedly, "that no Japanese are permitted to pass the gates of the Singapore naval base, although other nationals are permitted to make a limited inspection of the work going on within." United States imperialism is in no way behind its rivals in preparations for war. The huge naval construction program alone speaks eloquently on this score. At the same time, propaganda for war is being sedulously broadcast among the unemployed and starving millions of this country. The follow-

"The only medicine available to us, to prolong our decline instead of to bring it on faster, is to build plenty of fighting ships and load them with trained fighting men, for the emergency which is in the making...."

"If we do not make ready for the issue which is being forced on us, consciously or unconsciously, by Japan, we can expect the Decline of the West to become a sudden fall over a cliff—and to become complete a long time before Dr. Spengler's year 2000 A. D."

It should be borne in mind that this yellow tabloid, which boasts the largest circulation of any newspaper in the world, is read by thousands of workers all over America. The Daily News is taken to task by the New York Evening Post for this and other equally blatant pieces of jingoism, because, if you please, "Jingoism strengthens the pacifists more than anything they could do themselves. Jingoism, therefore, makes sane preparedness all the more difficult to achieve at the same time that it increases the war danger." (N. Y. Evening Post, Jan. 22).

Thus, the aims of both papers are seen to be identical. They are both for "preparedness" and only differ as to methods for preparing the mass mind.

It is only to be expected that the ruling class and its spokesmen should do all in their power to prepare for the coming world slaughter. On the Communist movement rests the duty to combat all the activities of the imperialist warmongers. But what are we to say of Soviet representatives who are consciously lending themselves to the sowing of illusions in the minds of the workers? Since last November the Stalinists in Moscow have been disseminating the patent falsehood that the U. S. Government is opposed to war. Stalin himself has said so and has gone out of his way to laud Roosevelt as

"by all appearances a decided and courageous leader" (interview with Walter Duranty). Litvinov echoes his master. L. M. Kaganovich, addressing a recent conference of the Communist Party of the province and city of Moscow, said "it was the policy of the Soviet Union, which wanted only peace, to cooperate with the nations opposed to war. On this account he particularly welcomed the re-establishment of relations with the United States" (N. Y. Times, January 23).

But while Roosevelt is hailed in Moscow as a dove of peace, Browder and company in America never tire of denouncing him as a war-maker in the columns of the Daily Worker and elsewhere. Every move of the Roosevelt administration is characterized as a war move, its budget as a war budget.

Thus speak the contradictory and opportunist voices of Stalinism, sowing confusion where the utmost clarity is needed, preparing fresh tragedies for the proletariat.

The Stalinized Soviet government and Comintern have ceased to be the authentic voices of the international revolutionary Communist movement. "Litvinov in Europe today makes Russian—not Communist—policy," wrote the London correspondent of the New York Times on January 6 (N. Y. Times, January 6) in reporting the Soviet government's offer to join Poland in guaranteeing the independence of the three Baltic States against possible German aggression. At least the bourgeoisie sees clearly.

The Stalinists are negotiating to include the Soviet Union in the almost-moribund League of Nations. Having destroyed the Comintern as the revolutionary weapon of the world proletariat they are obliged to rely more and more on combinations with capitalist powers, and have fallen into the mire of secret diplomacy from which Russian pol-

itics were dragged by the Bolshevik revolution. The Geneva correspondence of the New York Times reveals that these negotiations have been going on "discreetly" for at least a year and that they are being kept "a very close secret" (N. Y. Times, January 21).

The important diplomatic moves are being kept hidden from the Soviet workers and the workers abroad. Why is the Soviet government unable to reintroduce the old, disastrous methods of secret diplomacy? Because, as the Times' Geneva correspondent points out, "Joseph Stalin has no Senate to meet." There could be no more perfect illustration of the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, has destroyed the party of Lenin, lifted itself away from its proletarian base and now regards itself accountable for its actions to no one. Joseph Stalin has no senate to meet!

After paying the dubious tribute to Litvinov that he "appreciates the League's possibilities better than any other Russian," the correspondent concludes his report with the statement: "It seems already fair to guess that Moscow is more likely to change for the sake of the Covenant than the Covenant for the sake of Moscow." (This should prepare us for further capitulations to imperialism, capitulations as shameful as the Litvinov-Roosevelt pact.)

More and more imperative grows the necessity for a new Communist International and new Communist parties. Of the old there remain but empty husks, devoid of ideological life, politically discredited. New instruments of the revolutionary working class struggle must be forged without delay to meet the immense tasks looming ahead, to combat imperialist war and Fascist counter-revolution and organize the triumph of the proletarian revolution. —LUCIFER.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

VOLUME VII, NO. 5 [WHOLE NO. 209]

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY JANUARY 31, 1934

PRICE 1 CENT

10,000 IN MASS HOTEL PICKET LINE

Revolt At Local 16's Treachery

Members of A. F. of L. Refuse to Act as Scabs

The shabby fraud practised by Local 16 in its effort to get its own members to scab had proven a flop. Hundreds of workers are returning from jobs supplied through fake agencies. They are refusing to scab. They are demanding their money back.

The trick was to send the workers to the labor agencies when they applied at the Local for work. The workers were not told they were being sent on scab jobs. The Local officials figured the workers might hesitate to quite after they had paid \$10 to the agency.

Here is the story of the racket, as described by a former member of Local 16, who quit to join the Amalgamated.

Ten Dollars For Scab Job
"I went over to the Local yesterday to look for a job. They sent me to an agency, where I had to pay \$10."

"I said: It ain't a strike-breaking job, is it?" The man said no. The job was O. K.

"And do you know where the blankety-blank sent me? Over to the Hotel Roosevelt."

"I march back to Local headquarters. 'I don't want a scab job,' I tell the fellow there. 'It's all right,' he says. 'The union is in back of you.'"

"So I march straight out of his office, and come here. I ain't a scab, not even for the A. F. of L."

"I wasn't the only one to come back from a scab job. While I was at headquarters, more than a dozen guys came in to complain. The official answered them all the same way: 'The union is back of you. It's all right.'"

"But it wasn't all right. We're through with Local 16, and we're going to get our money back, by God. If it's the last thing we do."

In other words, Local 16 has flopped on the job it considered itself best fitted to do. Local 16 is a flop even as a strike-breaking organization.

It has to stand by helplessly and helplessly while the hotels pass on to hire scab labor from ships in port, and from the dregs of the unemployed.

And the members of Local 16 are plenty sore. They are grumbling, and more than grumbling. It's no fun for an honest worker to be sent out to scab by his own union.

"The fellows want to quit," the former member of the Local reported. "All they need is a push, and not much of a push, either. They go around saying the way to quit is altogether."

Rebel Against High Dues
Nor is the fact that they are asked to act as scabs the only complaint of members of Local 16. They are rebelling against the exorbitant dues, and the petty graft practised by their officials.

It costs them \$10 initiation fee to join the union if they are unemployed. Then they have to pay \$10 for a job, which is usually dished out to them through some fake labor agency.

Dues are \$2 a month. In addition the Local leaders squeeze \$1.05 a month out of employed workers on assignments, this worker charges.

Compare these figures with the cost of belonging to a legitimate union. Initiation fee to the Amalgamated is only \$2. Dues are 75 cents a month, plus an assessment of 25 cents. Members of other unions who join in on the general strike call pay no initiation fee. Nor does anyone have to pay for his button until after settlement of the strike.

Bosses Work with Racketeers
Local 16 has gotten inside some of the more notorious night clubs and restaurants. Workers who wanted jobs at Hollywood or Paradise had to sign up with Local 16 before they could come to work. The bosses were in on the deal.

Members of other A. F. of L. unions are beginning to chafe under the restraint of their leadership.

Every day there are reports of new disaffections. Every day members flock into Amalgamated headquarters, even from Local 16, which is terrorizing its workers in an effort to keep them in tow.

Local 16 set out to crush a surging mass movement, and is being overwhelmed in the tide.

EDITORIAL

Every day brings heartening reports of new thousands added to the ranks of the hotel and restaurant workers on strike in New York. Days count in this imposing spectacle of workers pouring out in reply to the ringing call of the Amalgamated union. And in these days, the course followed by the union counts above everything else.

The history of the labor movement in this country and elsewhere has demonstrated over and over again that what is decisive in every working class battle is the question of policy. In this field, every individual, every group, every current in the labor movement is obliged to show its colors. It is in this field that it first receives its baptism. It is here that the tests are made. The policy pursued and the actions based upon it—that is where the eyes of every worker must be fixed.

We of the Militant, we International Communists whom the official Communist party calls "Trotskyists", have definite opinions. We welcome the occasion to state them openly to the workers on strike, because we have no reason to conceal them. Those who are linked with us in principle, fight for these views and endeavor by democratic means to make them the views of the other members of the union. These men will be found among those who are truest and most devoted to the union and the workers' interests. They do not seek to impose their ideas upon their fellow-members. Operating through the regular channels of the union and its leading bodies, they employ the method of persuasion, at the same time fighting side by side with every worker—regardless of his views—in the common cause and against the common enemy.

The Strike and the N.R.A.

The enemy is the association of hotel proprietors and the banks that stand behind them. Their assistants and allies are the police, the courts, and the vast machinery of the capitalist government. The specific form which the government has established to intervene in labor's struggle for unionism and better conditions, is the NRA and the so-called "Labor Boards".

From the very outset, we considered as the most dangerous illusion the idea that the NRA could or would help the workers in any movement to advance their interests. All the experiences of labor throughout the country, since the NRA was put into effect, have only served to confirm this view.

At one stage in the organizational campaign, the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union made concessions to unenlightened prejudices in this respect, failing to make it entirely clear that the NRA is, in fact, a factor to be dealt with by the union, but only as an insidious enemy of the workers. Such concessions would be ten times more dangerous if they were to be repeated at this time.

The NRA will not give anything to the workers, just as the hotel men will not give anything to them. If this strike is to be won, and it can be won, it will not be because of the NRA but in spite of it. We do not put an ounce of reliance in it. What must be relied upon exclusively is the organized strength of the workers, their spirit of solidarity, their uncompromising militancy. In a word, the policy of class struggle alone will prove effective and invincible. You will distinguish the true progressive and the Left winger in the strike's ranks by his iron opposition to any trend in the union which sows illusion about the NRA.

How Will the Strike Be Won?

The emergence of the Amalgamated into battle as a forward-looking, independent, fighting union shows anew that the methods of routine conservatism are powerless to organize a fight against the bosses. These are the methods which rely for a solution of every problem upon dickerings behind the scenes with the employers, of begging but in hand for favors from government representatives, upon all the impotent routine which has disemboweled one union after another.

What is indispensable in the strike is a firm reliance upon the mass movement of the workers alone, and not upon the good will and kind hearts of the bosses and the benevolence of the government. From the beginning of the organized drive, we emphasized that in dealing with such a powerful enterprise as the New York hotel industry, the general strike was the weapon imperatively dictated to the workers for the purpose of gaining union recognition, shorter hours, higher wages and improved conditions of work.

"The challenge to the NRA code and the hotel magnates in whose interest it was drawn up," wrote the Militant just a month ago, "leads with iron necessity to a strike. There is no other way but by a show of strength to convince these people who refuse to hear or heed the bitter grievances of the workers. The demands gained and the organization established in this way will be all the more secure. There will be no ground for the illusion that anybody gave the workers any thing. It will be clear that everything gained is the result of organized struggle and it will not be easy to take the gains away again."

Essentially the same question rises before us now. What methods, what policy should be pursued to gain a favorable settlement in the strike, one which the workers can accept proudly and with satisfaction?

The kind of settlement the strikers want will not be achieved by a voluntary change of heart by the bosses or the NRA. The most solemn warning must be issued against such a fatal notion. The bosses will make only such a change of front as the workers force them to make!

What has made the hotel bosses tremble? What has emptied their stately dining rooms of patrons and their coffers of income? What has replaced their sleek smirking with a haggard look of worry?

Not some polite paper threat, written with wind and tongue in cheek, like the A. F. of L. officials' bluff for a New Year's Eve strike. Not the interminable wearing-down exchange of courteous communist citations between the union and the employers. Not the endless preliminary negotiations with the bosses, so dear to every self-contented and conservative labor skate, which allow the bosses to prepare for action and demoralize the workers.

No, what has been accomplished up to now and what will win

F. W. I. U. «Fortress» Collapses

New Yorker Men-Vote Solid for Amalgamated

The 18th St Food Workers' Industrial "Union" (Stalinists), has received a decisive setback in its efforts to sow discord in the strike and to make political capital at the expense of the strike. As a result of meetings held Monday by the striking workers of the Hotel New Yorker, the entire house joined the ranks of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, thus becoming an integral part of the general strike called by the only mass union in the industry.

Some time ago, the F. W. I. U., which had no following in the hotel industry of the city, set out to gain one in order to compete with the rapidly-growing A. H. & R. W. U. After a demagogic campaign and various tricks, they lined up a minority of the New Yorker workers. When the strike was called, the house, including A. H. & R. W. U. members, F. W. I. U. members and unorganized workers, came out. Although the general strike was called and led by the A. H. & R. W. U., and all other strikers were enrolled in its ranks or held its strike cards, the Stalinists in the New Yorker led their fellow-workers down to Stalinist headquarters.

Stalinists Create Confusion

Many refused to sign up until they could find out more about both unions. As a result there was confusion which caused a neglect of the business of the strike while meeting after meeting was held, the Stalinists struggling to corral the New Yorker workers. While this went on, the Stalinist "union" tried to bargain for a phony united front. Representing in reality only a handful of New Yorker workers, they hoped to dictate terms to the tens of thousands of strikers.

As each day went by, the strikers became more and more restless, anxious to close ranks, and organizational disputes and take part in driving home blows against the bosses. It became ever clearer to them that in the H. & R. W. U. they could find unity on a militant, industrial union basis, while the Stalinist "union" offered them only words and disunity. On Monday they held meetings at the headquarters of the Stalinist "union" and at the Hellenic Center.

At the last meeting, only four workers—the professional Stalinists who started the disharmony—rose to speak on behalf of the 18th Street "union". By this time even these four did not dare oppose joining the Union of the general strike, and by unanimous vote the strikers decided to join the H. & R. W. U.

The four Stalinists asked whether they could keep their books of the Stalinist "union", saying that 150 of the New Yorker strikers have such books. When a show of hands was asked, it was discovered that of the organized workers present 41 already had H. & R. W. U. books and only 19 had Stalinist books. Most of the latter signified their intention of turning in their books in exchange for H. & R. W. U. membership.

Flock to Amalgamated

At this point a worker arrived at the Hellenic Center from union headquarters with a pile of strikers' cards. The strikers sent up a loud cheer, grabbed the cards and filled them out. The Stalinists sank quietly into their seats. The meeting ended with the election from the floor of shop delegates. Then the strikers marched out for a mass picket line of the New Yorker, thus for the first time becoming an integral part of the general strike.

There may still be another peep or two from representatives of the F. W. I. U., but the action of the New Yorker rank-and-file, pushing their way over all obstacles into the H. & R. W. U. because of their desire for militant, unified action, has cut the ground from under the Stalinist splitters' feet. Already several of the tiny handful of holders of F. W. I. U. books outside the New Yorker have asked union officials whether they can exchange for H. & R. W. U. books. They have been accepted. The F. W. I. U. has collapsed, as far as the hotel industry is concerned.

—HARRY STRANG.

Strikers 'Greet' Roosevelt Scab Birthday Dinners

The picket line of the hotel workers' general strike took over Park Avenue last night.

For more than an hour the highway which usually serves the plutocratic elite of the city as they roll in limousines to luncheon, tea, cocktails and banquets at sumptuous hotels, resounded to the tramp of marching feet and shouts as 10,000 strikers demonstrated their numbers, strength and solidarity.

In this way the strikers expressed their indignation at the action of President Roosevelt in permitting birthday dinners to be given in his honor at hotels which employ scab labor in an effort to break the workers' fight for union recognition and decent conditions. While the NRA takes no steps to make a reality out of the famous clause 7A which is supposed to guarantee collective bargaining, the workers themselves expressed their demands in shouts which made the over-fed birthday diners inside squirm in their seats.

Setting out after a meeting of 10,000 in Madison Square Garden Annex, with the intention of parading past the Waldorf, the line kept going despite the icy winds and paid its respects to a whole series of hotels. Among those saluted with the slogans of the march from 10,000 hoarse throats were the New Yorker, the

McAlpin, the Commodore, the Pennsylvania, the Ambassador, the Savoy-Plaza, the Plaza, the New Weston, and others.

The greatest strike picket line New York City has seen in years was a smashing answer to the mendacious bosses' press which has persisted in spreading the lie that the strikers number only a thousand or two at most.

Inside the hotels the effect of the strike was astounding. Discipline among the workers in departments still unaffected by the strike broke down completely. Front doors were jammed with bellboys, porters and other workers watching and occasionally applauding, while straw-bosses frantically yelled at them to get back to their posts.

At the head of the picket line marched B. J. Field, Secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union and other strike leaders. "This is not just a demonstration of strength or simply a protest against the President's attitude," said Field to the newspaper reporters. "It is a call to battle which will have its answer tomorrow when hundreds of additional workers join our ranks."

The pickets wound up their march with two rallies, at Union headquarters and Palm Garden.

Draw Guns On Pickets

Police Effort to Scare Workers Is Defied

Hitting the supply of strike-breakers at its source, a squadron of three hundred strikers marched up and down Sixth Ave., defied police guns, and picketed the scab employment agencies.

The picketers paraded from Fifth St. to Forty-Second St., yelling "Down with the scabs," every time they spied a misguided worker eye the placards announcing jobs in struck hotels. Hundreds of workers looked on as the picketers ripped these notices from the bulletin boards.

Cops Draw Guns

At Fifty-Seventh St. and Ninth Ave., the cops drew their guns from the holsters, threatening to use them on the strikers if they did not cease their militant activities. James Gordon, captain of the picket committee, courageously called their bluff, stepping up into the menacing revolvers and challenging the brass-bullets to use them. The cops backed down making an attempt instead to club a slugging by the workers who intervened.

Hardly was this scrimmage over when the cops came on the scene and dispersed the workers. But only temporarily, for the workers re-formed their lines, marching through the hotel district calling on those still at work to join the strike, and then back to union headquarters.

That this demonstration struck terror into the hearts of the employment agency sharks is shown in a survey of the Sixth Avenue district.

Almost without exception the agencies display signs bearing the legend: "No strike jobs supplied here."

Another demonstration was held on the same avenue yesterday, during course of which several things armed with clubs were in evidence, especially at the Geneva on Forty-Ninth St., and Sixth Ave., giving the lie to these ostentatious statements "No strike jobs." At the conclusion of today's demonstration many agency proprietors could be seen hanging out such signs.

New Hotels Join Ranks of Strike

The following is the list of hotels and restaurants that have joined the strike in the last forty-eight hours:

Savarin, Commodore, Picadilly, Chatham, Marguery, Madison, Almac, Prince George, Gotham, Ocott, Cavalier, Longchamps 79th St., Downtown Athletic Club.

Face Thugs at Longchamps

Longchamps! All out for Longchamps!

The picket line formed outside of union headquarters, marched double file through Central Park. A laborer waved greetings. A woman with a "pooch" under her arm stopped and snuffled—out of cold or contempt; it was hard to say which.

Longchamps uptown was not prepared. A lone cop was stationed outside the door. The manager, pudgy, thick set, dashed out of the door, and back inside through a side entrance. When he came out again, his "yeggs" were with him. Five of them, pasty-faced, with itching fingers inside their coats.

The marchers jeered. They refused to be intimidated.

"Strike! Strike!" they yelled. The guests inside stared up from their scuffles and silver service. The immaculate waiters stood frozen, platters poised as if ready to drop. They looked unhappy, and frightened.

One of the "mugs" outside tried to start trouble. He pushed one of the marchers. The lone cop, scared representative of law and order, pleaded with him. Pleaded with the "yeggs".

The marchers refused to be provoked....or frightened. They marched by, close to the armed "mugs", close to the windows.

It was a test. They had matched their unarmed courage against the armed thugs of the management.

They are going back in greater numbers, as long as a scab remains working in uptown Longchamps.

Bulletin! Longchamps 79th St. branch is now out! This is the fourth branch to strike.

Another N.R.A. Project Collapses

Another of the grandiose projects of the New Deal has turned out to be a dud. According to a U. P. report appearing in the World-Telegram for Jan. 8, "the use of federal funds for slum clearance and housing projects in general has been abandoned as a part of the Roosevelt recovery program."

It will be recalled that the newspapers were chock full of big-time stories splashing the fact that amounts running into astronomical figures were being allocated to improve the housing situation. Says this report, which the United Press has on "authoritative information": "The Public Works Administration has allocated \$148,000,000 for low cost housing and slum clearance."

Now this whole proposition is thrown to the winds. Has the New Deal so improved conditions that there is enough money in the pockets of the workers so there is no reason for them to inhabit the

fire-traps, disease-infested slum sections of New York City? Hardly. Municipal Court Justice Jacob S. Strahl in advocating relief for the destitute states: "...in 1932, 305,516 dispossession notices were served in New York City, an increase of 105,245 over the preceding year, and that in 1933, up to Dec. 1, 314,567 such notices have been served despite all recovery efforts." The judge writes to Governor Lehman that "quick action is vital." And the governor has promised "consideration."

Well, then why was the plan dropped? Never fear, the answer is provided in the "authoritative" U. P. dispatch. "The dispute between Al Smith and the Administration is held to be the factor that caused the change."

The destitute and the slum residents will have to wait till this dispute is settled. But they may suffer in the meanwhile...

10,000 Fill Mass Rally

Madison Square Garden Jammed With Strikers

Ten thousand cheering, determined workers packed Madison Square Garden yesterday in one of the most imposing mass strike demonstrations ever seen in New York City.

Jammed to capacity and vibrating with enthusiasm, such as only workers in revolt can display, this monster rally marks a high point in a strike wave that is mounting higher every day.

The mass meeting was opened on schedule time by Paul Bourget, who acted as chairman. He set the tone to the meeting when he stated, amid cheers, to the hotel workers that "we are here to fight and will remain out till we win." The strikers seated according to hotels, a placard with the name of their places of slavery raised high above them, resembled a mighty convention of labor. Convinced that they would be invincible if they stood together as one man, the strikers listened with rapt attention as speaker after speaker urged them onward—to action and struggle.

Masses Shout Down Disrupters

First introduced on the speaker's list by chairman Bourget, was the secretary of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, B. J. Field. The puny disruptive jeering of the few hundred of the "Food Workers Industrial Union" which had invaded the meeting under the banner of unity (!) was quickly drowned out by a storm of spontaneous applause from the thousands of Amalgamated members, loyal to their union and in full solidarity with the strike movement.

Secretary Fields elaborated the irrepressible growth of the strike and its militant actions from day to day. He denounced the slanders of the capitalist press saying that "the great action of the general strike of the hotel workers has given the lie to the vicious press reports." Cheers and applause greeted Fields when he hit home: "The workers, not glass, steel and stone make the hotels," and further that "a triumph of the hotel workers will give inspiration to labor's ranks everywhere."

Next on the speaker's list was Heywood Brown, journalist, who gave words of encouragement to the assembled strikers. The hall rang with boos and cries of derision as Gaud of the Amalgamated mentioned the name of Lucius Boomer. The storm of anger he had evoked by uttering the name of an enemy of the strikers was equalled only by the deluge of applause which the audience launched as he promised that "15,000 food handlers organized in the A. F. W. are being prepared to render direct assistance to the embattled hotel workers."

Call For Spreading Strike

"There is a great war taking place in America today between two giants—capital and labor. We are soldiers in this fight and we are here to carry it to victory....When Boomer fired four times he started a fire he will never put out....The lying, hypocritical, pro-capitalist press, the deplorable Times, the filthy Tribune and the rest of the brass check artists have their answer here tonight

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 2)

Strike Gains Momentum

Moving forward with seven league boots the walk-out of the New York hotel and restaurant workers continue to tie-up hotels and restaurants every day, chalking up fourteen new establishments in the last forty eight hours.

Outstanding among these paralyzed fortresses of the open shop are the Commodore, Longchamps 79th St., the fourth of this chain to be struck, the Marguery, the Olcott and others. The complete list is published in another column.

The work of the picketing committees before the major hotels and restaurants goes on unabated and with remarkable militancy. Supplementing the activity of the individual pickets are the indomitable committees from whose action no scab hotel is immune. So effective is their work that the thugs in blue uniforms are beginning to interfere with the pickets. One picket was arrested at the Waldorf and another at the Great Northern on complaints of scab agents charging "intimidation". Both are out on bail.

Meanwhile the hotel bosses are becoming desperate at the crippling power of the strike. At the Longchamps, the management offered the strikers \$150 to return to work. Gus Feider and Louis Esposito, strikers, went to the management to protest. They were thrown out by gangsters and when they hit the sidewalk fifteen thugs assailed the two strikers, beating one of them so badly that he required medical attention. A couple of the bruisers were also hurt. On charges by the picketers, two of the plug-uglies were apprehended for assault.

Reports reach the union headquarters with increasing frequency that the scabs are unable to fill the bill although they are paid from seven to twelve dollars per day. Twenty-three scabs were fired from the Warwick Hotel for incompetency and the chef threatened to quit if do-nothings—meaning strike-breakers—were the only help that could be obtained.

Dozens of telegrams of the following order have been sent to strikers in an attempt to stampede them back to work:

"SORRY I WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN STRIKERS DELEGATION APPEARED STOP I AM SURE YOU ARE NOT IN SYMPATHY WITH THIS MOVEMENT."

(Signed THE "MANAGEMENT")

Organizer Kaldis read these telegrams at meetings. The speakers shouted their indignation. Another obstacle they would clear out of the way.

Despite the lies of the kept press the bosses are searching high and low for skilled workers to scab on the thousands now in revolt against intolerable conditions. We have it on reliable information that the City Hotel's Men's Association were in session all Saturday, Sunday and Monday late into the night discussing the problem of the shortage of trained cooks and waiters and consulting with railroad men, obviously on plans for herding scabs into New York from other cities.

Protesting the hiring of strike-breakers as a menace to public health the Amalgamated has issued the following statement to the Commissioner of Health, dated January 28th:

"Dear Sir:

"The public health of this city is endangered through the action of the hotels and restaurants on strike in hiring strike-breakers without health cards. The danger is that hotels in general have in their keeping the health cards of the strikers as, for example, the Waldorf-Astoria and the Savarin Restaurants. For the protection of the public health we take it upon ourselves to inform you of this dangerous situation.

"Very Respectfully yours,
"Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.
"N. B. Health cards are being fraudulently passed to the strike breakers."

"JULES CHASTONAY,
"Kitchen Organizer."

—G. C.

CORRECTIONS

To the Militant:
Your last issue (January 29) refers to me as a "special strike organizer". This is incorrect. I am participating in the strike in an advisory capacity by invitation. The organizing work as well as the responsibility of the strike rests with the officials of the union. I would appreciate if you would make this correction.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

To the Militant:
In reporting the Bryant Hall strike meeting you mention my name as a strike organizer. My acting as chairman of the meeting was not in that capacity. I am a rank and file member of the union, not an official.

—HUGO OEHLER.

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EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

In the end, is extended and intensified mass struggle. Instead of allowing the bosses and their NRA to tie up the workers in their iron chains, let the strikers surround every hotel in the city with an impassable iron ring of mass picket lines which will drive the employers into a corner.

Remember the great strike wave of last summer, when tens of thousands of workers throughout the country rose spontaneously in magnificent struggles against starvation conditions. How brilliantly they illuminated the all-important fact that the working class, once started on the road of struggle, reveals that it has enormous reservoirs of strength, of militancy, of solidarity. It is necessary to put all our faith in those reservoirs. It is necessary to rely upon them exclusively, and upon nothing else!

What is needed to win this strike and to inspire workers elsewhere with the victory, is clear vision in the ranks and in the leadership, a bold strategy and militant tactics. The superb mass picketing at the Waldorf-Astoria on the first night of the strike, and the courageous march on the scab employment agencies in face of the police with drawn guns who met the marchers—these are examples of the line of action that must be developed and spread until it embraces every worker in the strike.

Extending the Strike Front

The extension of the strike brings to the fore the problem of the union as a whole. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union is only one section—and a powerful one—of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. It is fortunate that the hotel workers are part of a union which has a firm base in other parts of the industry, notably among the bakers. The task here is to inspire in the workers the vision of a powerful industrial union, organized on a nation-wide foundation and covering all the trades and crafts. The Amalgamated Food Workers Union is admirably constructed for this purpose, by virtue of its industrial form of organization, its class struggle tendency, its constitution and its progressive traditions.

The Militant deems it highly important for the Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union to draw other detachments of the mother organization into the work and support of the strike, and if necessary, into common fighting action.

The workers have an endless capacity to fight and to win. Let them but realize the fact and half the battle is won. Let them but realize that they have hardly begun to summon up all the forces and powers at their disposal. And let them make the bosses and their lackeys realize that obstinate resistance to the union's demands will not meet with capitulation, or retreat, but with stiffer blows by the workers!

The workers who have already closed down the largest and most powerful hotels in New York in less than a week, and closed them down tight, have the right and the duty to call for aid from the workers in other crafts and trades. The Amalgamated Food Workers Union has an extensive jurisdiction. And the men who struck the hotels of this city are capable of striking every branch of the food industry. Let the bosses beware!

The extension of the strike is, to our minds, of a piece with the establishment in the union of a broad, inclusive leadership which uses every progressive and constructive force. Least of all do we Trotskyists have anything in common with clique tendencies and factional monopoly in the leadership of mass organizations. The idea is repugnant to us. We regard the trade unions as the mass organizations of the workers, embracing them all without regard to their political, economic, racial or religious affiliations. They must allow free play for every tendency to express itself by democratic means. They must draw in every healthy force to bear its share of the responsibility for the organization in its struggles. A narrow policy in this field is fatal, and the International-Communists—who have fought such a course relentlessly in the A. F. of L. and the Stalinist unions—will oppose it just as pitilessly whenever and wherever and in whomsoever it manifests itself in the Amalgamated.

The workers who have had their bellies full of the Gompers-Green brand of bureaucracy and of the stifling of the workers' voice in the Stalinist unions, will not permit the infiltration of any similar poison into the Amalgamated. The first sign of it must be crushed without mercy. Every conscious worker will join hands in a concerted effort to make the Amalgamated a model union in this respect, a union where the members feel at home, where they can talk and criticize freely, where they can elect their officials or recall them, where their initiative may be unfolded instead of restricted, and above all where the clear and honest voice of progressivism may be heard above the deadening growls of reactionary conservatism.

Red Baiting and Reaction

In the same spirit, we are adamant in our opposition to any Red-baiting in the union, regardless of the forms it takes, even if they are of the most "polite" and covert nature. Bitter experience teaches the workers the reactionary character of Red-baiting. Everywhere it has gone and always will go hand in hand with a contemptible groveling before capitalist "public opinion", hand in hand with treachery to the workers and their fights. Isn't this clear from the clamor of the hotel men who denounce the Amalgamated as a "red union"; from the affidavits submitted by the attorney for Walters Local 16 of the A. F. of L. in applying for an injunction in the Supreme Court against the Amalgamated, to "prove" that it "is in the pay of Moscow"? Red-baiting is the weapon of reaction. It plays into the hands of the bosses, of the labor skate and traitor, of the dark forces. "Respectability" bought by a union at the price of an anti-Red campaign is bought dearly. Such "respectability" means the end of its existence as a fighting organization and the beginning of its enslavement to the bosses. Every time the employers or their agents have demanded of a union a repudiation or renunciation of "Reddism" or "Communism", they have demanded that the union give up its backbone and independence!

In this connection, the attempt to impute any relationship to such ideas to the secretary of the union in an interview which appeared in the World-Telegram, will not meet with success. We feel sure that the spokesman for the union was misquoted and that a true militant cannot have voiced such views at any time.

No concession to such a trend can be allowed, without the A. F. W. degenerating into a replica of the conservative A. F. L. The fact that a union is independent of the A. F. L. is no guarantee against such a degeneration. The Progressive Miners of America is a sad example. It started out with magnificent prospects. It gave the devil of Red-baiting a finger, in the hope of gaining respectability in the eyes of the coal operators. Then it gave its whole hand. Today it is indistinguishable from the reactionary Lewis union, and the members of the union are as badly off today, if not worse off than they were before the P. M. A. was launched. Let the members of the A. F. W. be on guard against any attempt to play this dangerous game!

Far from tolerating such trends in the union, they must be fought. In its place, the A. F. W. must continue to stand for the broadest possible united front with all forces—not even excluding the Stalinists. We are not unmindful of the fact that a good deal of the criticism of the "18th Street Union" emanates from dubious sources and strikes a reactionary note. We oppose the Industrial Union not because there

Labor Greeted Amalgamated

Headquarters of the striking Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union are beginning to receive expressions of sympathy and concrete assistance from labor groups of the industry outside New York, as well as from organizations outside the hotel industry. In addition to the backing of the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union, the Federated Industrial Union of which the Hotel Workers' Union is a department, the strikers have received greetings from Leonidas Augustas, President, on behalf of the Restaurant and Lunch Room Workers Association of Massachusetts (4,000 members) and from Chapter 2 of the Restaurant and Lunch Room Workers Association of America. Laryas Pantas, President of the latter, wrote in part as follows:

"If everyone in the United States had the nerve and the courage to fight for their rights, I am sure the workers would be getting satisfactory wages today."

John Rojas, a leader of food workers in New Haven, Conn., wired his congratulations on the strike and stated that thousands of workers "await only courageous leadership to carry on."

Greetings were also received from Leon Lostal, former organizer of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. Writing from Miami, Fla., he expressed the joy of workers in Miami by reading the news of the strike in the morning papers. He wrote:

"Year after year, I have asked myself: how long will we continue to submit to this merciless exploitation by our cruel bosses? Comrades, you are at last answering that question. The downtrodden workers in the hotels and restaurants throughout the country are watching you with reawakening hopes, realizing that success in your struggle means the dawn of a new and happier day for them. Comrades, you owe it to them and to your families and to yourselves to spare no effort, and to fight like heroes to at last establish the Union as a force and power to aid you and protect you against the greed of your bosses."

Among the organizations outside the industry which are assisting the strike, in addition to the Communist League of America whose organ, The Militant, has singlehandedly battled against the flood of lies in the boss-owned daily papers of New York, are the following:

League for Industrial Democracy; Conference for Progressive Labor Action; Emergency Strikers' Welfare Committee; American Civil Liberties Union; Young Peoples' Socialist League; Greater New York Federation; Spartacus Youth Clubs. A more complete list is being prepared and will be published in the next issue of The Militant.

10,000 At Mass Rally Pack Garden

(Continued from page 1)

...Extend the hotel strike to all food workers. Our motto is class solidarity. Our goal is: those who do not work shall not eat! The sturdy halls of the Garden rang to the echo as James P. Cannon roared these remarks of class solidarity and class struggle to the assembled multitudes.

The Militant goes to press before we have the opportunity to report the speeches of Mary Fox, A. J. Muste, Arturo Giovannitti and Ben Gitlow. They will be recorded in a subsequent issue.

This huge mass meeting, broadcast over station W. E. B. D., stood out as a symbol that the hotel strikers were ready to go through hell's fire for the victory of their stirring cause.

Finances are needed to publish the MILITANT three times a week during the strike. Send contributions to 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

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Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
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are Communists in its ranks or leadership, but only because of its disruptive and indefensible policies.

The Amalgamated can live and grow and inspire workers with confidence and enthusiasm only if it holds to a truly militant course and checks every deviation from it at its inception. The principal guarantee for such progress is an organized Left wing which is the banner-bearer of the ideas outlined above.

The workers cannot depend for this upon the ideas alone, hanging in the air, or upon individuals alone carrying out these ideas. What is needed is a group of conscientious fighters, devoted first of all to the Amalgamated—not to the corrupt Local 16 gang, or to the 18th Street sect—who are interested above all in the strengthening of the union, in improving its fighting ability, in making it the pride of the labor movement. A group in short which stands four-square and unequivocally on the basis of a class struggle program and a class struggle fight. Such a group has not yet been formed as it should be. Its formation is an urgent need, and we for our part will do all in our power to assist it, and thereby assist the union as a whole.

The Amalgamated stands before great tasks, but even greater opportunities. It has the power to measure up to both. If it does, it will have written a golden page in the record of the regenerated labor movement of America.

Emil Smith Dining Room Delegate, Waldorf-Astoria:

"The capitalist press is the dirtiest in the world—if all those lies about our strike can be written up for it. The firing of Fournigault, the chef de Manger, forced us to strike. He was hired two and half years ago by the Chef and proved to be an excellent worker. ... Firing him was an attack on the strength of the cooks. Only three weeks before the general walk out, the solidarity of the waiters was tested. For three minutes the waiters stopped working. The fired man was quickly reinstated. But now the dining room waiters and room service waiters have joined with the kitchen force demanding that they be treated as workers and not slaves. They have struck for the recognition of the A. F. W.—Boomers."

They were given a chance to show a reason for firing Fournigault, but he preferred to be high and mighty and swore that he would never deal with the union. He said he was his own judge and could hire and fire the men who worked for him without advice from union delegates. The workers in all three services at the Waldorf have been fed up on the conditions there too long, not only for violation of the NRA code, but also for all the petty abuses. For the first time we have joined together because we have conviction, we have the right of collective bargaining and we know that our union is not a racketeer union. We are all ready to hold out together until the Waldorf-Astoria recognizes our rights, our union and our wage demands."

Gustave Barth

Kitchen Delegate, Pennsylvania Hotel:

"We have been fed up too long on last minute promises and rotten food. At the Pennsylvania Hotel they didn't give us the chance to organize a union of our choice, as they should have according to the conditions of the NRA. But even good wages and all those promises could not keep us working when the rest of the hotels struck. We are fighting now for the recognition of the A. F. W. as our union. And we mean it. One hundred percent of the kitchen force stopped work at eleven o'clock Saturday morning."

Protest Chen Du Siu's Imprisonment

(The following appeal is made by prominent leaders of the British labor movement. It is reprinted herewith from the Red Flag, official organ of the Internationalist Communists of Great Britain):

SAVE THE LIFE OF CHEN DU SIU!

We, the undersigned, draw the attention of all working-class organizations to the arrest and imprisonment of Chen Du Siu, an outstanding and courageous leader of the Chinese workers' movement, now undergoing a sentence of 13 years imprisonment by the Chinese Nationalist Government.

Chen Du Siu has a long record of service in the struggle of the Chinese people for their freedom. Born in 1875, in his early years he worked mainly in the sphere of editing radical and literary papers and in educating the youth of China, founding for this purpose the monthly "The Youth", a paper which played an important role in the development of the Chinese social and cultural movement. During the years 1916-1919 he played a prominent part in preparing the ground for the development of the mass National movement, which began with the students' anti-Japanese demonstration of May 4th, 1919. At the height of this agitation Chen was imprisoned by the pro-Japanese Peking Government as the author of a seditious leaflet.

After his release he went to Shanghai where he founded the Chinese Communist Party. Twice arrested during 1921-1922 by the French authorities, his release was secured by the protests of the Chinese workers. From that time until 1929 Chen was General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party,

are Communists in its ranks or leadership, but only because of its disruptive and indefensible policies.

The Amalgamated can live and grow and inspire workers with confidence and enthusiasm only if it holds to a truly militant course and checks every deviation from it at its inception. The principal guarantee for such progress is an organized Left wing which is the banner-bearer of the ideas outlined above.

The workers cannot depend for this upon the ideas alone, hanging in the air, or upon individuals alone carrying out these ideas. What is needed is a group of conscientious fighters, devoted first of all to the Amalgamated—not to the corrupt Local 16 gang, or to the 18th Street sect—who are interested above all in the strengthening of the union, in improving its fighting ability, in making it the pride of the labor movement. A group in short which stands four-square and unequivocally on the basis of a class struggle program and a class struggle fight. Such a group has not yet been formed as it should be. Its formation is an urgent need, and we for our part will do all in our power to assist it, and thereby assist the union as a whole.

The Amalgamated stands before great tasks, but even greater opportunities. It has the power to measure up to both. If it does, it will have written a golden page in the record of the regenerated labor movement of America.

—THE MILITANT.

While the bosses' press loads its columns with statements from Boomer, Muschenheim, Oscar and the rest of the strike-breaking crew, the Militant presents the views of the striking workers. These interviews with strike leaders and rank-and-filers will appear in all future strike issues. They are verbatim reports of the strikers' views on subjects which they choose to discuss. Ed.

Ninety-nine and 3-4 percent of the waiters struck. Until yesterday our picket line was weak. But the scabs are not getting in now. Sure we can hold out until we have won the right of our own union. And now that we are sticking together—we've got to win."

Marcel Gauduchon Kitchen Delegate, Hotel Astor.

"We walked out first of all because we are with our brothers for the right of our union. But we have our own battle with the Astor. The food is just plain lousy and the hours are worse. They dock us for being late but pay us very little for overtime. It's been a standard order at the Astor to ask a newly hired cook or waiter: 'What society do you belong to?' And the Vatel Club has been suggested usually as the right society to belong to. Now we don't want any discrimination in favor of the clubs or societies, or a company union. What we want is the right to belong to our own union, the A. F. W. The wages at the Astor have been fair for five years, but last year, when the NRA went into effect, the Astor began to cut wages like the rest of the hotels. The boss has been unwilling to meet union delegates. Only two months ago when a waiter was discharged I and another delegate, Chris Minihane, went to Muschenheim to find out why. He refused to meet us as union delegates but would talk to us only as shop men. He said he would deal with individuals—but not the union. Well, that's not what we want. We'll stick by the union."

V. Mastro

Picket Captain, Waiter, Hotel New Weston.

"What's been going on at the New Weston makes us ready to stick it out until we win. For instance—our hours! We were at

ways sure of the time we had to check in, but we could never know what time we'd be going out. From 7 to 2:30 or 3 o'clock we'd have to work and then come back at 5:30 to last out until 10 or later. We were supposed to go off at 8, but that never happened. We got all the abuses, but none of the considerations. From 1923 to 1933 our wages were \$30 a month. With the NRA they raised us 20 percent and then charged us three dollars a month for our uniforms. That stopped three weeks ago, when a strike threatened the bosses. They stopped all right on that uniform business but they still kept feeding us food not fit for the dogs. The NRA? Yeah, they heard of it. But they didn't know what it means. The boss newspapers don't know either. They've been giving this strike a raw deal too. The Militant knows that we're fighting for the recognition of the union. We'll get it. We're all sticking together."

Herbert Schneider

Waiter Delegate, Longchamps, 57th Street.

"The conditions at the Longchamps restaurant, are the same as at the New Weston Hotel, only worse. The boss, Allen Lustig, and all his rotten treatment can be blamed for our walkout. Three cuts in our wages—ten percent cuts. Working for twelve hours, fourteen hours. Violation of NRA? And how! The ten percent service charge on all Longchamps checks is another joke. That ten percent was split four ways before we got what was left. The bus boy, the butter boy, the coatroom boy and the waiters had to share it. And the same plan was used to chisel the bar service check. The waiter got only two and a half percent of that. Lustig claims that he'll never deal with union men. He says he means it. O. K. We mean it too. We didn't have to be called to the strike. It would take a long time to tell you what's been going on. But we are through with such lousy conditions, and all the hardships, with the privilege of working for starvation wages. The boys never eat at Longchamps. What's served in the dining room may be very tasty and appetizing. But what they give us is week-old tripe and rotten hash. That's the truth. The Militant will write it up that way. The other papers haven't."

he sent to the Chinese Embassy, 49 Portland Place, W. 1, and to the Socialist and Communist press.

Signed by:

Tom Mann, C.P.
James Maxton, I.L.P.
Fenner Brockway, I.L.P.
W. Harris, E.C. of N.A.F.T.A.
Alec Gossip, "
A. E. Harvey, "
Albert Thomas, "
Percy J. Johnson, "
A. J. Bickell, "
J. L. Swift, "
C. W. Taylor, "
Walter Randall, "
John Jagger, N.U.D.A.W.
Dick Beech, Pres. Chem. W. U.
Edwin W. Mackwell, Nat. Org. Chemical Workers Union.
Arthur Gillian, Gen. Sec. G.W.U.
Jack Tanner, Organizer, A.E.U.
W. Howell, Engineer, A.E.U.
(A copy of this appeal was sent to Harry Pollitt of the Communist Party and to A. F. Walkden of the T. U. C. General Council. No reply has been received.)

Subs Double

Two days ago, in the first issue of the tri weekly we reported that the sub drive opened with 115 new subs. Now we are happy to announce that in the brief period between that issue and this, which includes Sunday, we have received as many subs again—114. This total now is 229. The New York Local made a magnificent start toward realizing its quota of four hundred new subs. The City Committee bought 84 of the Club Plan half-year subs cards at twenty-five cents apiece. Pittsburgh bought twelve.

Comrade Leaser of Brooklyn shot in 8; and comrade Goodman of Philadelphia sent in four.

Six comrades sent in one sub apiece at the regular rates. The list of leaders now stands as follows: comrade Leaser—8; comrade Goodman—7; O. Coover—5; R. Sharron—5; J. Ruby—5; A. Konikow—3; J. Ruby—3. These comrades have sent in two apiece, and twenty-five have sent in one each.

The drive is just beginning but it is clear that it will be a success. The whole Club Plan scheme is the simplest, easiest thing ever devised to distribute a paper to workers. A single half-year subscription to the Militant is fifty cents. That is cheap enough. But on the Club Plan basis it is twice as cheap that is, it is only twenty-five cents, provided they are bought in blocks of at least four at one time. There is no maximum; you can buy as many more than four as you can afford.

You invest one dollar in four Club Plan sub cards. Then you either resell them, one at a time, two at a time, however you can. If you resell them you have your money back. You can stop there if you want to. But you can do better than that. You can reinvest the dollar in four more cards and resell them. In this way you will have a small revolving fund at work increasing the circulation of the Militant. And when you wind it up you will have spent nothing yourself.

Build the Militant! Help circulate a Marxian paper for workers! Order for Club Plan half year sub cards for one dollar! Use the blank below!

THE MILITANT

126 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)



VOLUME VII, NO. 6 [WHOLE NO. 210]

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1934

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Brand Lies On Union Contracts

Show Complete List of Amalgamated Demands

In a renewed attempt to discredit the general strike of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union and to sow demoralization in the ranks, the *Daily Worker* is concocting alarmist stories about a "secret sellout" agreement between the union and the hotel men. In these stories it is contended that the general strike of the Amalgamated is not being conducted for specific demands regarding wages, hours and working conditions. This is completely false. Before the general strike started, a detailed list of demands for all the workers in the industry was worked out by the various shop organizations of the union, ratified by a general membership meeting, printed in leaflet form and given the widest distribution. When the forty-eight hour strike ultimatum was sent to the hotel owners, these demands were presented in the same letter with the form of agreement to recognize the union. They were sent to the three hotel associations and to each hotel individually. A formulation for the agreement for union recognition which specified that there should be no increase in hours and no decrease in wages, did not express the minimum demands of the union, which were dealt with in the list of concrete demands. This was undoubtedly a bad formulation subject to misinterpretation and was deliberately misinterpreted in the *Daily Worker's* agitation against the union.

Strike Committee Unanimous
At the last meeting of the general strike committee this whole question was given thorough consideration and a unanimous decision was taken to draw up a new form of agreement without the objective clauses and specifically providing that not only any general agreement with the employers, but also temporary shop settlements should provide for definite increases in wages and decreases in hours. At this meeting motions were adopted unanimously on the following three points:

1. All individual shop settlements made in the course of the strike are to be considered as temporary and subject to readjustment in accordance with the terms of a general settlement. These individual shop settlements are also to include specific provisions for increase in wages and decrease in hours as well as recognition of the union.
2. Any general settlement with the hotel bosses must be approved by the general strike committee and ratified by a general mass meeting of the strikers before being signed.
3. All temporary shop settlements must be approved by a shop meeting of the workers involved.

The fact that all these actions were taken by unanimous vote and without any opposition is in itself a sufficient indication that the attack of the *Daily Worker* was slanderous and without real foundation. The attempt to represent the officials of the union as engaged in a "secret conspiracy to sell out the workers", is refuted by the facts themselves, in the given case, as well as by the well-known practices of the Amalgamated over a long period of years.

As a matter of fact, the constitution of the Amalgamated union specifically provides that at least two shop delegates are to accompany an official of the union whenever he meets an employer to discuss wages, working conditions or other matters affecting the men in a given shop.

In order to give a final refutation to the false assertions that the Amalgamated general strike has not presented specific economic demands, we reprint herewith a complete list of these demands as they were worked out by the union. Copies of them in leaflet form are distributed at the union headquarters.

WAGE-SCALE DEMANDS of the HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS UNION

Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers of America

The following categories are to be included: Hotels, Restaurants, Grill Rooms, Oyster Bars, Chop

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Scabs a Flop at Casino de Paree

Strike-breakers are a pretty miserable lot. They take the job from a good union man—and they are unable to do the work themselves. The strikers get stabbed in the back by the scab. And the employer is unable to obtain proficient service from the strike-breaker.

Take the fashionable Casino de Paree, ritzzy Broadway night club. Paul Coughlin, racketeer and president of Local 16 of the A. F. L., has been supplying strike-breakers. In return he got a contract giving him the right to collect dues.

But there has been trouble between Local 16 and the Casino de Paree. The scabby waiters spilled so much soup that more than four hundred of them have been in and out the night club since the strike. Now the boss threatens to break his contract with Local 16 unless he can get strike-breakers from them that will fill the job. His patrons are complaining that since the strike their soup-and-fishes have not been giving them the service they all used to which is tough on the boss—and fine for the strike.

Big Companies Already Tied Up

The strike wave launched by the general strike of the hotel and restaurant workers in New York has spread to the taxicab industry today. The last straw which let loose the accumulation of bitter grievances was the disposition of the 5 cent tax on all rides. The cab companies want the money collected so far, estimated at between half a million and two million, to go to them as part of their gross income. But the men demand it on the ground that their pay, which averaged from seven to ten dollars for a ten-hour day, six-day week, was not enough to keep them alive, and that the tax was really coming out of their tips.

The strike is spreading like wildfire. Even the capitalist newspapers have been forced to admit this. The *New York Evening Journal* admitted on February 2 that "they crippled service at the Grand Central Terminal, for example, that scarcely one cab was available there—generally there are five hundred." "The scene at the Pennsylvania Station was worse, if anything." This condition prevails at all railroad and steamship terminals in the city. The boss press estimates the number of men on strike at only ten thousands. That this is an obvious and deliberate understatement, will be a clear to all workers who have seen how they lied about the strength of the hotel strike.

All the big companies are tied up. The Parmelee System, Yellow Taxicab Corporation, Keystone, Five Boro, Radio, Terminal, General and Checker have been forced to admit that they are crippled. Old-timers who have been through other strikes say this is one of the greatest demonstrations of solidarity in the history of the industry. By a unanimous vote of the strike meeting of the United Taxi Drivers Union of Greater New York every cab was ordered off the street. At the time of the strike vote there

were six thousand men in the union headquarters and the strike halls. Thousands are pouring into union to sign up. —CARL COWL.

CWA Workers Rebel

With tens of thousands of hotel and restaurant workers, and taxi drivers out on strike against exploitation, and more thousands expected to come out in the morning, a movement of rebellion against mistreatment began to take on militant form among the CWA workers of the city. At Dyker Heights Park in Brooklyn, workers launched a militant protest against being docked half a day's pay without explanation. When they massed outside the Administration Building to voice their protest, they received no consideration from officials. The latter sent for Police Emergency squads to disperse the workers. The C. W. A. workers in the Army Base in Brooklyn, all war veterans, met and adopted a resolution of protest against wage cuts. Steps are being taken to unite all CWA groups who have grievances, and to bring about concrete expressions of solidarity among all striking and unemployed groups throughout N.Y.C.

The following are the demands of the striking drivers:

1. The entire "tax" to the drivers.
2. The 8 hour 6 day week (48 hours)
3. No firing for low bookings.
4. Elimination of political and insurance racketeers.
5. Eliminate police persecution.
6. Against the vicious blacklist system.
7. No double shifts.
8. Recognition of the Union.

EDITORIAL

A week has passed since the call was issued for the general strike of the hotel and restaurant workers of New York. In that period, scores of the largest and most powerful hotels in the city have been tied up by the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

In spite of the disruptive tactics by the leaders of the "Industrial Union", which was and remains the greatest danger to the strike, the men who walked out have remained solid.

The big demonstration around the leading hotels, following the imposing mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, revealed a militancy of spirit and a readiness to fight with unbroken ranks which is the most favorable index to the strike's prospects.

Now, however, the strike has entered a new stage of development. The problem that arises before the men is: To consolidate the forces that have been assembled, to spread the influence and power of the strike to houses which have not yet walked out, and to integrate these new forces into the union.

And here the fundamental question is: the morale of the strike, of the men in it, of their union. How is it to be kept up, and strengthened, how are the ranks of the strikers to be welded into a smooth-working, hard-hitting machine capable of battering down the resistance of the hotel men?

The problem is first of all one of the leadership of the union and the policies which it pursues. Their capacities are tested and at the same time reflected in the morale of the union and the strike. Above all it is the leadership which, by the confidence which the rank and file has placed in it by its support, bears the burden of the responsibility for building up the necessary fighting morale, for holding the lines of the strike, for spreading the walkout movement to the other hotels and restaurants, and possibly to other branches of the industry.

How is this to be done? There is no miraculous recipe. There are only those policies and steps which have been tested over and over again in countless labor battles.

First: a policy of militant class struggle, which does not conceal the essential nature of the strike either from itself or from its opponents. To inspire the men with the feeling of class solidarity, with a reliance upon their own strength, their own power, their own invincibility, means to disregard capitalist "public opinion." It means a contemptuous refusal to crawl before the bosses or the bosses' press in any shape or form.

Every attempt to represent the union as an inoffensive body which means no harm to anybody, must be promptly repudiated. The union is organized as a fighting body. Its aim is to win the fights of the workers in its ranks against their employers. There cannot be a victory for both sides of this fight. A victory for the one is a defeat for the other. The sooner every worker understands this simple truth, the firmer will be their determination, the less attention they will pay to the barking and calumnies of the kept boss press.

The public opinion about which the leadership of the union must concern itself is the public opinion of the membership!

The class struggle policy is the only way to keep up the ranks of the strikers and to add to them. It is here, we repeat, that the leadership will be tested. Our support will go, as it always has gone, to those elements who show their colors in the fight, and to none others.

Second in importance is the education of the membership. The primary need in this respect is the furnishing of complete and systematic information to them. Daily strike mass meetings and enlarged committee meetings are imperatively needed to fuse the ranks of the strikers into a solid mass, to reply to the enemies of the strike regardless of where they come from, to fight back the insidious poison of the capitalist press and to combat tendencies toward defeatism.

Every effort must be made, thirdly, to destroy the myth of the invincibility of the employers. The workers can win this strike and establish themselves as a power that must be dealt with. Other workers who are not yet in the ranks of the strike, can do the same as those who have already walked out.

The big objective of the union, it should be remembered, is to build up and consolidate a strong militant union. The fight for better conditions, higher wages and a shorter working day is inconceivable without union organization and direction. Let it be borne in mind that, as a general rule in all such struggles, the employers hold out most bitterly against the recognition demand. They realize that once the union has established itself in "their business", the basis is laid for gaining one demand after another.

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Boss Press Persists In Fighting Strike

The bosses' press in reporting Tuesday's Madison Square Garden meeting and the mass picket demonstration that followed it, once again showed its enmity to the hotel workers' strike for decent conditions and union recognition.

The meeting and the demonstration had made history, not only for the hotel workers, but for the working class of New York. A strike meeting of almost 10,000 workers in a single industry is rare enough in New York, but even more significant was the amazing mass picket line after the meeting. Marching for two hours demonstrated before almost every major hotel in the city, stretching out half a mile along Park Avenue, protesting against the refusal of President Roosevelt to rebuke scabbing. It was a most unusual event in the city's history.

The bosses' press, however, minimized, distorted and even suppressed the news of this demonstration. In the *Herald-Tribune*, the marchers were reduced to 2,000! The *New York American* made it 2,500. The *Journal* gave it 4,000. The *World-Telegram* suppressed any reference to the 10,000 at the strike meeting and estimated the picket line at 4,000. The ultra-liberal *Evening Post* some days ago, said a "kind word" for the strike editorially by attacking a strike-breaking editorial of *World-Telegram*, its liberal competitor from whom it wants to steal worker-readers. Now it pushed the number of workers in the picket line down to 2,000! By unapologetically playing down one of the most extraordinary strike demonstrations in recent working class history, the boss press once again dealt a vicious blow to the interests of the workers.

But not only did the press minimize the numbers in the picket line. They reported nothing about the splendid spirit of the marchers, their effective demonstration before each hotel, the purpose of the march, the applause of people on the sidewalks and the rush of workers from inside hotels to greet the marchers. Furthermore, they hid the whole report of the march of workers under a report of a minor incident in a Sixth Avenue scab agency, where, they say, some windows were broken when workers protested against scabbing.

This inconspicuous incident was played up by the boss press as a desperate act of violence. Although even the police who always try to break strikes, made no arrests, the boss press blamed the strikers. "Striking Waiters Make Hash of 6th Ave. Agency" was the headline of the *Daily News*. "Job Agency Wrecked", said the *Herald-Tribune*, and it went so far as to say that the incident of the windows is a "measure taken by the Amalgamated Union to call the continued existence of the strike to the public's attention." The *Times* reported this at length as "the first outbreak of violence in the strike", ignoring the earlier use of thugs against strikers on several occasions.

"Daily Worker" Hits Hotel Strike With Slander and False Charges

The irresponsible and malicious story of the *Daily Worker*, charging the A. F. W. with selling out the general strike of the hotel workers, is only the latest and most flagrant attempt of the Stalinist organ to break the solidarity of the strikers.

Having failed to win a following in the industry on the basis of their program and "organization", the 18th St. "Union", the *Daily Worker*, and the Food Worker have fallen back on slander and misrepresentation of those who have the workers' confidence. As a result, the strike, assailed viciously by the lying capitalist press, has also had to face a barrage of attacks by the *Daily Worker* under the guise of building the "union".

The *Daily Worker* led up to its latest attack with a series of articles inimical to the strikers' interest. From the outset, the *Daily Worker* failed to print statements of A. F. W. officials. It has supported the split policy of the Stalinist Food Workers Industrial Union. The *Daily Worker*, instead of helping militant elements in the A. F. W. has persistently sought to discredit them. At critical moments the *Daily Worker* has ignored important developments in the strike. Whenever the strike suffered a blow, the *Daily Worker* has featured the bad news. Whenever a victory was won it played it down, ignored it or lied about it.

Like the boss press, the *Daily Worker* minimized the strike's strength. At the membership meeting which adopted the general strike resolution, 3,000 were present; the *Daily Worker* said 1,000. At the Madison Square Garden rally of Jan. 30, there were almost 10,000, the *Daily Worker* said 4,000.

On the other hand, the *Daily Worker* has persistently exaggerated the strength of the Stalinist union. The Jan. 30 meeting of the F. W. I. U. in Bryant Hall was attended by about 500 people, most of whom were not hotel workers. The *Daily Worker* reported on Jan. 31, that 600 strikers were present was not so bad. In fact, it was so little like the *Daily Worker* that the figure was boosted to 1,000.

During the first days of the strike, minorities of strikers in three hotels were tricked into the F. W. I. U. by Stalinist bunk. One after another these groups bolted and joined the A. F. W. After wandering for three days in the Stalinist wilderness, the New Yorker shop, the Stalinist "fortress", unanimously decided on Jan. 30 to join the A. F. W. Not even the four professional

What the Amalgamated Stands For

The Amalgamated, first and foremost, is a workers' union. No bosses allowed.

It is a democratic union. The membership elects or recalls officials as it sees fit. There are no thugs and no tyrants in its ranks.

There is freedom of expression. The worker can speak up without fear of losing his membership book or dues card.

There is no political discrimination. Every hotel and restaurant worker is welcomed whether he be Democrat, Republican, Socialist or Communist.

There is no religious discrimination, no racial discrimination. Do you work in a hotel or a restaurant?

That is the only question asked when you join the union.

The Amalgamated is an industrial union. Cooks, chefs, waiters, busboys, bellhops, chambermaids, pantrymen, dishwashers are all eligible for membership in the same union. No craft divisions separate them.

It is not a dues paying, assessment collecting, chaotic racket. The Amalgamated doesn't make deals behind the workers' back. Everything is open and above-board.

The union is out to get better conditions for the workers, less hours, higher wages—and get them by struggle, which is the only way they can be obtained. It is YOUR UNION! JOIN UP!

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Grand Central Joins in Strike

Among the latest hotels and restaurants to join the big strike parade have been the Columbia University Club, the Blake and the Grand Central controlled by the Union News Company, the Bossett Restaurant, Brooklyn, the Wellington.

The strike-breakers at Hotel Lincoln joined the walk-out on Thursday.

A worker at the Seymour Restaurant reports that the head waiter persistently refuses to fire one of the bus boys and several waiters who have been openly agitating for the general strike. The sympathy for the walk-out in this restaurant is gaining every day. The Carriest Restaurant is the latest to settle with the Amalgamated.

In flagrant violation of the official regulations of the Department of Labor, cooks from the Italian Fascist ship, the S. S. Vulcan, were sent from the ship to scab at the Hotel Ambassador. The Amalgamated Food Workers has sent a letter of protest to Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

Strike Has Cut Menus To Bone

Stories by Diners Show Hotel Men Bluffing

Reports coming to *The Militant* from sympathizers of the striking hotel workers make it plain that the great hotels of the city continue in a crippled condition, as far as restaurant service is concerned. The steady campaign of the capitalist press to convince the workers that their strike is hopeless continued yesterday in a statement by Goldwell, spokesman for the Hotel Men's Association, in which he declared that the strike is over and no hotels feel it any longer. The truth is quite the contrary.

On Tuesday night there were banquets at several hotels in honor of Roosevelt's birthday. To protest the act of the President in showing solidarity with those who employ and support scabs, the striking hotel workers held a great militant demonstration before the banquet tables. What was going on inside is revealed by the following statement of a diner.

"I saw Oscar at one point getting so red in the face that I thought he would burst. He was furious because of the sloppy way in which the banquet was being served. Of course, the skilled hands which usually serve the rich banquets were outside on the picket line. As a result more than one soup-and-fish was stained. And it wasn't stained with the usual delicacies of the Waldorf, either. I never saw such an important banquet with such a plain menu. Of course, there was plenty to eat, too much as is usual in the Waldorf, but it was certainly not the famous Waldorf cuisine."

Another person, Mrs. Elinor Novack, went to half a dozen of the leading hotels on Tuesday afternoon to find out what was available for a dinner for eight people. She was told that service was going on as usual. As late as five o'clock however, several of these hotels had no menus ready, although usually they are printed hours before the strike!

At Pierre's Mrs. Novack was told that "there is no a la carte menu at all." "There was one item in each course, nothing fancy. The dessert was ice-cream. Theodore, the head waiter, admitted that this was "not usual," that there are ordinarily four dishes on each course. "Madam, must forgive us—you know what conditions are—"

Essex House had only a typewritten menu. They had given up printing menus altogether as they could not be sure what they could actually cook. George, the head-waiter apologized, blaming the situation on the strike.

The captain at the Park Lane said there would be no a la carte menu. They could not serve more than one or two dishes. The main dinner course was white fish!

At the Ambassador the main dining room was closed altogether. Dishes available in the small dining room were few and simple. Here the captain pretended this had nothing to do with the strike, but could give no other explanation. At Park Central the headwaiter said he had not noticed the strike, but Mrs. Novack spoke with a guest who said that the waiter at her table did not know what a demitasse is.

The Savoy Plaza head waiter offered \$4.50 dinner without choice of courses. The captain explained that the strike did not bother them. A guest said indignantly: "Then why is the food so terrible?"

The menu at Marguery's offered seven choices on the main course. One was a vegetable plate, four were fish. Pierre, the head waiter, said a dinner for eight would have to be ordered definitely before six o'clock or they would never get it ready, not even the vegetable plate. Service as usual?

These conditions were duplicated at the Pennsylvania-Information about the Pennsylvania from another source reveals that in the grill for the last three days the only dessert has been pie.

A diner at the Brevoort reports that the women hired for the dining room are not a great success at scabbing. After failing to get any of the famous French dishes which the Brevoort usually provides, this diner turned to cheese. It took him 25 minutes to get a portion of Port du Salut; the waitress admitted that she had never heard of it. Service as usual? Bunk!

Hitler: One Year After

With the whole of Germany oppressed under the iron heel of Fascism, Adolf Hitler celebrated the first anniversary of his appointment as Chancellor of the Reich on January 30th.

One year of bloody rule... the destruction of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, the wiping out of all trade unions and workers organizations, the persecution of the Jews, the suppression of all opposition in the camp of the master class: the Nationalist-Monarchists, the Catholic Center, and the storm troops... tens of thousands in concentration camps, countless others in prisons and jails... bloody oppression and exploitation—that is the present set-up in the year one of German Fascism.

Hitlerism in the Saddle.
With unparalleled rapidity, Hitler has consummated his power. At the end of January 1933 he became Chancellor. On March 5th the German people were terrorized and cajoled to participate in his Bonapartist plebiscite. With the so-called "democratic mandate" of the people he immediately proceeded to legalize the Communist party—by employing the notorious Reichstag fire as a pretext. Soon the Social Democratic party was suppressed. The trade unions were the next victims of Hitler's dictatorship. On May 1st the socialist leaders of the unions were arrested, then the laws of the union were confiscated. Several months later the unions were completely abolished. The factory councils suffered the same fate.

With the militant working class crushed, Hitler took steps against his enemies of the Huguenot-Nationalist camp. The steel helmets were integrated with Hitler's storm troops. The Nationalist party or over to the Fascist party or ousted from the government and all central posts. After one year, Hitler has full control over the entire Reich unchallenged by any serious force.

What it took Mussolini and his Italian Fascist bands four years to accomplish—what then only after bloody street fights and conflicts—Hitler has accomplished in months. The young Italian Communist Party, despite Mussolini's desires, could not be suppressed or made illegal until 1926. Trade unions, independent of the caricature Fascist unions, were being built years after Mussolini's victory. The Italian workers fought militantly against the consolidation of Fascism.

Workers Left Leaderless
An entirely different picture in Germany! The workers with tongue in cheek are compelled to shout: **Heil Hitler!** Depressed and downhearted, they are still passive and inactive. Hitler's victory was easy sailing for him—after years of treachery by the Social Democracy and criminal blunders on the part of the Stalinized Communist party. The workers were left leaderless during the offensive of Fascism against their organizations, living conditions and very lives.

All this despite the empty and bureaucratic boasting of the Stalinists. They called the Mueller, the Von Papen and Von Schleicher governments—Fascist. Now any worker can see what a real Fascist regime means! They characterized the Social Democratic party—following their master, Stalin—as "social-fascist," that is Fascists who use socialist phrases. Fascism and social democracy are twins, they shouted; they are not antagonistic and incompatible.

Life itself has answered their stupid theory. Fascism could not tolerate even the cringing, bootlicking servants of capitalism, Social Democracy. For as is well known Social Democracy had its troops in the mass trade unions.

Within these trade unions, Social Democracy had a free rein. The Stalinists organized their pure, "revolutionary" trade unions isolated from the workers. Despite paper resolutions on work in the mass trade unions, no real work was conducted. How could a revolutionary party be effective in such a developed industrial country as Germany with no support among the organized workers, in the trade unions?

The United Front
United front of all workers or organizations? Never a united front with social fascists, was the reply of these self-acclaimed leaders of the workers. The Socialist workers are being won over... the united front only from below! is having great success... the Communist party has as many workers following it—claimed Thaelmann after the elections of July 1933—as the Social Democratic party... Hitler could not last for any length of time. Such were the reports spread by the self-satisfied Stalinist apparatus.

By their policies they played into the hands of the Social Democratic leaders and the Fascists. The Socialist leaders were able to keep control over their members; the latter had no confidence whatever in the Stalinists. The Fascists were able to utilize this sharp division within the working class.

The working class of Germany, and the workers of the entire world, suffered a serious and historical defeat. It is not a question of weeks before the working class movement will once again arise. The small heroic illegal Communist and revolutionary socialist groups functioning in Germany are isolated from the masses. It will take time before the workers once again organize their forces, their trade unions and party.

Fascism Doomed
But struggle they will, struggle they must! Fascism cannot solve the crises of capitalism—it can

postpone the decisive struggle, it can make the road costlier and harder. The decisive problem is the re-assembly of the truly revolutionary forces for the construction of a new Communist party in Germany—a section of the new international Communist party. Towards this end all militant workers must bend their efforts. By this means the bloody barbarous regime of the German Nazis will be crushed and the way paved for a Soviet Germany.—J. C.

The Wrecking Crew at Work

Disruption and strikebreaking is the contribution of the Stalinist leaders to the hotel and restaurant workers' strike. A group of irresponsible bureaucrats playing with the workers' interests as lightly as a child plays with a toy, they are parading under the guise of the discredited Food Workers Industrial Union. This so-called union has been brought into the hotel strike, not to help and cooperate with the Amalgamated—accepted by the overwhelming majority of the strikers as their representative—but to split the ranks and sow confusion.

The Food Workers Industrial Union started out on its career by splitting the Amalgamated in 1929 without any just cause whatsoever. Despite the fact that freedom of expression, the absence of political discrimination and progressive tactics were part and parcel of the Amalgamated, hundreds of militant workers were maneuvered into a split by the high priests of the official Communist party (the Stalinists) whose main job is to discredit Communism.

For several years the F. W. I. U. succeeded only in demoralizing the union situation and by their tactics, caused workers to hold back from all organizations. Although they split the Amalgamated and weakened it temporarily, nobody expected that they would build anything in its place. And to be sure, this F. W. I. U., through its blundering tactics and its bureaucratic regime, has remained a shadow of a union, out to destroy not to build. What else could happen to a Stalinist union, whose policies are thoroughly destructive, where officials are appointed and not elected, where any worker with political opinions different from those of the leadership is persecuted, hounded or expelled out of the ranks?

No sooner had the Amalgamated recovered from the effects of the disruption in 1929, healed its wounds, solidified its ranks and embarked upon an organization campaign, than the professional splitters of the F. W. I. U. suddenly discovered that they stood for... unity.

In spite of the "18th Street Union's" malodorous record, the true Left wingers and progressives in the Amalgamated took a position in favor of genuine unity. At the height of the organization drive, the Amalgamated offered to open its doors wide to every worker affiliated with the Industrial Union, proposing to admit him without the slightest discrimination, whether he came in by himself or in the form of unity with his whole union. The Stalinist leaders replied to this proposal with an intensified campaign of oily maneuvers and underhanded sabotage.

From the time the walkout began in the Waldorf, the moves of the Industrial Union have had nothing but a strikebreaking effect.

For every handbill issued by the Amalgamated, it has issued counter-leaflets printed on the same kind of paper in the same type, calculated to deceive and confuse the workers.

For every meeting called by the Amalgamated, the F. W. I. U. leaders have called a counter-meeting using the same despicable trick with the leaflets in an attempt to mislead the workers as to the identity of the real leader of the strike.

Fortunately for the strike and the labor movement generally the F. W. I. U. has not succeeded in its game.

Where it has had any supporters in hotels, as in the New Yorker, the F. W. I. U. has done its all to sidetrack the workers from the masses striking under the banner of the Amalgamated.

On the day the Amalgamated issued its general strike call, decided by the unanimous vote of thousands of members, and distributed tens of thousands of leaflets to that effect, this F. W. I. U., without a single hotel organized, issued a separate call for the general strike. Again, it printed its "general strike" leaflet in the same kind of type. The only difference was that it gave its own address for strike headquarters!

Seeing through this new trick, the masses of the hotel and restaurant workers flocked to the Amalgamated and enrolled under its banner. A few unorganized workers were caught in the confusion, mistaking the F. W. I. U. for the real union. But no sooner did these workers discover their error, than they turned their backs on the Stalinist "union" and joined the Amalgamated.

The Amalgamated is now the only genuine union and strike leader of the thousands of hotel and restaurant workers engaged in a bitter fight for better conditions. Fighting it are the racketeer controlled Local 16 of the A. F. of L. and the Stalinist-controlled sect on 18th Street.

The "Industrial Union" is not concerned with the issues of the strike, or with winning it. Its main aim is to break off from the Amalgamated a little chunk here and another there. To accomplish this it is prepared to carry out the most pernicious and disgraceful policy. Its officials have discredited the union in the eyes of the food workers, just as they have discredited and disgraced the name of Communism.

Let no striker be deceived: These are not Communists who sow division and confusion in the workers' ranks. They are agents and victims of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, who put their sectarian interests above the interests of the working class.

The Militant, representing what is best and soundest in Communism, repudiates these pretenders who parade as the "Industrial Union," and its record of disruption and strike-breaking. We are confident that all that is healthy in the ranks of the Stalinist union, will respond in a loyal and fraternal spirit to the call for unity of the Amalgamated union.

Our strictures against the Stalinist union have nothing in common with those who conduct a fight against it from the reactionary point of view, and there are not a few of these. We do not, like the latter, have an attitude of antagonism to the workers misguided by the irresponsible Stalinists. Quite the contrary. We are not, like the reactionaries, availing ourselves of the blunders and crimes of the Stalinists for a covert attack upon Communism and everything else that is progressive and healthy in the trade union movement. Quite the contrary. Our fight to the death against the splitting and demoralizing moves of the leaders of the "18th Street Union," is animated by the unshakable conviction that the progress and victory of the Amalgamated is bound up inseparably with a progressive course, with a class struggle policy, with a democratic regime in the union, with a militant leadership.

Our efforts in this direction will continue unabated, regardless of the direction from which opposition may come. The true Left wingers and progressives, will fight under the same banner.

To rank and file members of the C. P., The Militant has this to say: See what the "union" your party controls is doing! Masses of Workers have joined an independent union. This union called a general strike which crippled a great industry. It brought workers on the streets in a mighty demonstration. And all through the days when it carried on a progressive, militant struggle, the "union" controlled by your party sabotaged, sowed confusion, slandered, and did its best to weaken the workers' front.

Why have your leaders refused to cooperate with Left wing elements in the union? Why have they behaved disruptively, disgracing the very name of Communism?

Members of the C. P.—ask yourselves these questions. All true revolutionists among you should raise them in your organization and demand that the bureaucrats of the F. W. I. U. be scotched before they do further damage to the hotel workers' strike.

«Daily Worker» Hits Hotel Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Workers, "mostly Amalgamated members" in another column it is "more than 150 Amalgamated members" were insulted and ignored by union officials when they came to A. F. W. headquarters to demand unity with the Stalinists. The truth is that the only A. F. W. members in that crowd were half a dozen professional Stalinists sent in to sow the seeds of division. The bulk of the 300 were stray Needle Trades Industrial Union members, Bronx housewives' Council "militants", I. W. O. members, and other non-union Stalinists. They interrupted the work of the strike committees at midnight with howls of unity, pretending to be A. F. W. members until questions revealed what they really were. They were told that if those who sent them really had a union and wanted unity, they should make a formal request to the A. F. W., which would submit it to the membership for action. But they stayed on and howled unity—and the Daily reported all this very gravely as a demonstration of A. F. W. members. Not that the Daily did not know better: the previous issue (Jan. 28) reveals the origin of the midnight unity "delegation"—it was elected at the Bryant Hall meeting of the Stalinist "union".

The Daily of Jan. 31 contained a long editorial it charged the A. F. W. leaders with opportunism. In the very same column it condemns the leaders for trying to get the Board to negotiate with them, and also for not using militant tactics to get the Board to negotiate!

Would it be wrong to talk to the bosses? The Stalinists claim they made a settlement with the Hyde Park Hotel and the Maison Royale in the midst of the strike. Did they do it without talking to the bosses? Or is it wrong to talk to the Regional Labor Board? Then why use "militant tactics" to force the Board to act, as the Daily suggests? The truth is this: the A. F. W. said it would not refuse to talk with the bosses. It told this to the Regional Labor Board. It turned to the strike as it means of fighting for the workers' interests; not to the Regional Labor Board. The statement in the capitalist press that it had made such an appeal was just one of many boss lies. And the Daily accepted it at face value, printed it, and used it to attack the strike.

MASS MEETING IN SUPPORT OF THE HOTEL STRIKE

Monday, February 5th, 1934

SPARTACUS HALL—313-53rd St.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Questions Adm. 15c Discussion

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

The union has a right to demand, forthrightly, that every member display a one hundred percent loyalty to the Amalgamated. The "18th Street Union" of the Stalinists is carrying out one of its typically shabby maneuvers in this respect. On the surface, the Stalinists have capitulated to the Amalgamated. Under the pressure of the sweep to the Amalgamated, they have had to call upon the men "following" them to enter that union and carry on under its leadership. But this capitulation, we repeat, is only a maneuver by which these discredited splitters hope to transfer their disruption to the inside of the union.

A relentless fight against this wrecking crew is indispensable for the preservation of the fighting unity of the Amalgamated, who constitute the most sinister threat to the unity and success of the strike. Further from our minds is any idea of identifying the Industrial Union members with their leadership. Quite the contrary. A comradely and intelligent approach to these workers by the Amalgamated is absolutely essential.

The Stalinists cannot be disposed of by ignoring them. An offensive must be launched against them, their attacks answered, and their tricks exposed before the workers. This is an offensive which can be organized and conducted primarily by the consolidation of the class conscious forces in the union.

A sharp and urgent warning must be issued, fifthly, against the growing reactionary tendency in the union. The reactionary tendency is the bosses' tendency. The morale of the union cannot be built up by Red-baiting, and every black voice that is raised by the reaction must be answered in a manner it will not quickly forget.

This strike cannot be won by "respectability." The attempts to make the Amalgamated "respectable" in the eyes of the bosses and the government is an admission on the part of those who make them that they have no belief that the workers can win by fighting. The attempts are reactionary and defeatist through and through, and that is the basis on which they must be met before they have assumed more dangerous proportions.

A tightening up in the functioning of the union is essential to the morale of the strikers. The committees must be properly coordinated; the shop committees must become living bodies drawing the workers closer and closer to the union as a whole.

Organizational efficiency, on the one side, and a morale-building leadership on the other, can make the Amalgamated a force that will smash through all the barriers standing on the road to victory!

MASS MEETING IN SUPPORT OF THE HOTEL STRIKE

on Sunday, February 4th, 1934

Speakers:

Max Shachtman and Hotel Strikers

at

MILITANT HALL—154 Watkins St.

(Near Belmont Ave.) Brooklyn

Questions Adm. 15c Discussion

Auspices: Brooklyn Branch, Communist League of America

Brand Union Contract Lies

(Continued from page 1)

Houses, Clubs, Cabarets, Catering Establishments.
Demands for Wage Scale of Kitchen GENERAL PROVISIONS
1. No split watch
2. Pay by week
3. No charge for meals
4. For all restaurants of the same class, the same pay
5. All departments to have the same price
6. The house to supply the cooks' uniforms
7. No charge for laundering

Wages
Class A Class B
Sous-chef \$55.00 \$50.00
Saucier-sous-chef 50.00 45.00
Chef de Cuisine 40.00 35.00
Chef Garde Manger 40.00 35.00
Chef Boucher 40.00 35.00
Chef Entremetier 35.00 30.00
Chef Rotisseur 35.00 30.00
Chef Potager, if independent 35.00 30.00
Chef Poissonnier, if independent 35.00 30.00
1st Commis Saucier 35.00 30.00
1st Commis Garde Manger 35.00 30.00
Hors d'Oeuvre 35.00 30.00
1st Grillardin 30.00 25.00
1st Commis Entremetier 28.00 25.00
2nd Commis Saucier 28.00 25.00
Other Commis 25.00 24.00
Breakfast Cook 28.00 22.00
Chef Tourneur 35.00 30.00
Commis Tourneur 28.00 25.00
all depts. 28.00 25.00

Establishments Employing
1 Breakfast chef in charge 40.00 35.00
1 Banquet chef in charge 40.00 35.00
Bouillardin 25.00 22.00
Kitchen Man 20.00 20.00
Chef Legumier 25.00 22.00
Legumier 20.00 20.00
Casserolier 22.00 20.00
1st Commis 28.00 25.00
2nd Commis 25.00 22.00
1st Commis Butcher 30.00 27.00
Volantier 28.00 25.00
Oyster Man 25.00 22.00
Chef Patissier 55.00 50.00
Sous-chef Patissier 42.00 37.00
1st Commis Patissier 32.00 29.00
Fournier 30.00 27.00
Tourier 30.00 27.00
Chef Glacier 40.00 35.00
Commis 25.00 22.00
Head Baker for Hotels \$45.00
2nd Baker 38.00
Commis Baker 28.00
Night Baker 40.00
Night Commis 30.00
Pantryman 22.00 22.00
Coffee man 22.00 22.00
Pantrygirl 22.00 22.00
Dishwasher 20.00 20.00
Coffee Shops, Cafeterias, Grills Attached to Hotels
Commis Saucier 30.00
Commis Banquet 32.00
Busboys75
per hour, Minimum 3 hrs.

Extra Chef de Partie for 8 hours work 8.00
Commis for 8 hours work, minimum 4 hours 6.00
Kitchenman, Vegetable man, Pantrygirl, Dishwasher for 8 hours work on minimum 4 hours 4.00
Extra Hours for regular men: 4 hours maximum per week, each extra hour to be paid at 1 1/2 times regular hourly pay.

Demand for Wage Scale of Dining Room GENERAL PROVISIONS
1. Stations to be rotated
2. Uniforms to be supplied by employers and also to be kept in a clean and sanitary condition by employers
A—Tipping Establishments
B—Non-Tipping and Non-Commis-sion Establishments

Wages
Class A Class B
Assistant head-waiters 35.00 30.00
Captains 30.00 35.00
Waiters and Wait-resses 30.00 30.00
Commis 20.00 20.00
Busboys 20.00 20.00
One Meal—Lunch
Captains 1.50
per hour, Minimum 3 hrs.
Waiters and Wait-resses 1.00
per hour, Minimum 2 1/2 hrs.
Busboys75
per hour, Minimum 3 hrs.
One Meal—Dinner
Captains 1.50
Waiters and Wait-resses 1.00
per hour, Minimum 3 hrs.

Wage-Scale Demands of Cafeterias and Coffee Pots
Class A
Chef \$45.00
Cook 35.00
Saladman 35.00
Counterman 30.00
Busboy 20.00
Potwasher 20.00
Kitchenman 20.00
Dishwasher 20.00
COFFEE POT
Cook 35.00
Counterman 30.00
Potwasher 20.00
Dishwasher 20.00

per hour, Minimum 3 hrs.
One Meal—Steady Work—5 Days
Maximum 3 1/2 hours
Captains 18.00
Waiters 7.00
Busboys 7.00
EXTRA WORK
One Meal—Maximum 3 1/2 hours
Captains 5.00 7.00
Waiters 3.00 5.00
Commis 3.00
Busboys 2.50 4.00
One Whole Day—Maximum 8 hrs.
Captains 7.00 10.00
Waiters 5.00 7.00
Busboys 4.00 5.00
Outside Catering—Maximum 8 hrs.
Captains 10.00
Waiters 7.00
Busboys 5.00
On banquets, Fifty cents extra for set up and Fifty cents extra for clearing off.
Out of town clubs, \$7 per day and fare within 8 hours—extra pay per hour for traveling over this time.
Bartenders \$35.00 a week minimum
Bellhops, Chambermaids and other Hotel workers \$20 a week minimum

The Railroad Brotherhoods Official Censorship of Union Press

The Railroad Brotherhoods Official Censorship of Union Press

In previous articles on the railroad unions we have pointed out and discussed the aim and purpose behind the "secret work" in the meetings; the long and silly "obligations" administered to newly admitted members, and the constitutional provisions which prohibit lodges and members from printing and circulating their ideas and opinions on organization matters without the permission of the President. In this article we will briefly discuss the complete censorship of the Brotherhood magazines by these "labor chiefs." Within this full circle of gag-laws the official bureaucrats in these 21 railroad unions keep themselves entrenched against their membership. The present Brotherhood leadership is fully conscious of the life and death necessity for complete stranglehold of all rank and file expression to keep themselves in office. They know that as soon as their gag-laws fall their rule is over.

Censorship Laws Cited.
Below we will just cite provisions in two of the Brotherhood constitutions to show how the President in each one has full control of all membership expression in the Magazine:
In section 12-1-2 (a) on page 7 and 8 of the B. of R. T. constitution, we find the following as part of that section, to wit:
"It shall be the duty of the Editor and Manager... to have full charge of the editorial and business management of the Railroad Trainmen, subject only to the supervision of the President of the Brotherhood."

Practically all of the Brotherhood constitutions have similar provisions. Under this set-up it is not an easy matter to reach membership in any one of the railroad unions with any criticism on the administration's present bankrupt policy, program and leadership. And when our officials cannot be criticized to the rank and file they do not have to defend themselves no matter how or what they do in office. A good leadership will depend on, and defend, full and free expression of its membership. A leadership like we have in the Railroad Brotherhoods who want to remain in office at all cost and keep us divided and ignorant, lives in deadly fear of free expression.

—A. E.

Subs Rise

In the two days since the last issue our sub campaign took another big jump upward. Almost all of them were Club Plan subs. The total now since the drive opened is 252.

The New York Local heads the list of sub getters. It now has 204 of its self-set goal of 400 new subs.

The list stands as follows:

New York Local	204
Pittsburgh Branch	12
Youngstown Branch	12
D. Leiser	8
M. Steinbach	4
G. Papcu	4
M. McLeod	4
L. Goodman	4
Total	252

Other subs are coming in too at the regular rates but we list and will continue to list only those on the Club Plan basis.

The whole Club Plan scheme is the simplest, easiest thing ever devised to distribute a paper to workers. A single half-year subscription to the Militant is fifty cents. That is cheap enough. But on the Club Plan basis it is twice as cheap that is, it is only twenty-five cents, provided they are bought in blocks of at least four at one time. There is no maximum; you can buy as many more than four as you can afford.

You invest one dollar in four Club Plan sub cards. Then you either resell them, one at a time, two at a time, however you can. If you resell them you have your money back. You can stop there if you want to. But you can do better than that. You can reinvest the dollar in four more cards and resell them. In this way you will have a small revolving fund at work increasing the circulation of the Militant. And when you wind it up you will have spent nothing yourself.

Build the Militant! Help circulate a Marxian paper for workers! Order for Club Plan half year sub cards for one dollar! Use the blank below!

THE MILITANT
126 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$.....for.....(four is the minimum) Club Plan half year sub cards.

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Secretary, Workers
Communist League

Which Road Towards a
New Party and a New
International?

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4-8 P. M.
International Workers School Forum
126 East 16th Street, N. Y.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

VOLUME VII, NO. 7 [WHOLE NO. 211]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

Paris Masses Shake Corrupt French Regime

Latest Developments in the N.Y. Hotel Strike

Latest developments in the strike of the New York hotel and restaurant workers, as we go to press, include the following:

On Monday, 4,000 strikers, their wives and children, surrounded the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in an imposing mass picket demonstration. After a short time, police suddenly attacked the pickets with brutal violence, knocking down organizer Costas whose seizure was prevented by the workers. Many workers were cruelly beaten, and one woman was arrested. Tony Tarantino was badly beaten over the head.

On the same night, a mass demonstration around the Casino de Paree came into conflict with hired gangsters and city police. In the ensuing fight, doors and windows of the establishment were badly damaged by the enraged workers.

On Tuesday, union representatives met with Mrs. Herrick of the local Labor Board of the NRA, who

insolently rebuffed the men and revealed that her institution had their sympathies definitely with the hotel bosses.

A scandal was caused in the dining room of the aristocratic Waldorf-Astoria when a number of patrons rose to appeal for solidarity with the strikers. Hired thugs of the management beat them up and threw them out of the hotel.

Thursday's press reports that officials of two A. F. L. locals, 1 and 2, have instructed their members not to take scab jobs in houses struck by the Amalgamated. In striking contrast to the scab tactics of officials of Local 16, this action reflects the demands of rank and file A. F. L. members for solidarity with their Amalgamated brothers.

A number of organizations have announced their refusal to hold planned dinners in hotels on the union's strike list.

Reaction in Power with Dumergue

France, whose bourgeois statesmen and philosophers have latterly enjoyed feelings of superiority to the country which submits to Hitler, trembles on the brink of epoch-making changes. Rising to a higher pitch than on any occasion since the glorious days of the Commune, the resentment of the exploited French masses has broken out into openly anti-governmental, anti-state demonstrations. To halt the determined ranks of embittered workers and middle class demonstrators from invading the Chamber of Deputies, the Daladier government ordered its police and militia to fire upon unarmed men, women and children. Immediately thereafter, having been in office eleven days, the Daladier government resigned.

While Dumergue tries to build a new union sacree, a holy alliance of reactionaries to suppress the indignant masses of France, rioting continues in the streets of every important French city. France "the most bourgeois country in the world," despite the hopes of its bankers, was unable to escape the world economic crisis which has mobilized class against class in bitter conflict every capitalist country. Similarly, it has been unable to escape the transformation of this economic crisis into a deep governmental crisis.

The events of the last few days, sensational though they are, should not obscure the meaning of the general political crisis affecting the country. Through the depression, the capitalists of France have steadily cut down the real income and standard of living of the masses of the French population. The patriotic French peasant has seen prices for farm products tumble. The middle class has been squeezed by French monopoly capital, while civil servants and workers on government-owned or controlled industries have suffered severe cuts in wages. The working class as a whole has shared the miseries which the capitalists of the world have forced upon all proletarians.

While cutting the wages of its employees, the French government has not hesitated to pack its budget with huge appropriations for war materials. Behind the budgetary struggles there has raged a political difference within the capitalist class, reflecting different interests and varying theories as to how best to preserve capitalism.

French heavy industry, led by the Comité des Forges (steel trust), and certain banks (Credit Lyonnais) desires to organize the attack against the Soviet Union. Tardieu is the political chief of these brigands. In their train march all the expropriated share-owners of French factories in Russia (Putilov steel and others) as well as the organized emigre Russian Whites now living in France. The commercial banks, export houses and petty bourgeois interests, constitute the second current. These elements seek to exploit the democratic sentiments of the French masses for a war against Hitler.

Differing from each other as to the location of the first enemy, these two groups agree that French military preparations should constantly be increased. The endless discussions over budgetary questions in which the French parliament has been tied up year after year, have not served to hide from large sections of the masses one thing: In the sacred name of patriotism, La Patrie, they are being asked to go without necessities of life—in order that a war machine shall be built to consume them.

The Stavisky Affair
The Stavisky affair introduced new elements into the situation. A wholesale pawn-broker in Bordeaux was exposed as a wholesale swindler. It was revealed, despite anxious efforts of the Chautemps Cabinet to hush the matter up, that

(Continued on Page 4)

Significance of Taxi Drivers' Strike Analyzed

The signal for working class struggle sounded by the general strike of New York hotel workers has found a stirring response in the strike of the New York taxi drivers. Already in the first week of its stormy career it has given the working class of New York and the country an inspiring demonstration of working class militancy. In its staccato language of speed, action, and solidarity can be heard the authentic voice of the proletariat. Consider it! Here were men horribly exploited, unorganized, a prey of politicians, racketeers and crooks, without traditions of trade union struggle or even the most elementary understanding of the class struggle. Notwithstanding, within a week, in the fire of struggle, they forged a union which embraces almost half the drivers in the industry.

The basis for the strike is to be found in the miserable conditions of the taxi drivers: a weekly average wage of ten to twelve dollars; twelve hour shifts and more; some men worked the "Coolie" shift—twenty-four hours a day, sleeping at the wheel; failure to bring in a minimum resulting in discharge; the black list; and, finally, the five cent tax cutting into their tips.

The strike received a certain stimulus from La Guardia, when he offered not to appeal the decision of the Supreme Court of New York declaring the five-cent tax on all rides illegal, if the cab company owners would turn over to the men all the tax money collected up to the time of the court's decision and held in escrow pending the decision. The companies refused La Guardia's offer and made a substitute offer of only forty percent. The men felt that all of the money belonged to them as the tax really came out of their tips. In their view La Guardia was with

(Continued on Page 4)

Lewis Triumphs at Mine Convention

Seventeen hundred delegates attended the thirty-third convention of the United Mine Workers held recently at Indianapolis. The majority gave the John L. Lewis administration a vote of confidence, cheered his pompous convention verbiage and bestowed a goodly portion of the acclaim upon his retinue of mediocre horn-blowing lackeys who constitute the pillars of his high-handed regime.

A whole coterie of officials had come direct from the anthracite coal fields where they had been instrumental in breaking the backbone of the strike conducted by the "insurgent" union. That suited the hand-picked delegates who constituted the majority in the convention. Strike-breaking has become their trade. Lewis ruled supreme at the convention. Opposition was squelched. Progressive proposals were defeated hands down, shelved in committees, or so garbled in formulation that after their adoption they will remain dead letters.

An "Industrial Statesman"
Since the recent revival of the U. M. W., John L. Lewis has been hailed far and wide by the press—which is always on the side of the enemies of the miners—as the outstanding example of labor-industrial statesmanship. But this praise did not refer to the union revival, but to such instances as the strike-breaking in the anthracite and elsewhere. The revival was due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file miners and their fight for union organization. Lewis enters to collect the check-off.

His career of "industrial statesmanship" began many years ago as a petty official systematically looting the treasury of the Panama, Illinois local union. Through that he learned the first lessons in the shady art of buying henchmen. In the highest office of the union he made it into a system. He reinforced this with the methods of deliberate vote stealing, frame-ups, and slugging of opponents. Martin Ryan who led the powerful strikes for union organization in the Pennsylvania coke region set in jail during the convention, framed up on a charge of assault and battery. Removing regular elected officials in the various union districts or sub-districts who in any way became recalcitrant to the Lewis regime, and the institution of what is called provisional government, became a celebrated method. Today most of the union districts are under such provisional government. The appointive power enabled Lewis to make general organizers out of all his decrepit henchmen who were defeated in regular union elections. Today there is a host of such appointed organizers throughout the coal fields who were at hand to "manage" the convention elections. There was rich opportunity to secure the hand-picked majority of the delegation which claimed to represent a total membership of 360,000.

The Conciliation Hoax
The convention had as its outstanding feature a note of conciliation peace and harmony to be extended to the operators. But when delegate Sloan from Westville, Illinois dared to make a fight for freedom of political opinions within the union, for the right of union members to choose their own political affiliation, including Communist affiliation, he was threatened with ejection from the convention hall. To afix the seal of "honesty" and peaceful intentions upon the proceedings, the secretary of the National Coal Association, the op-

(Continued on page 4)

EDITORIAL

At the end of the second week of the general strike of New York's hotel and restaurant industry, the strikers stand firm in unbroken ranks. The strike remains as effective as before, and the service in the hotels is still crippled, particularly in the kitchens.

The bosses have been dealt a powerful blow. A magnificent union of the workers is in the making, and the militancy of the strikers, especially of the rank and file workers, is a sound assurance of its future. The well organized mass parades around the struck hotels bespeak a readiness on the part of the workers to fight vigorously against the bosses, the strike-breakers and all their portectors.

The strike has become a test of endurance, with the backbone of the workers as stiff as ever. Here again, as we have emphasized before, the question of maintaining the morale of the strikers is of paramount importance. The disorganizing activities of the Stalinists in control of the "18th St. Union" are unmistakably one of the danger spots in the struggle. Placing their own private interests above the interests of the workers, constantly implanting demoralization and division into the ranks, these wrecking crews take upon themselves an ever weightier responsibility.

The most effective prosecution of the strike requires that we point out here some extremely serious weaknesses in the conduct of the movement. If the looseness in the organization of the strike could be excused in its first stage there is no justifying it at present. Quite the contrary, the failure to tighten up all around, to improve the functioning of the directing committees, to organize on a far better scale than hitherto the all-important mass meetings at which the strikers are fused into a solid and informed fighting group—can easily prove to be of the deepest seriousness. The responsibility both for the present state of affairs and for its remedying, rests, naturally, upon the leadership of the strike.

"A tightening up in the functioning of the union is essential to the morale of the strikers," we wrote last week. "The committees must be properly coordinated, the shop committees must become living bodies drawing the workers closer and closer to the union as a whole. Organizational efficiency, on the one side, and a morale-building leadership on the other, can make the Amalgamated a force that will smash through all the barriers standing on the road to victory."

To our regret, the condition for which we urged a necessary correction, has not yet been given the attention it commands. It becomes increasingly clear that unless it is rectified, and with the greatest speed, it can greatly endanger the prospects of the strike.

Another question which assumes ever greater significance as the strike progresses was touched upon by us when we wrote in our last issue: "This strike cannot be won by 'respectability'. The attempts to make the Amalgamated 'respectable' in the eyes of the bosses and the government is an admission on the part of those who make them that they have

no belief that the workers can win by fighting. The attempts are reactionary and defeatist through and through...."

There is as yet no indication that this pernicious tendency against which we warned, has been checked. Here again the contrary is the case. Some of the publicity issued by the union is little less than scandalous. Such is the press release that the union counts among its members such a large American citizenry that.... It cannot possibly be considered a "red union". Nor can we regard it as anything but the greatest mistake when Secretary B. J. Field of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union fails to repudiate some of the statements which the capitalist press has attributed to him or to the union whose most prominent official he is. We have nothing in common with such statements, and we feel confident that in this we share the sentiments of every class conscious militant. A fight such as the hotel workers are engaged in, cannot be won by such methods. We cannot cease to underline the need of the union and its leadership concerning itself exclusively with the public opinion—not of the bourgeoisie, the hotel owners, and their kept press—but of the rank and file, and of the fighting labor movement in general.

Essentially the same outlook should animate the attitude of the union to the NRA and its Labor Board. Nobody is so stupid, it goes without saying, as to think that this powerful governmental institution can be ignored in present-day labor struggles. Far from it. Precisely because of its pretenses, precisely because many workers still believe that this capitalist instrument is impartial, it is necessary to make use of every means at our disposal to strip it to its real essentials. It must be pressed to the wall, it must be made to speak out. It must be left no loophole to crawl out of with its shabby pretenses unmarred.

But at the very same time it would be fatal to create any illusions whatsoever as to the nature of the NRA. Every day brings new evidence to prove just what it is. The latest Johnson statement throwing the doors wide open to company unionism; the brutally insolent attitude taken by the local Labor Board head, Mrs. Herrick, when interviewed by the union representatives, can leave little doubt in the minds of any worker as to which side NRA really stands by.

NRA will not decide this strike for the workers! The outcome of every strike is decided by the relationship of forces in the struggle. Victory or defeat—that is decided by the strength and militancy or the weakness and passivity of the workers, and by nothing else.

The militancy which makes or breaks a movement, is not determined by any miracles which are promised. Nor does the union or its leadership promise any. The demands which the workers can gain are determined by what the situation makes it possible to attain. It is not out of the question that the situation may call, for the time being, for a compromise settlement, which it will not be

(Continued on page 4)

Cab Drivers In Huge Meet At Garden

15,000 taxicab strikers jammed the basement of the Madison Square Garden at 11:00 P. M., Saturday, February 3, in a monster demonstration of solidarity and determination to fight for the unionization of the entire field. In spite of the attempts of the speakers to dampen the strikers' militancy by demanding over and over again that no violence be permitted or tolerated during the strike, the tone of the men was for a determined and bitter struggle to win their demands for complete and thorough unionization of the taxicab drivers, recognition of the union, full protection of employees on the job, the entire five-cent on all rides and the tax money already collected to go to the strikers, a minimum wage scale and maximum work week.

Ross, the chairman, had difficulty in obtaining order, so high was the enthusiasm and spirit of the strikers. Ex-Judge Panken, Socialist politician, spoke. "It is high time that the taxicab workers organize themselves." (Wild applause). "You can't buy them by nickels now, what they want is union conditions!" (Wild applause, cheering and whistling....throwing hats into the air and commotion and enthusiasm for several minutes). However, when Panken said—"the machinery for the protection (of the workers) in the hands of the workers is not protest, not resentment, not violence" the fighting mood of the strikers was reflected in the ominous silence on the part of most of the workers, and the clearly heard "Oh yeah's!" and "We know how to handle this!" from various sections of the hall.

Leon Seifer, attorney for the United Taxi Drivers Union, spoke, emphasizing the program and demands:

1. Every man in the industry gets a job, gets a cab....and nobody horns in. (Men out of work in other industries driving cabs because of lack of regular employment to be kept out).
2. Representation in the City Hack Department.
3. Recognition of the union.
4. \$12.00 minimum wage scale and 40 per cent of the bookings over the minimum. During the course of Seifer's speech, his remark that "the police force of New York is a mighty fine outfit" was met by catcalls and boos, much to the embarrassment of the representatives of the P. D. who were plentiful in the hall.

Morris L. Erust, appointed by La Guardia to "mediate" the strike sent word to the men to return to work, pending arbitration. This report, brought in by one of the taxi drivers in the organization was met by loud and emphatic protest on the part of the strikers present. The strikers shouted, "We want a union, we won't be kidded into breaking our ranks. We want union conditions and union wages. We got the power, we'll make them recognize us and give us what we want. Not a single cab on the streets of New York unless we win our demands." Gandall, who spoke briefly, emphasized the demand for "peaceful methods" and was not

Militant Action In Cab Walkout

About 8,000 enthusiastic, cheering hackmen, gathered in the Auditorium of P. S. 27 on 42nd St., between Second and Third Avenues, on February 3. The meeting called by the United Taxi Drivers Union, a merger of the Fusion Taxi Committee, N. Y. Taxi Drivers Union, and the Taxi Drivers Non-Parliament Ass'n. They cheered and applauded all of their speakers. When their attorney Leon Seifer, suggested that the hackmen wanted only 40 percent of the tax money now held by the cab companies, cries of "No! No!" came from the back of the hall. The taxi-men knew what they want, and what they are out for.

Especially great was the cheering, whistling and applause for their own hackman-speaker, when he told of the miserable conditions under which the hackmen have slaved for years and said that the strikers would never go back until the union was recognized 100 percent, until there would be a shop steward in every garage in the city, and until the union received representation at the City Hack Bureau.

When the speaker said that, of course, they had given Mayor La Guardia their promise against the use of all violence, but they must realize the mayor was a reasonable human being, and couldn't expect the union to be responsible for the actions of 70,000 men and 20,000

(Continued on Page 3)

Nab Khaki Shirt In Cab Driver Murder

Art J. Smith, "commander-in-chief" of the Khaki Shirts (U. S. Fascists) and gangster, was arrested Thursday in Shamokin, Pa., as a result of the reported confession of his ex-aid, Frank Moffer, concerning the murder of Anthony Fierro. Fierro, a taxi-driver and anti-Fascist, was killed during a "shirt" rally in Astoria, N. Y., last summer.

Athos Terzani, another anti-Fascist, was framed by the police and prosecuted for the murder. Terzani was defended by a united front committee, in whose work the Communist League cooperated. He was recently acquitted when the State's witness confessed that the charge was frame-up and accused Moffer. Moffer was arrested yesterday in a South Philadelphia rooming house, and is said to have identified as his own the gun found near Fierro's body.

Informed that the Terzani Defense Committee was considering terminating its activities, the Communist League recently wrote the Committee endorsing its work on behalf of Terzani and proposing that it continue to function in anti-Fascist work. The Communist League also applied for formal affiliation to the Committee. Should the proposal be accepted, it is hoped that a new stimulus can be given to militant anti-Fascist work in New York.

greeted with enthusiasm. His appeal for solidarity with the "City Executive" was met by silence. The meeting adjourned with enthusiastic cheering for solidarity, and the determination by the workers not to allow a single taxicab on the streets of New York. —S. A.

Scab Cars Run Off Streets Of N.Y.

The auditorium of P. S. 27 was jammed, men sitting on the steps and stage and filling the back aisles and the entrances: a conservative estimate would place the number at 2,500.

The meeting was electric with enthusiasm. Every call for action from the speakers evoked an instant response. The business consisted of:

1. A report of the conference with the "mediator" at City Hall the previous day at 12 noon. The conference was unsatisfactory.
2. An announcement of the final strike demands as drawn up by the Committee of 13, the leading committee of the strike which includes all four divisions.
3. A discussion on plans for amalgamation of the unions.

Seifer stressed the necessity of a union, and pointed out that if he cables get nothing else, they must get a union. The response to this was overwhelming.

At this point the chairman announced that the 5th Avenue bus drivers had voted to strike at 8 A. M. the next morning. The strikers cheered madly, the ovation lasting a good five minutes. The bus drivers and conductors have failed to come out thus far, however.

On top of this the chairman reported that the Parmelee owners had wired some backs to start work the next day at 11 A. M. Chairman: "What's your answer?"

Strikers: N-N-N-N-NO !!!
Jacques Bultenkant, an I. L. D. lawyer spoke in favor of the unity of all cabbies. He stressed the need for approaching the independents as fellow workers who have to be won over and make an integral part of the general strike. The attitude of the taxi drivers was clear; they are absolutely opposed to any cab operating; and they are even more opposed to the independents who are interfering with their fight with the big fleet owners. Their attitude to the independents is definitely hostile.

The last two speakers were two Negro organizers—cabbies who laid a good base for the feeling that the white and colored cabbies should stick together "like glue". The response to this, and to the announcement that not a colored chauffeur would drive through Harlem or Brooklyn, was instant and terrific. The meeting ended on a high note of militancy. One of the cabbies noticed the pencil and paper of the reporter and said: "You can put me down as saying that I'm going to strike until I drop dead. And put the name down, too, Jack Shaley."

The strikers surged out into the street and broke into groups to picket in Brooklyn, the lower East Side, and elsewhere. They marched west along 42nd Street, shouting and cheering on the way. In spite of the three mounted police and half dozen radio cars, the strikers hooted and dashed toward the very rare independent cabs on the streets. One cab swung into the Grand Central arcade. Another put on speed and crossed a red light. But one cab was caught and dismantled.

—S. G. B.

Swabeck

National Secretary
Communist League of America

Does the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Still Exist?
Is the Soviet Union still a Workers State?

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 11—8 P. M.
International Workers School
126 East 16th Street, New York.

LETTERS from the MILITANTS

C.W.A. Workers Must Unite as One

Marine Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Down in this remote and God-forsaken part of Brooklyn, where 4,000 C. W. A. workers are herded to perform absolutely useless labor, the wage-cut axe has fallen almost without warning. From \$15 they have been cut to \$13.44, in spite of the fact that every worker supports a family on his salary, and has to spend a good chunk of it just for rent (double) and warm clothing. As one worker put it: "They're simply taking the milk away from my kids."

Along with the announcement that 1500 men are going to be laid off within a week, the C. W. A. officials are looking for any sort of excuse to give us the gate. Tracy, the head foreman, wanted a gang of men laid off whom he accused of leaving a delegation to park headquarters to find out why our pay was being cut. But only one man was fired, and later reinstated. Maybe the fact that 1000 men had marched down from the other side of the park to park headquarters had something to do with it....

One old worker collapsed from the cold and all of us were almost frozen stiff when we were obliged to march all the way across the park in the face of a bitter-cold, snow-zero winter blast in order to get "checked in."

Instead of directing the single checker to come across and check us as we go, the bus, the gangs had to wait across and back again.

Still, the foremen and bosses are fearful as the devil of "agitators" and organization. Before the municipal elections, every drunken Tamm man banded out as many circulars as he wanted to. Now, when a fellow hands out a C. W. A. leaflet, as happened in one case, the foremen try to grab him in order to slap him, just before we get out our pay-checks, the foremen, without telling us about the cut, warned us to go right home after we got it, and "not to hang around and talk to anybody."

The C. W. A. men, to protect themselves, must join up with a negating organization. There are already two organizations in the field. This is entirely unnecessary; it will only confuse the workers and handicap any sort of campaign. C. W. A. workers must fight to make both groups unite, and they should demand: ONE ORGANIZATION, ONE FIGHT, ONE ENEMY! —G.

A "Shoppes" Under a N.R.A. Code

The Henrietta Shoppes, Inc., manufacturers and retailers of silk hose and lingerie, have approximately twenty stores in New York City. Three of four girls are employed in each retail store; during busy seasons, five or six. The fact that the firm is "operating under an N.R.A. code" and will tolerate no attempts to change its rules and regulations is explained carefully to every girl hired. Sales girls are supposed to receive a \$15 minimum for 48 hours, 35 cents an hour if they work part time, and time and two-thirds for overtime.

These employees find out in a very short time that one of the firm's most important rules is: never pay workers what they really earn. Overtime is paid at the regular rate of 35 cents per hour instead of the 58 cents called for in the N.R.A. code that the Henrietta Shoppes were among the first to sign.

Extra Work Without Pay
Did I say overtime is paid at 35 cents per hour? I should have said the small part of overtime that is paid to the girls is paid at that rate, for a long time before Christmas, and regularly on Saturdays and busy evenings during the year, girls are allowed only 15 or 20 minutes for lunch and supper, but they are docked for two hours. They are required to work later and report earlier than "N.R.A. hours" call for, to clean the store and rearrange stock, but are not paid for these extra hours at all. Bosses explain that "this is not really work"; it's "just fixing up the store a little". Aching bones at the end of an 11 or 12 hour day refute the bosses' conception of what "real work" is.

The most highly paid and responsible positions this concern has to offer in their retail stores are held by girls who have been with them for many years. These are the managers who in return for their "loyalty" to the firm, that is, working too many hours for too little pay without complaining; reporting "radical" workers; reporting complaints of dissatisfied workers; in other words, underpaid spies—these girls receive \$18 per week. They are abused by the bosses exactly as the sales clerks are, and the pressure brought upon them is in turn placed upon the sales clerks who work under them.

"Fixing" Labor Inspectors
When the cash register is short, the deficit is deducted from the girls' salaries. But when there is an excess, the money goes to "headquarters". A proposal made by some of the girls to create a stand-

ing fund of the excesses to be used in case of shortage, was flatly turned down.

Managers are required to call the main office frequently by telephone for additional merchandise, special instructions, etc., as the stores are not equipped with telephones the managers have to stand the cost of this duty themselves.

Inspectors from the State Labor Department come in from time to time, carefully note all the infractions of the labor laws and depart, the bosses boast that the cost of keeping these investigators "quiet" is not much. Meanwhile, washroom conditions remain disgraceful, girls continue to work more hours than "allowed by the law," for wages much less "than required by N.R.A."

A general undercurrent of resentment is apparent in the majority of girls, but this is less obvious than their petty bourgeois attitude toward their working conditions and employers. When the bosses on their many rounds talk about the enormous profits they make and then, with woe-filled expressions on their faces, say "we wish we could do more for our employees," very few of the girls seem to be aware of the hypocritical nature of this sympathy.

Not until the girls understand that they can expect nothing help from their bosses will they be able to direct their resentment into an organized attempt to improve their conditions. —J. T.

A Pig-Sty of a Hospital

The original Bronx Hospital on the corner of 169th Street and Fulton Avenue, was abandoned as unfit for use not so long ago. Its new quarters across the street are spacious, modern, and expensive to get into. The very latest scientific apparatus is installed and the private rooms are lovely to behold. Nothing was forgotten—except—the Out Patient Department.

In an old dilapidated, dirty, wooden house next to the old hospital, workers who do not make enough for food and rent, and unemployed men and women, crowd in from morning to late afternoon. This is the only quarter of the old hospital that was "forgotten"—ignored—because it is not a source of profit.

The house has two floors and a basement. The first floor is used mainly for registration, and has several small rooms labeled, "Eye Dept.", "Dental Dept.", etc. The "clinic proper", where the majority of the patients are sent, is in the basement. Here are eight or nine little cubby-holes—none of them is larger than ten feet square—also importantly named, Department of This, That or the Other. The floor and walls are stone. Rows of wooden benches are placed in

front of the departments, and patients wait to see the doctor, very often for as long as four hours. The place is too small to accommodate all the people that come. If you come early enough to get a seat on the uncomfortable benches, you are lucky. When, finally, you do get in to see a doctor, the examination is, of necessity, a superficial and hasty one.

The basement has two filthy washrooms. I have been here many times. Always, I have found the plumbing out of order, no water in the sinks, and indescribable filth. It is drafty and cold. The odors, and extreme discomfort of standing for hours on end in drafts, makes one sicker after leaving, than before entering.

The pharmacy connected with the Out Patient Department is just as ill-kept and dirty. The rows and rows of shelves have an inch of dust on them. Bottles are kept open and are not sterilized before they are filled with medicine and given to the patients.

These terrible conditions are not exclusive with the Bronx Hospital. They exist in many hospitals throughout the city. Municipal hospitals and dispensaries are especially notorious offenders—just one more consequence of capitalist profiteering—always at the expense of the workers—even to the point of endangering their lives. —J. T.

An Expulsion at High Speed

Boston.—Last January I became actively interested in the radical movement. I attended all sorts of meetings, lectures and forums of the C. P., P. P., S. L. P., L. O. C. P. O., S. P., and liberal organizations of all descriptions.

I did all the reading I could find time for and soon found myself wavering between the C. P. and the Left Opposition. I leaned in the direction of the C. P. and hoped and wished that it was the right organization because it was the official party, it was a member of the Comintern and it has the backing of the S. U.

No Answer to Questions
At the beginning of June when the German events were still fresh, I asked the Boston District Organizer questions on the united front, socialism in one country and several others. He didn't answer them very satisfactorily and as he was busy there wasn't much discussion. But I did ask him for some anti-Trotskyist literature and some of Stalin's works, which he promised to give me.

The following week I attended a meeting of the Dorchester unit. I again asked for anti-Trotskyist literature or the names of some books or pamphlets on the subject. I was still very much unclear on the question of Trotskyism. But with a friend of mine, the comrade from

the section and three others from Chelsea, we formed a unit.

Member of Section Committee
I was made a member of the unit and the section committee. I was one of the most active members of the unit, which as a whole was a very inactive unit as all the units were.

In the meantime, I kept pestering our unit organizer and the district literature agent for anti-Trotskyist literature but they couldn't even refer me to any names of pamphlets or books.

On Monday, Nov. 13, there was a section membership meeting in Roxbury. At this meeting the D. O. in his talk said that Trotsky was against the theory of building socialism in one country and that Stalin was in favor of it.

I read a quotation from Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" (the first edition) in which he unmistakably declares that socialism cannot be built in a single country taken by itself.

Becomes a "Counter-Revolutionist".

I asked for an explanation of this quotation. Weiss the D. O. got up and attacked Trotsky, not his theory or his ideas but his personality and then he sailed into me. He said that I was a counter-revolutionist and everything else under the sun.

After Weiss made his speech, I was given an opportunity to defend myself, when all I had done was to question a statement of his. I asked him to answer my question first and then take up the question of my activities. I asked why there had been nothing wrong with me until I had asked this question.

Weiss then called for a vote to expel me for counter-revolutionary activities, saying that I had been sent into the league to undermine it. I was expelled by a show of hands. —DAVID UDELL.

The Jew-Baiters in Chicago

To the Editor:

Your articles in the Militant by Geo. Clarke on the Fascist Silver Shirts are very good but incomplete.

The Chicago Fascist link with the Silver Shirts is the professional patriot Harry Jung, who runs the patriotic racket called the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation with free rent offices in the Tribune Tower Building of Chicago. Jung is the Chicago anti-Jew leader and he holds secret Fascist meetings on anti-Semitism at the Chicago Union League Club. One of his backers is the young moron Clement Studebaker, whose father was a utility magnate. Also the Ku Klux Klan has or did have its office in Jung's office. You have to have the password to get to Jung's office. He is organizing Fascist units, members of which are sworn to secrecy, undying hatred of all Jews, and each member is assigned a code number.

Investigate this racket and expose it, as it is one of the worst in the country.

Fraternally,
R. L.
Chicago, Ill.

Hotel Scab Agencies Fall Through

Sixth Avenue's blood sucking employment agencies were sadly disappointed when the expected rush of applicants for striking hotel and restaurant positions did not materialize. Personnel managers of hotels who interviewed job-seekers at the different Sixth Avenue agencies, despite their pleas and promises of no fees for the jobs and sleeping accommodations in the hotels could get only a few men.

Fearful of the results that hiring of scabs might have, many of the agencies are now pretending that they are not supplying them. The Hotel bosses have set up their own employment agency on West 57th St., with little or no success.

Arrangements have been made with steamship companies to rush cooks and waiters to various hotels as soon as a boat docks. In this way Japanese workers have been supplied to the Hotel Chatham. Colleges and universities in New York City and vicinity have been sending students to the struck shops to work after school hours. Parole and probation officers are sending jobless ex-convicts to work as scabs. The paroled men are afraid to refuse this dirty work out of fear of being sent back to jail as "parole violators". —A. S.

Fired by the C.W.A. But Not Hired!

After a two-and-a-half month wait for a C.W.A. job, I suddenly received a special delivery Saturday, February 3rd to report for assignment the following Monday. I was told on Monday to report at the Municipal Building in Brooklyn the next day. There I was told to report at Prospect Park for work a day later. At Prospect Park I had to wait several hours. While

waiting, I overheard the supervisor telephoning for police. He was telling the cop at the other end of the wire that he wanted police to keep order as discharged C.W.A. workers had already arrived and many more were expected. The workers were expected to protest their dismissal.

Later that afternoon I was handed a sealed envelope to deliver to the Park Department in Manhattan. When I got to Manhattan I found out that I was "discharged". In other words, I was fired before I was hired. I went to the Central Bureau which had sent me the special delivery letter to get an explanation. "No funds; project held up" was the reply they gave me, and are giving thousands of others.

The capitalist press now reports that C.W.A. workers are being fired for loafing. First capitalism makes a "loafer" out of you by throwing you out of work; then it refuses you unemployment insurance. Finally it gives you a lousy, fake job; and then it fires you for "loafering".

—J. H.

Pioneer Publishers

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By LEON TROTSKY

During the last few weeks the Pioneer Publishers tried hard to publish comrade Trotsky's new pamphlet on the class nature of the Soviet Union. In spite of great financial difficulties, we finally succeeded in bringing it out. We are, however, in great debt. Branches and individual comrades should rush their orders without delay. Cash with order will be of great help.

IMPORTANT OFFER

The Pioneer Publishers, besides publishing Marxian books, is endeavoring to supply the militants with Marxian literature and important books of an informative character at very low prices.

This time we have succeeded in getting two very important books which every worker should have. We offer two big volumes ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS, a beautifully bound book with Rosa's portrait, and THE LETTERS OF SACCIO AND VANZETTI, cloth bound, BOTH VOLUMES FOR ONLY \$1.50. For certificate holders, \$1.25. Add 10c for postage.

We are glad to inform our numerous inquirers, that we have on hand Lenin's book IMPERIALISM AND STATE AND REVOLUTION in one cloth volume for 75c. Branches and certificate holders—60c.

Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS' CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and entitles you to 40% discount on our publications and to a 20% reduction on any book published by other publishers.

Our School in Brooklyn

The Brooklyn branch of the International Workers School announces the opening of a lecture course entitled "The Present and Future of American Communism" to be given at the Militant Hall, 154 Watkins St. The first lecture will be given by Arne Swabeck, secretary of the Communist League of America, on Monday, February 12, 8:00 P. M. The subject of his lecture is "What the Communist movement looks like today". The lectures will be given every Monday evening. The second lecture will be on "The Communist Party—working class vanguard or brake on the revolutionary movement".

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THE MILITANT

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The Unpleasant Task of O. Piatnitsky and How Lenin Is Used to "Help" Him

I was just reading O. Piatnitsky's pamphlet, "The Present Situation in Germany," published by the Communist International. This piece of apologetics is pretty sickening, especially the impudent way in which Piatnitsky talks down to the suffering workers of Germany. But I want to point out one thing in particular:

This pamphlet has the unpleasant task of explaining away the collapse of the C. P. of Germany in the face of Hitler's attack. It has to answer the questions: Why was no better defensive struggle put up by the German proletariat? Why did not the C. P. lead in organizing such a struggle? Why did not the C. P. force the S. P. D. into a united front? Instead of answering them, however, it concentrates on another question: why did not the C. P. make a revolution in Germany last year?

Now it is indisputable that, in the last analysis, German capitalism's willingness to use Fascism to preserve itself could be answered only by a proletarian seizure of power. This, however, need not necessarily have occurred in any given month of last year. It is conceivable that, had the C. P. and the working class put up a better fight, the balance of forces which prevailed under Schleicher might have been shifted in favor of the working class. In other words, Fascism would not have been immediately crushed, but would have been held off from power for a period by means of mass struggle falling short of the seizure of power by the proletariat. The seizure of power might have occurred at a somewhat later date when, as a result of that mass struggle and partial victory, the ranks of the class had been further consolidated and the enemy further weakened.

Ignores Real Issue

All this Piatnitsky ignores. Pointing to the historically indisputable axiom that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can save off Fascism whenever the latter threatens, he argues that a revolutionary situation did not exist in Germany, that therefore power could not be seized, and that therefore Hitler could not be stopped. Hence the C. P. was right to do nothing. And in case you don't believe it, he warns, the ECCI has said it and you'd better believe!

All this is fishy enough, but the worst is yet to come. How does Piatnitsky prove that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany? Partly by referring to facts about the concrete situation, facts pulled out of their context, twisted, fabricated, misinterpreted. But largely by quoting from Lenin. And it is to one of these quotations that

I wish to refer. Piatnitsky opens Lenin's pamphlet, "Left" Communism — and quotes Lenin's definition of a revolutionary situation in the following way:

"For revolution is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling class be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics...weakens the government and facilitates its rapid overthrow by the revolutionaries."

How Piatnitsky "Edits" Lenin

This seems clear: a majority of the workers must be for revolutionary struggle even to the death; the government crisis must do two things: (a) draw even the most backward into politics, and (b) weaken the government and facilitate its overthrow. But why the three dots toward the end of the quotation? Was Lenin so long-winded that a big chunk of his definition had to be dropped? No. Here is the last part of the passage without omitting thirty-seven little words Piatnitsky overlooked:

"The ruling class (must) be in a state of government crisis, which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this sign of fear, or even hundredfold, increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries." ("Left" Communism, Toller edition, page 66.)

So it is not the crisis which weakens the government, but the struggles of the once-apathectic masses "who are able to carry on a political fight" because of the existence of a crisis. Now the point about the three dots becomes clear. If a revolutionary situation did not exist, it was just because these masses were not carrying on such a fight. And whose fault was that if not the vanguard's, the C. P.'s? Piatnitsky's whole pamphlet being written in order to avoid this question, naturally he does not hesitate to amputate Lenin a little bit lest the rottenness of his bureaucratic argument become suddenly apparent.

The alternative theory is that Piatnitsky couldn't find room in this 64-page pamphlet with its close-packed type for thirty-seven additional words by Lenin out of the middle of a sentence.

—HARRY STRANG.

Organize Jewish Club in Brownsville

Some time ago, a number of Jewish workers took up the question of organizing a Jewish club in Brownsville. The need for a Jewish club that would base itself on the principles of the class struggle and at the same time be free of all mechanical party control, grew up as a result of the widespread expulsion and discrimination against anyone who dared as much as show a dissenting voice against bureaucracy.

Steps were immediately taken to organize such a broad Jewish club. Now after a short period of existence, the club has a membership of more than 20 and about that many more sympathizers who will undoubtedly join very shortly. A constitution provides that the club base itself upon the general principles of the class struggle. It will support all phases of the revolutionary struggle of the working class such as strikes, demonstrations and the defense of political prisoners regardless of the political views they hold. Every member will have perfect freedom of expression and adherence to whatever tendency in the labor movement he or she wishes. The club makes it

a strict rule to bar from membership any person who is disclosed upon investigation to be or to have been a scab, or strike-breaker. The constitution further provides for election to the executive committee every six months, initiation to be 25c and 25c monthly dues, with five cents for unemployed. The name of the organization has been chosen to be "October Club of Brownsville" and has its headquarters at 154 Watkins St., and meets regularly every Wednesday.

The "October Club" has a variety of cultural and educational activity as well. Sometime ago a lecture was held under its auspices with Jacob Berlin reporting on the condition of the labor and Jewish movements in Europe after Hitler's coming to power. An enthusiastic audience was moved to long and heated discussion following it. Now for this coming Wed., January 12, the club is arranging a lecture on Democracy in the Trade Unions and the Situation in Local 9, I. L. G. W. U. with Sylvia Blecker, long active trade unionist, lecturing. All workers are invited to attend. Admission is free and questions and discussion will follow.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

(Winter Term)

The International Workers School is about to enter its third year of Marxist education for the revolutionary workers of New York City. It has issued its announcement of courses for the Winter of 1934 which extends from February 18th to April 31st. The following classes are listed:

1. FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM Martin Abern (Based on the "Communist Manifesto")
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 21st.
2. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT Joseph Carter
Sundays—2 P. M. to 4 p. m.—Beginning February 18th.
3. SURVEY OF AMERICAN TRADE UNION STRATEGY AND TACTICS Arne Swabeck
Wednesdays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 21st.
4. ELEMENTARY ENGLISH FOR FOREIGN SPEAKING WORKERS S. Blake
Fridays—8 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.—Beginning February 2nd.
5. THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK PARTY J. Wright
Fridays—8 p. m. to 10 p. m.—Beginning February 23rd.

REGISTRATION: The registration fee for each course is \$1.50. Arrangements can be made for payments at convenient intervals. Individual sessions are 20 cents each. Those workers wishing to register for one or more courses can do so either by mail or by coming to the office of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C. The office is open for the registering of prospective students all day long and every evening. Registrants can secure complete outlines for the courses at ten cents per copy.

American-Soviet Agreement

(From the Bulletin of the International Communist League).

The resumption of relations between the United States and the Soviet State marks, of course, a very important stage in the present development of an international situation, chiefly characterized by the question of supremacy in the Pacific Ocean. Since the center of world relations shifted from inland seas to the great ocean routes, not only has an advantage accrued to countries which dominate such routes, but still more a struggle among the various imperialist powers for predominance over them was inevitably developed. Here again the forecasts of Marx and Engels respecting supremacy on the Pacific Ocean and the development of the United States, have been confirmed to the letter.

The United States of "kidnappers, bandits, rapists and pickpockets," has given the world "an amazing example of what miracles can be realized by a State of confirmed rascals." These "confirmed rascals," the capitalists of America, in accomplishing their "miracles," that is to say in piling up treasures, developing themselves technically in such an extraordinary manner, have reached a situation in which they must spread their "miracles" outside their country and even well outside their continent. They must secure domination over the entire world. Especially in the war and post-war period, American capitalism has grown most rapidly, outstripping all its rivals and competitors. Its own territory being too narrow to hold its wealth and activity, American capitalism can no longer content itself with an "isolationist" policy. Its economic expansion demands the subjection of other countries, demands that it assume political hegemony.

The only European country which has thus far escaped American control is the U. S. S. R. Now American capitalism, by means of the recent agreement with the Soviets, has welded one of the last links in the chain which binds Europe to it as a dependent. In effect the doors of the U. S. S. R. have by this agreement been opened wide to American capitalist exploitation which thereby obtains a serious prop at a moment very important for it. But the chief political meaning of the recent American-Soviet agreement relates to the question of Pacific supremacy.

At the same time as the United States, there has grown up rapidly in the Pacific a young power, Japan. By a bold and tenacious attack, the Land of the Rising Sun is trying to come forward as a formidable antagonist to the United States, and to take from it the place which the latter seeks in the Far East and especially in the vast Chinese market. A new world conflagration would already have broken out, if Japan had not been able to profit in its attack from the state of uncertainty still prevailing in the camp of its enemies and from the internal and international weakness of the U. S. S. R. As for the United States, everything indicates that they have had to take and still take a cautious attitude toward the offensive of their rival, fearing to come to grips with Japan alone. Russia has also had to make concessions to Japan, thus heightening American capitalism's fears of its antagonist's aggrandisement.

The Significance of Russian Recognition by the United States

Both the United States and the U. S. S. R. need allies to meet the alarming situation created in the Far East by the Japanese offensive. In this sense the new American-Soviet agreement is certainly one of the most important factors in international politics of this epoch. What will be its future repercussions?

Indisputably, a workers' State has every right to utilize for the benefit of the proletariat the differences existing among the various bourgeois groupings, even to the point of concluding when necessary "a defensive understanding with the bourgeoisie of one color against the bourgeoisie of another color." But this tactic, rightly defended by Lenin and all revolutionary Marxists, is comprehensible only on condition that it serves "to lighten the work of the social revolution, to speed its coming, to weaken the international bourgeoisie, to reinforce the positions of the victorious working class."

Now, the "tactics" of Stalin-Litvinov are to the revolutionary, Bolshevik-Leninist tactic what the negative is to the positive. All the revolutionary sagacity in the strategy and tactics of Lenin has, in the strategy and tactics of the Stalinist bureaucracy, become a swindle of the workers. Instead of "reinforcing the positions of the vic-

torious working class" and "weakening the international bourgeoisie," the Stalinist bureaucracy, after having killed the Chinese Revolution and precipitated the German proletariat into a catastrophe, is reduced to a labor of preserving the balance of power among the capitalist powers. This has nothing in common with the strategy and tactics of revolutionaries.

One of the most direct consequences of the new American-Soviet agreement will be, in effect, to increase the servile anti-proletarian spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its submissiveness to international capitalism, its most open abandonment of the road of world revolution. Did we not have a proof of this submissiveness even before the signatures were affixed, in the silence of the Comintern during the Cuban revolution? Still more: some Stalinists have preached non-violation of American property in Cuba in order to "avoid" the intervention of the American fleet. As though the national liberation of oppressed peoples could be carried out without expelling the imperialist oppressors!

Once again the workers must be shown that the U. S. S. R. and the gains of the October Revolution can be saved only by the force of the international proletariat, the joint action of the proletarians of all countries. The ripening of the proletarian revolution is not assisted by carrying on, as does Stalinist diplomacy, a labor of preserving the balance of power among the international bourgeoisie.

Who Was Bishop Tourian?

Recently an Armenian Archbishop, Leon Tourian, was assassinated in an Armenian church here in New York.

It is perhaps worthwhile to reveal certain facts pertaining to the attitude of the Stalinists regarding this case, especially the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The archbishop was stabbed to death by a few members of the Tashnag party, a reactionary organization composed of Russian Armenian counter-revolutionists having as its aim to restore the bourgeois nationalist republic in the area which is now Soviet Armenia and to extend that territory at the expense of Turkey.

The archbishop was a member of the liberal democratic party which is composed of Turkish Armenians, apparently having a passive attitude to the Soviet Union and opposing the imperialist aspirations toward Turkey on the part of the Tashnag. Hence the enmity between the two groups which led to the tragic affair.

The contradictory attitude of the archbishop toward the Tashnag, the archbishop when alive was a Fascist to them; after his killing he became a friend of the Soviet Union. They even called a mass protest meeting against the murder affair.

Parvov, the Stalinist organ in the Armenian language, of August 19, 1933 carried a lengthy declaration of the Central Committee of the Armenian Bureau with the most vicious denunciation against the archbishop, trying to prove the similarity of Tourian and his party with the Tashnag. A cartoon is pictured to that effect, Tourian protecting the liberal democrats and Tash-

nag before the threatening hand of labor. "Archbishop is concentrating anti-Soviet forces around the Armenian National Church Council," says the declaration. "What do you expect from an archbishop who was sent here from Celsus Grybenkin's (a former oil magnate in Tzarist Russia now in Paris-J. K.) own church in London to reconcile the two parties.... Four Tashnags were elected to the National Council when asked by the opposition why, the reason was given as a means of reconciliation."

In the same number of Parvov a letter is printed by Hoc (an Armenian version of the F. S. U.) dated August 7th to the archbishop. It quotes the Armenian Church Council as saying: "It is unfortunate that the holy archbishop was involved in that affair of removing the Armenian national flag on Armenian Day, July 2nd, since he always in the past as well as in the present stated that he respects the national tricolor." Hoc requests denial or confirmation of the above statement. Answer never received.

How do these facts correspond with the present characterization of the archbishop by the Stalinists? That we leave to the Stalinist confusionists to explain. It should also be remembered that last summer the F. S. U. invited archbishop Benjamin to deliver an anti-Soviet speech from its platform. (See N. Y. Times, July 1st and 2nd, 1933). And yet the Daily Worker of January 12, 1934, in an editorial entitled, "The F. S. U. convention," says that: "The F. S. U. is the main bulwark in the struggle against anti-Soviet poison propaganda." Not the C. P. but the typical petty bourgeois organization

dominated by petty shopkeepers, professionals, rabbis and priests, the F. S. U., is the main bulwark for Soviet defense. Further comments are unnecessary.

The workers have nothing in common with this murder case. It is a struggle between two counter-revolutionary groups desperately trying to maintain their position, having as their objectives to restore their rule in the Soviet Union.

—J. KAMIAT.

JUST ARRIVED!

THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION has just arrived from Paris. The feature deals with the 17th Congress of the C. P. S. U. There are important articles by Leon Trotsky, Alfa and others. There are also important letters from the Soviet Union. It is indispensable for Russian-speaking comrades. Get it now! There are only a few copies on hand.

32 pages 25c per copy
All orders should be addressed to:
Rae Spiegel, c/o The Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

The Movement In Mexico

Revolutionary Events As Seen by Our Own Correspondent

Mexico City.—There is no lack of activity or signs of activity of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Mexico City. In fact, judging by the number of posters, signs, etc., on the street the Internationalists are as active or nearly as active as the Stalinist party.

The first day in town I noticed a statement of our comrades on the Montevideo Congress, printed and pasted all over the workers' section.

Then in my walking through the town I saw painted in a great number of places "Viva la Oposición Izquierda Comunista" with sickles and hammers. I also noticed a mimeographed statement of the opposition on the 7th of November all over the working class sections of the city.

There is another sign of activity of the Internationalist Communists. This is the great attention and amount of space given them in the Stalinist organ, the *Machete*. Every issue of this rag is filled with raving frothings, lies, slander, provocation, denunciation—this is their "ideological" campaign.

Stalinist Provocation
The four numbers I have seen of this paper each contained lengthy attacks. In one attack, they gave the name of one of the leaders of

the group, and where he worked—all the police had to do was pick him up and send him to the *Iselas de Tres Marias* on this information.

When I showed this to a Stalinist party sympathizer he stated, "Oh, the police don't bother the Trotskyites." I said that I didn't believe him. In a little while you will see the truth of this statement.

The story itself was a delirious lie. The truth is the contrary of all the statements *Machete* made. Our comrades did not help the boss cut the workers' wages—he organized the workers against this cut in wages. For this he was thrown out on the street jobless.

It was through this statement that I made contact with the group. I went up to the shop where the comrade was supposed to have done his counter-revolutionary work and asked where I could find this man.

The workers did not manifest any signs of indignation when I said I was his friend. On the contrary, one worker volunteered to show me where he lived and accompanied me there. He did not curse comrade L. or abuse him, but rather spoke of him with affection and admiration. This worker, by his intelligent class conscious conversation, showed that he was not a faker, or government agent had not worked for some time beside him but a class conscious revolutionist.

Young Internationalists

I made contact with our comrade, who at present is working in a little shop. After I showed him my letter and had talked with him, he gave me the following information: We have in Mexico City a group of 47, about 25 active. The majority are young, none of them work for the government, all are workers. How different from the Stalinist Party! He invited me to a meeting of the group the following night. I accompanied this comrade on the meeting night. We entered a room, then went upstairs. Every one who entered was first seen from above.

The first thing I noticed about the comrades was that the majority were young. I mean really young, —17 to 22 was the majority. There were a few older workers, obviously unskilled laborers, one of whom brought the latest copy of the *Machete* with a slanderous cowardly attack upon us in it.

The first order of business was the reading of this article and its refutation. Then a class took place in historical materialism. (This was an educational meeting).

Persecution of Comrades

When the meeting broke up, one of the comrades in conversation with me accidentally let the remark drop that he had done time on the *Iselas de Tres Marias*. I was amazed.

Here was a youngster of barely 17, a child, who had spent six months on the Devil's Island of Mexico. He had, besides, been arrested innumerable times. When I expressed my amazement he showed me three other comrades ranging in age from 15 to 22 who had also been picked up with him and had served time. One was 22, one was 18, and one 15.

I was rather bitter when I thought of this party sympathizer's statement: "The police never bother the Trotskyites." I looked at the child who had contracted dysentery on the

islands, and who would never be the same—this was the agent among the working class sent by the government.

Marxist Education.

Poverty-stricken, harassed by the government, our comrades in Mexico work on. They are developing all sides of their work. They are doing work among the masses. They are internationalists and so are preparing a Boycott Hitler Campaign. They are also planning to set up an apparatus for legal work. They are organizing syndicates (unions). They are going to carry on the Boycott Campaign in two ways—a statement by the group and then in a united front form. The statement will be printed and distributed by the League and pasted on walls all night, and at great risk, lest the pro-government Trotskyites are picked up by the government they are so devotedly serving and sent by that government to the Island. But our comrades here are internationalists in theory, and in fact—and are willing to suffer for their internationalism if necessary.

The comrades here have something that is unique in our international organization—a group of children organized in a Red Pioneer Group. These children learn about the class struggle both from books and in participating in the battle. They organize demonstrations of the children for free books and papers.

Demagoguery of Government

The government, a master in demagoguery (it is in reality a Social Democratic government) has, with a loud blast, inaugurated "Socialist Education". They do not, with all their "Socialist education", give the workers' children adequate school facilities or free books or paper, thus making the loudly proclaimed compulsory education illusory. Our Pioneer, are educating the struggle of the workers' children. Some of these grammar school children in the group have more than once seen the inside of the jail of the Mexican Workers and Peasants government (so the government describes itself).

It must be understood that the work has many shortcomings. This is inevitable, granting the conditions. The comrades find it difficult to buy books and read, they are so expensive. The illegal paper, the "Izquierda" (Left), has difficulty in coming out due to the high cost of stencils and papers.

Trotsky's Works Popular

The book stores here prominently display Trotsky's books and they seem to have a good sale among the students and intellectuals. I have seen all of Trotsky's work on display—printed in Spain and Chile in the main. The tragedy is that they are so expensive. Sixty centavos, which is the cost of the cheapest pamphlet amounts to nearly half a day's wages for an unskilled worker. It amounts to half a week's wages for a young worker. Marx's, Engels', Trotsky's and Lenin's works are loaned among the comrades until the print on the cheap paper becomes indistinguishable and the book is in tatters.

The Militant also plays a great role in the education of the comrades. By dint of great labor important articles are translated and are read to the comrades. Unfortunately, since none of the comrades know English, this can only be done at all-too-rare occasions. —C. C.

"Unser Wort" a Weekly

A Real Achievement

The transformation of *Unser Wort* into a weekly is a great achievement not only of the revolutionary wing of the German emigration, not only of the new party of the German proletariat that is now being built, but of the Fourth International as well. The strength of *Unser Wort* lies in the fact that it serves at one and the same time national and international tasks.

Some wise men who understood nothing of the character of our epoch and learned nothing from the victories and defeats of the proletariat, try to reason as follows: first we will build a national party and then on a solid and safe foundation we shall erect the International. This argument sounds very serious, circumspect, solid but in reality it demonstrates Philistine short-sightedness. The regenerating workers' movement does not begin history anew; it has a colossal past, similar in its main traits for all countries. The proletariat of the whole world had been united for decades by the Second International and the trade unions. After the world war the proletarian advance-guard united under the banner of the Third International. Not only the world crisis, Fascism and the danger of war, but the decline of the Comintern as well have an international character. It is clear that under the influence of the very same common causes advanced proletarian elements in all countries must

seek a way out in the same direction. Can they, in this case, refuse the establishment of international connections, elaboration of programmatic and strategic questions, exchange of political experience and, finally, mutual practical support, already at the first steps of their work?

Some wise slow-movers go even further and say: "We do not want to split our ranks because of questions of the character of the Soviet state the strategy of the Comintern in the Chinese revolution, the policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, etc., etc. We want 'unity' to help the workers of our country to carry on the class struggle. Thus reason, for instance, the initiators of a new Workers Party in the United States (C. P. L. A.—Muste et al.). Of the same opinion are the leaders of the Swedish Independent Communist Party (Kilbom & others), the British I. L. P. (Fenner Brockway and others), etc. If you will, the authors of the German pamphlet "Begin Anew" occupy even a lower place in this question. Can one imagine a doctor who would say that he is not concerned with the fundamental theories of anatomy, physiology and pathology, that he does not want to argue about the newest theories on cancer, or malaria, but prefers "simply" to treat the patients of his locality? Not one thinking worker would trust the life of his

child, or his own life to such pitiable dillards. No capitalist, on the other hand, would entrust the erection of a plant to an engineer who did not master thoroughly the fundamental theories of technology.

Only in the sphere of politics, even "revolutionary" politics, ignorant quackery continues as pretentiously to argue against the scientific method. It is at times difficult to believe that the Manifesto of the Communist Party was written 85 years ago!

The disputed questions, now splitting the world working class movement, have not an episodic, not a tactical but a principled, strategic and, by this very fact, international character. No matter how great the country may be, they determine in our epoch merely the tactics and not the strategy of the working class. The importance of tactics, of course, great; in the final analysis all strategy dissolves into tactics. But we cannot make one correct tactical step without a strategic compass in hand. We cannot orientate ourselves in the national situation, without estimating theoretically the world situation, without drawing conclusions from the international experience of the working class, without outlining an international perspective, that is, without a program of a new International.

When deep-thinking people say: "do not hurry, now is not the time for the Fourth International", they could with equal success say: "do not hurry, now is not the time for the class struggle". Since it is not a question of the formal "proclamation" of the new International but of the building of a new party, not

as an isolated national entity but as a part of the International.

The small *Unser Wort* is now the only organ in the whole field of the German working class movement that realizes correctly, earnestly, in a Marxist fashion the interrelation of tactics and strategy, of a national party and a new International. Precisely in this lies the guarantee of its success. In the epoch of dissolution, ferment, confusion, political half-heartedness may some times register great successes which are of the greatest surprise to itself and blind it: but these successes are not trustworthy, they disappear together with the political conjuncture that gave birth to them. The successes of *Unser Wort* are of a different order; they are the successes of method, system, Marxist clarity—these successes are solid.

Friends of *Unser Wort* must spare no efforts to insure the weekly appearance of the paper, enrich its content, enlarge its size, increase its circulation, facilitate its penetration into Germany and make ready for publication, alongside of *Unser Wort* of a theoretical monthly for the elaboration of the principal questions of our epoch, that is, of the program of the Fourth International.

Hearty greetings to the editors, personnel, administration, readers and friends of the weekly *Unser Wort*!
January 24, 1934.

A NOTE TO BRANCHES

Arrangements have been made by Pioneer Publishers whereby branches of the Communist League can obtain all literature published by Charles Kerr and International Publishers at a 25 percent discount.

Discussion of Youth Problems

On Industrial Activity

In a recent discussion article I read with interest the remarks of a comrade who bemoans the lack of concrete suggestions by the National Youth Committee on how to begin youth work and by what method to proceed. He criticizes it and then attempts to enlighten the comrades with what, when read, turns out to be equally, if not more vague. He raises the cry "Into the working-class youth!" as the orientation for the youth, the serious work of the League and points out the necessity of organizing cadres of youth on an economic basis into either the Spartacus Youth Clubs proper or broad workers' clubs.

How typically Y. C. L. is the cry and as equally characteristically, impotent! How are we to enter "into the working class youth"? How are we going to raise our youth slogans, how are we going to build cadres? Time and time again the Young Communist League has attempted to form "youth sections" in their own T. U. U. L. unions—and as often they have failed. Failed because they forgot one important factor: the working class will never have confidence in or follow the leadership of anyone but a worker and a worker in their own specific trade. Does the comrade imagine that merely to enter "into the working class youth" insures his position in it or can he understand that the

working class fights shy of such mechanically imposed leadership? Our industrial work must be taken seriously and anyone entering into a specific field must enter it not with the intention of helping out when it is on strike and flippancy and peremptorily leaving it when the excitement is over or even with the purpose of contacting the workers spasmodically at their homes, but he must enter it with the intention of spending years in it. That is the crux of the situation and I can bear it up with very concrete examples.

During the recent Los Angeles dressmakers' strike I was secretary of the general strike committee and virtually in charge of the picket lines. Why was I able to do so much work? Was it the result of the sudden appearance of myself on the scene and the equally quick approval of me by the strikers? No. For a year before the strike I worked in the shops in the needle trade side by side with the workers, experiencing their hardships and struggles, understanding their trials, encouraging their militancy. For a year I carried on, to the best of my ability, the workers' day-to-day struggle with the bosses. Then when the need for a strike was apparent I raised the cry and carried it to the workers. On the meeting floor I was able to speak the workers' language and propose such measures as I, as a worker,

knew were the best to follow at that particular time.

Because, besides my personal experiences I had the advice of comrades long connected with various phases of union activity, I was able to voice the workers' demands in a generally correct line. And despite my youth there is no one who had more of the comradery, the sympathy and the trust of the workers than I had.

Industrial activity should be our concentration and immediate perspective. But I add this. Our work must be taken seriously, spasmodic jumps from this field to that are worthless. Comrades must decide on a trade and prepare to work years in it. Groundwork for the revolution is laid in the trade unions. Let us then enter into them not by mechanically taking out a union card at the time of a strike but by working in the shops and earning the right to a union card.

Let us not make the mistakes the Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. had made and assume that going "into the working-class" is the signal for taking over leadership. The working class follows that organization that has identified itself with the working-class through its day-to-day struggle in its behalf, follows that organization whose members have built up a prestige in their unions by virtue of their years of long work side by side with the workers in the shops. All this will be the wedge whereby cadres of youth can be formed. Consistent and systematic work in your trade brings personal contacts and personal contacts form the nucleus for your youth cadres. —FLORENCE WYLE.

Bolshevik Congresses Once and Now

On the Eve of the Congress

The impending congress of the ruling party of the Soviet Union is being called upon to give its approval of the political leadership, the economic plan and the work of the Comintern, in accordance with a formula prepared in advance. However, these three closely interconnected spheres present a number of burning questions which the congress cannot and does not want to answer. Not because these questions conflict with the interests of the workers' state but because their very presentation is incompatible with the interests of the ruling bureaucracy.

First of all: why wasn't a regular party congress convened in three years and eight months? Under the most onerous conditions of underground struggle and emigration, from the years 1903 to 1907, four congresses took place: in Brussels, London, Geneva, Stockholm and again in London. The years of reaction and of the complete decline of the party that set in, interrupted the regular succession of congresses. Only in 1912 did a Bolshevik conference gather in Prague, equivalent in importance to a congress. No sooner did the revolutionary movement revive (1912-1914) than the war broke out.

In April 1917 a new party conference is called, similarly equal in importance to a congress. Four months later, at the end of July 1917, under conditions of semi-legality, the Sixth party congress assembles and sets out the political premises for the October uprising. Eight months later a new party congress is called upon to solve the Zest-Litovsk disagreements. The following five congresses are convened at regular intervals of a year, and each of them marks an important epoch in the development of the party and of Soviet policy. Each congress is preceded by a discussion unfolded with complete freedom.

Such was the regime prior to the death of Lenin and prior to the declaration of war against "Trotskyism". The 13th and 14th congresses already took place after great delays, necessitated by backstage bureaucratic maneuvers. The 15th congress was called, contrary to the party statutes, more than two years after the 14th: it was necessary first to smash the opposition. In the autumn of 1927 the Central Committee decided—although the statutes did not and could not grant it such a right—to convene all future congresses every two years. This decision was carried out without inner friction in the apparatus itself: it was difficult to explain openly why the Bolshevik party as a ruling party was denied the right which it enjoyed in the revolutionary underground: the right to control its apparatus and to give it instructions for the future. The 16th congress (June 1930) however, was convened not two years after the 15th (January 1928) but two and a half years after, that is, already in violation of the new statutes. Finally, between the 16th and the 17th congresses three and two-thirds years have elapsed. During the twenty months that the Central Committee ruled by usurpation, not merely in fact but according to the letter of the statutes as well, not a voice of protest was raised in the party. For two reasons: (1) no one believes that the apparatus congress is capable of changing anything in the work of the ruling summits; (2) if any one would try, in his simplicity, to protest, he would immediately be expelled from the party. The "cleansing" which preceded the congress expelled tens of thousands of people for lesser sins. If in the classic period of Bolshevism a discussion lasting a number of weeks preceded the congress, the present congress was preceded by a bureaucratic cleansing which dragged out for a half a year. Under these conditions the congress will be a ponderous parade of the bureaucracy.

Liberals and social democrats have frequently drawn a very superficial analogy between Bolshevism and Fascism. The late Serrati, former leader of the Italian Maximalists and a Communist during the last years of his life, said to me in 1914: "To our shame, Mussolini learned more from the Bolsheviks than we did." It is not necessary to explain the irreconcilability of the aims which the two principal world currents serve: one wants to perpetuate decaying capitalist society by means of universal police-rule, the other wants to liquidate classes and states by methods of the revolutionary dictatorship, thus liberating society and the human being. But in the course of a combat mortal enemies frequently exchange weapons. The fact is that if in the struggle for power the Fascists have borrowed greatly from Bolshevism then in the last period the Soviet bureaucracy has familiarized itself with many traits of victorious Fascism.

first of all by getting rid of the control of the party and establishing the cult of the Leader.

It is impossible to read without a feeling of embarrassment and sometimes shame the Soviet press where in each column, in each article, each telegram and report of a meeting, the "Leader" is honored and praised in the very same unchanged and universally obligatory expressions. Even a journalist like Louis Fischer, who is not very critical with regard to the Soviet bureaucracy, found it necessary to point out the insufferable character of these standardized panegyrics.

The connection between deifying the leader and the leaders (local leaders are deified within the limits of a definite territory) and the violation of the statutes, the abolition of criticism of the summits, the convocation of congresses at arbitrary intervals, after even more arbitrary cleansings—is absolutely evident. All these phenomena in their entirety mean the liquidation of the party as an active political whole that checks, elects and renews its apparatus. The first question which arises before the congress reads: where and why did the Bolshevik party disappear?

Bureaucratic Dictatorship and Social Contradictions.

For social development in general, for proletarian dictatorship in particular, a course and norms of pure reason cannot be prescribed. It is naive to say that the Soviet state is not a dictatorship of the proletariat merely on the basis that the given form of a dictatorship does not correspond to our prior conceptions. But if reality cannot be judged by ideal norms, it is just as inadmissible and no less dangerous to elevate the Soviet reality into an ideal norm. The historic failure of the Comintern is caused primarily by the fact that it proclaimed the Soviet state, more precisely, the Soviet bureaucracy, as a category imperative. Meanwhile, the international proletariat as well as the Soviet state itself need nothing more urgently than free, unhampered Marxian criticism.

The harsh character of the dictatorship is caused by the need of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown ruling classes and to undermine their economic roots. But according to the official theory (this basic task of the workers' state is in the main achieved). The second five year plan will merely have to complete it. The 17th party conference already decided—this decision is now repeated day in, day out—that the task of the second five year plan is not only the "liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general" but "complete liquidation of causes which engender class distinctions and exploitation" as well. In the conditions that the second five year plan is to create, state power will have nothing more to do. The struggle against external dangers would require, of course, also in a socialist society, a powerful military organization but by no means internal government coercion, not a regime of class dictatorship. Where he causes disappear the consequ-

ences also disappear.

In reality no one of the rulers of the U. S. S. R. believes in such a perspective. The second five year plan, calculated on a full and complete liquidation of class distinctions, does not foresee at all a mitigation of government coercion, nor a decrease in the budget of the G. P. U. The ruling bureaucracy does not prepare in the least to give up its commanding positions; on the contrary, it supplies them with ever new and more material guarantees. Coercion, even within the formal framework of the party, already has such a harsh character as it never had during the years of civil war. Moreover, in all the official speeches and articles the perspective of a further intensification of the methods of the dictatorship is pictured. This crying divergence between two perspectives, the economic and the political, demonstrates irrefutably that the ruling bureaucracy obviously does not know how to make both ends meet theoretically.

Young Soviet theoreticians, it is true, have attempted to present the matter in such a way that the socialist growth of the country and the liquidation of the classes lead before our very eyes to the mitigation and weakening of purely state functions. Some people believed them. Louis Fischer, is one of his generally not very fortunate excursions into the realm of theory, tried to present the merging of the Commissariat for Trade with the trade unions as the beginning of the liquidation of the state. In reality, we have only a merging of two bureaucratic apparatuses. The new statutes of the party, which are to be ratified by the 17th congress, make a decisive turn towards the merging of the state and the party, but how?—by a final and formal replacement of the party as well as of the mass Soviets by the single bureaucratic apparatus. It is not a question of the "withering" away of the state in the Engels sense, but on the contrary, of its further bureaucratic concentration. It is no wonder that the ruling summits severely rebuked the careless young theoreticians for attempting to draw political conclusions from the "liquidation of the classes".

The withering away of the party in the socialist sense of the word presupposes the liquidation of politics in general, therefore also of state coercion, and signifies the approach to an anarchistic society and by no means to a bureaucratic regime. Is it this that we see in reality? If "politics" has disappeared in the U. S. S. R. it has disappeared for the masses only. All politics is monopolized, centralized, personalized. It would be the greatest naïveté to think that the constant "deflection" of the Leader is engendered by personal bad tastes and by official subservience. This purely psychological explanation explains nothing. In reality the deflection of the leader is a necessary element of the present political regime of the U. S. S. R. Since the workers are denied the possibility of re-electing and directing their apparatus, some other instance is necessary to solve state problems.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

to the dissonance of the workers to accept. An honest leadership worthy of the name will have no need of being ashamed to organize its ranks even for such an outcome if the conditions impose it upon the workers.

But as matters stand now, the hope and prospect for a victory remain unimpaired. It is necessary, however, that the steps be taken which have been indicated in these pages on several occasions. The rank and file have shown a superb spirit, a flawless solidarity, a gratifying militancy. There is no doubt that even more houses can be pulled out on strike and the movement extended still further. And this is just what must be done at once to assure victory. But for this, the improvements in the organization and direction of the strike are essential prerequisites.

The leadership is the decisive problem. It must prove capable of organizing and coordinating the work, of drawing in all progressive forces, of discarding all narrow and clique tendencies, of inspiring the workers with self-confidence, of sharpening and extending the demonstrations and picket lines by heightening the morale, of instilling the workers at the daily mass meetings with the knowledge and spirit which alone can make them a cohesive and battling army.

Any failure to make the neces-

sary improvements has opened the door to the Stalinist wreckers. The only way to eliminate this dangerous cancer is by making the necessary corrections and then by dealing with the Stalinists in the only way permissible to class conscious militants: by proving in objective discussion and above all in practice, the superiority of the policies and conduct of the union's leadership to the misleadership of the 18th Street incompetents.

For our own part, we stand with those who seriously pursue such a course, and with no one else. And although we represent only a minority in the ranks of the Amalgamated, we are ready to cooperate with all the progressive and militant forces in the union who are marching in the same direction because they, like we, are concerned only with the advancement of the interests of the workers and their strike. Especially a labor strike is the last place in which a faction monopoly or clique tendencies can be permitted. Their continued existence can only prove fatal, because they are an insidious poison.

A genuinely collective direction of the strike, a heightened note of militancy, a serious concern with the organization of the work, a sober approach to the prospective outcome of the struggle—these problems, at the end of the second week, now stand out, full of promise that their solution will mean the triumph of the workers and their union!

Disagreements within the uncontrolled bureaucracy must be settled from above, by the "Leader" who is but the personification of the apparatus.

But if it is not a question now of the withering away of the state out of its highest intensification, here should be deep social contradictions which give rise to this process. In what direction must we look for them?

Polemizing in 1932 against the author of these lines in the columns of the Berliner Tageblatt, Radek explained to us with his usual playfulness that socialism means the nationalization of the means of production and distribution and nothing more, and that if working children do not get enough milk, this is explained by the absence of socialism. Despite all its captivating simplicity this theory is radically false. Socialism presupposes not only the nationalization of the means of production but also the ability of the latter to satisfy all human needs. Precisely because of this the old primers stated that socialist society is possible only on a certain level of development of the productive forces.

It is true that social democrats drew from this proposition the reactionary conclusion that the Russian proletariat must not take power in general. They came to the same conclusion for Germany of 1918 as well and through the officers of Noske brought this admonishment forcefully to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. But the conclusions of the social democracy are no less false than those of Radek. The theory of Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Leon Blum and others assumes an extremely harmonious evolution of social forms: having reached the necessary maturity, the productive forces invite Messrs. socialist leaders to power. Everything takes place within the framework of democracy with full comfort for all the participants. In reality, the principal characteristic of historic development is the constant disruption of the equilibrium between the productive forces and politics, inside the productive forces themselves, for example, between industry and agriculture, between the social weight of the bourgeoisie and the weight of the proletariat, between the potential power of the proletariat and the real force of its party, etc. Contradictory historic conditions forced the Russian proletariat to take power first, although from the point of view of "sensible" socialist accounting it would have been infinitely more advantageous for the proletariat of the United States, England, or Germany to have taken power first. Had the Russian proletariat, however, obeyed the Mensheviks, not seized power in 1917 and not nationalized the means of production, Russia would have been doomed to the fate of China.

However, the disproportions of the belated and jumpy economic and cultural development have not disappeared in the dictatorship of the proletariat: they have merely taken on an unrecognizable form. The productive forces of the U. S. S. R. develop now in a nationalized form but they still pass the stages left far behind by the advanced capitalist countries—especially if reckoned on a per capita basis. From this follow, despite the "liquidation of classes", the social contradictions of Soviet society as well as the great theoretical confusion of the leaders.

Socialism, that is a society of harmonious production and distribution, presupposes at any rate that all the children should drink milk to their heart's content. If the cows are nationalized but their number is insufficient, or their udders dry, it is still not socialism, because for lack of milk conflicts arise: between the city and village, between the Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and individual peasants, between various layers of the proletariat, between all the toilers and the bureaucracy. Precisely these sharp constant conflicts which take on inevitably a social, and in their tendencies, a class character, demand the powerful intervention from above, that is, state coercion. Sometimes, we see how a fight about milk leads to a malicious destruction of dairy cattle, and this forces the government authorities to de-nationalize the cow, giving it back to the peasants as private property. Only very recently the government found itself obliged for the same reasons to transfer the horses to life-time use of the peasants. The real key to the puzzle of bureaucratic omnipotence lies in these simple facts. We say, and not at all for paradox's sake, that if certain ancient religions, also because of insufficiency of cattle, based themselves on the bull Apis, the religion of bureaucratic sovereignty bases itself on the cow—not on the one that exists, but on the one that is lacking.

The problem is, of course, not exhausted by milk, it only begins with milk and bread. The contradictions pass through the whole system of economy and of social relations. The question, however, is too complicated and requires a special article. —L. TROTSKY.

January 20, 1934.

Another "Victory" for Lewis

The U.M.W. of A. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

erators' organization, addressed the convention. But what is the real significance of these declarations of conciliation? Are they intended to secure peace and harmony in the mine camps with a filled pay envelope and a "full dinner pail" for the miners? That is not the motive.

The cringing pledge of these "industrial statesmen" before the coal operators is an effort to guarantee that there will be no fight for improved wages and working conditions made by the miners so that Lewis may secure formal recognition of the union and collect the check-off on the dues payments. The operators of the Pennsylvania captive mines, that is, the United States Steel Company empire, showed Lewis that they could beat him at his own game of vote stealing, intimidation, frame-ups, and bludgeoning. They had told the NRA labor board to keep hands off while, by these methods, they carried the elections in their mines for the establishment of their company union. Lewis did his best to betray the miners who struck for recognition of the U. M. W. Now he promises that there will be no strikes so that he may thereby obtain the check-off.

No Strike Assurances

But the convention went on record for higher wages, for the six-hour work day and for the five-day

week. Yes, but on this point also, Lewis hastened the assurance that there would be no truce in the attitude of the union. He warned the delegates not to raise false hopes back home that such desires could be obtained. "We do not wish to cripple the industry or embarrass the federal government or the recovery administration," he said—There must be no strikes, according to Lewis. In glaring contrast to these assurances, however, it is necessary to recall the fact that never in history have any serious gains been recorded by the miners except by fighting for them, by using the powerful strike weapon.

The most brilliant pages of American labor history carry the story of the valiant fight of the coal miners. But they also record the innumerable betrayals perpetrated by Lewis during the administration covering almost two decades.

The Insurgent Unions

In 1925 he made his infamous proposal to drive 350,000 miners from the industry. The scourge of unemployment and the increase of machine mining aided this nefarious plan. Where once upwards of 800,000 coal miners worked in and around the mines, there are now 400,000 men employed. Many revolts against the Lewis regime have occurred, and insurgent unions have been created. There is today an independent union in the anthracite claiming 50,000 members;

the Progressive Miners Union in Illinois, which lays claim to 30,000 members. New unions have sprung up in Washington, West Virginia, and Nova Scotia. But the independent union in the anthracite, headed by Cappelini and Maloney has not differed essentially in its methods from the U. M. W. The so-called progressive leaders of the Illinois union have adopted all the bureaucratic methods of expulsions and frame-ups of the Lewis machine.

However, the indomitable spirit of the rank and file coal miners has remained. It is due to their vitality and fighting ability that the U. M. W. has revived and today represents perhaps the strongest union in the country. There are still great latent forces hidden within the smoke-filled mine fields. There is no reason to believe that the policies which prevailed at this Indianapolis convention mark the inauguration of a new epoch. On the contrary. The spirit of rebellion will again assert itself. The economic pressure upon the miners will call forth their resistance against the continuous and increased enslavement. This resistance will repulse the deceptive conciliation and peace proposals to naught. In the mine fields are excellent prospects for new and more serious rebellions and for much more serious contests against the treacherous Lewis machine. —A. S.

Masses Shake French Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

important bourgeois politicians were part of Stavisky's swindling apparatus.

The long pent-up discontent of the masses now began to break loose. Its dramatic expression was the attempt of thousands of Parisians to storm the Chamber of Deputies. Undeniably the demonstration in the Place de la Concorde was organized by reactionary elements. The Royalist groups led by the Camelots du Roi—an organization led by the scions of the nobility which the liberal French Republic has decade after decade permitted to plot openly its own destruction—desired by a show of force to bring about a swing to the right in the French Chamber. Thus they hoped to get into the tent the nose of the Bourbon camel which is eventually to crowd out the republic.

What the Royalists did not count on was the mood of the masses. By the thousands, workers hastened to the Place de la Concorde to join in the demonstration. Among them were many war veterans, tired of the "ingratitude of the Third Republic". But these masses did more than join the demonstration. They transformed its political character. From an expression of Royalist reaction, its voice was changing to that of the oppressed masses of the country, to become a thundering protest against political corruption, economic collapse and relentless exploitation. From the organized Royalists and would-be Fascist groups, the government had little to fear. But in the close-packed mass which boldly went head-on against armed and mounted soldiery, there moved a different spirit from that of the reaction.

Hence the launching of cavalry and machine gunners against the demonstrators, hence the press censorship and suspension of civil liberties. And hence the calling to power of Doumergue, "the strong man", who the bourgeoisie hopes,

will tame the masses. This fierce reactionary was co-author of the imperialist Franco-Czarist secret treaty of 1917. He is an enemy of reform and democracy, and a professional Red-baiter.

It is doubtful in the extreme, however, that Doumergue will succeed in stifling the rebellious mood of the oppressed French masses. "Whether successful or not," writes the liberal New York World-Telegram, "this wide popular revolt and violence is the stuff of which revolution is made.... An event of this kind is never forgotten. It lights new flames of revolt which, even though smothered for a while, are likely to burst out with greater intensity later."

With open reaction in the saddle in France, however, there will be a more rapid and intensive development of French Fascist trends. L'Ami du Peuple, organ of millionaire Senator Coty, is preaching an unadulterated Hitlerian doctrine to its enormous body of discontented petty bourgeois readers. Half a dozen Fascist grouplets contend for the honor of becoming the vanguard of reaction. Money will now flow to them from the coffers of the Comité des Forges more generously than before. While the liberal press tries to center attention on the demands of the Royalists, laughing them off as silly and outmoded, Fascism, the reaction à la mode is being prepared.

To trust in such a situation to "the common sense of the French people" the democratic traditions of 1789, the parliamentary opposition of the Socialists, for the head-on off of Fascism would be as futile and deceptive as it proved to be in Germany. The Socialist Party of France continues to work to hold back the workers of the country from militant extra-parliamentary struggle. And the Communist Party of France, having learned nothing from the German catastrophe or from the steady decline in its own membership report-

ed by Piatnitsky at the recent 13th Plenum continues its sectarian, disruptive course. The two bureaucracies together manage to keep half the working class immobile while the other half throws away its energy in futile forays.

No apparent in this that the bourgeoisie indulges in complacency. The World-Telegram remarks that "there seems to be even less organization now than in the somewhat similar riots which resulted in the short-lived Red Commune of 1871." However exaggerated this statement may be, revolutionaries can draw small comfort from the recent record of the French C. P. The problem in France today is one of speed: can the real revolutionary leadership, and especially the Internationalist-Communists, organize a powerful revolutionary party more rapidly than the Fascists rally their black hundred forces? The possibility cannot be doubted. The task is posed.

The coming of Doumergue to power, it must be added, has its importance for the U. S. S. R. Under Stalin, the workers' state has placed its trust not in the forces of international revolution, but in pacts and treaties with bourgeois governments. The Stalinists have argued that Hitler's triumph was not an unmitigated evil from the revolutionary viewpoint, since "it threw Poland and France into our arms."

With a fierce Communist-hunter in the saddle of France, and behind him the steel trust, whose handy man, Tardieu, may become Doumergue's Foreign Minister, the illusory nature of Stalinist diplomacy is again exposed.

Once again it is demonstrated that only the revolutionary proletariat of France can help restrain French capitalism from launching against the Soviet Union a Franco-Russian-Polish army of intervention under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, whom Leon Trotsky long ago characterized as "the super-Wrangel" of counter revolution.

The Significance of the Taxi Strike

(Continued from page 1)

them and the companies against them.

When La Guardia saw the torrent he attempted to unload responsibility before his own bourgeois and petty bourgeois supporters and hamstringing the movement. He advised the men to affiliate with the A. F. of L. and made efforts to secure the intervention of Green himself. As a result of his "help" Gailbraith of the A. F. of L. Philadelphia Taxi-men's Union was sent to New York as general organizer of the strike.

At the same time La Guardia called in Morris L. Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union to act as mediator. Ernst arranged a number of meetings. The fruit of his efforts was a "settlement" which said nothing about the recognition of the union, minimum wages or maximum hours. In addition the proposed distribution of the accumulated tax money was unsatisfactory. The men voted down this "settlement" and demonstrated what they thought of it on the streets against the scab drivers.

But the nub of the boss strategy was the attempt to use the independents to divide the ranks. An independent is the owner-driver of

one cab. The five-cent tax question did not affect them as it went into their pockets. They are likewise indifferent to the hours and wage question. In short they are petty bourgeois individualists. Consequently they were and are eager to reap the harvest of fares that they saw when the company drivers went on strike. Terminals and piers reserved to the company cabs by contract were now inviting them to come in and render "service to the public". The independents offered to pay two dollars apiece a day into the treasury of the union if the union would agree to their working.

But the strikers saw through this scheme. They realized that if the independents were out on the streets that would be a powerful lever in the hands of the bosses to break the strike. They sacrificed the money and voted for "no cabs on the streets." And forthwith they repaired to the streets to translate the vote into reality.

It is not clear exactly how the Socialist Panken got into the strike and how he became one of its spokesmen. But one thing is certain; he is a partner to the latest perfidious sell-out arranged by La Guardia, Ernst and some people on

the Committee of Thirteen which conducted the negotiations for the strikers. The terms of this sell-out are the worst imaginable. The question of union recognition which has become the crucial one in the strike is not even mentioned. The wages and hours question is ignored. The accumulated tax money is referred to the future for distribution. The men get absolutely nothing.

Before this maneuver was put over on the men they tried to spread the strike to other sectors of transportation. They chose the bus drivers and conductors of the Fifth Ave. buses as the point of attack. The strike has already recorded positive gains for the taxi men and the entire labor movement. It stiffened the morale of the hotel strikers, and it has helped their strike to the extent that it has made it difficult for most and impossible for some diners to reach the hotels. It has set an inspiring example of working class militancy and will undoubtedly be an impetus to other workers to struggle against their intolerable conditions. And what is of paramount importance for the taxi drivers; win or lose they will come out of this strike with a union. We are also sure of another thing. This strike of the taxi drivers will not be the last. —T. STAMM.

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Austrian Workers Fight Historic Battle

LEON TROTSKY

AUSTRIA NEXT IN ORDER

(Almost a year ago, on March 23, 1933, Leon Trotsky wrote an analysis of the relationship of forces in Austria and the problems of the working class confronted by Bonapartism and Fascism. This study, while obviously not applicable to the present events in their entirety, nevertheless retains an essential validity in so many respects as to invest the extracts which we reproduce below with a particular timeliness which will, moreover, be of great value in facilitating an understanding of the turbulent events now occurring before our eyes.—Ed.)

Despite the experiences of Italy and Germany, the leaders of the Austrian social democracy do not understand the situation. In order to live and breathe, these people must fool themselves. This they cannot do otherwise than by fooling the proletariat.

Bauer places the blame for the defeat in Germany upon the Communists. We are not the ones to defend the German Stalinists! But their chief crime consists in their having given the social democrats the possibility of preserving their influence upon the basic part of the German proletariat and of loading upon it the tactic of debasing and fatal capitulation, despite all the crimes and betrayals committed by the social democracy. In essence Bauer's policies are no different from the policies of Weiss-Stampfer. But there is a distinction. Bauer will be unable to shift the responsibility upon the Austrian Stalinists, who have managed to doom themselves to complete impotence. The Austrian social democracy is not only the leading party of the proletariat, but is the strongest social democratic party in the world as regards the population. The political responsibility lies upon the Austrian social democracy, solely and entirely. All the more fatal will prove to be the consequences of its present policies.

The Austro-Marxists say:—If we are deprived of liberty, then we shall fight to "the end." By such subterfuge they want to "gain" time for their vacillations, when in reality they are losing the most precious time for the preparation of defense. After the enemy deprives them of liberty, it will be a hundred times more difficult to fight, for the liquidation of rights will be accompanied by military and police destruction of the proletarian press and the proletarian apparatus. The enemy prepares and acts while the social democracy bides its time and whines. The Vorwarts also repeated times innumerable: "Woe to Fascism, if it ventures against us!" The events have demonstrated the value of such rhetoric. The party which proved incapable of giving battle when it held in its hands almost impregnable positions and powerful resources will crumble into dust when it is completely expelled from the legal arena.

By their seemingly dreadful but in reality pathetic chorus of "If we are attacked," the Austro-Marxists reveal their genuine suffering, they still hope that things will be left in peace, that things, God help us, will not go beyond mutual threats and waving of fists. What this means is that they are chloroforming the proletariat to facilitate Fascist surgery. A genuine proletarian politician, on the contrary, would be duty bound to explain to the Austrian workers that their class enemy, himself, has been caught between the paws of history; that no other way out remains for him except to destroy proletarian organizations; that in this instance there is no escaping the mortal struggle; and that this struggle must be prepared for in accordance with all the rules of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Otto Bauer has been hinting that in the event of a direct attack on the part of the enemy, the workers

will resort to a general strike. But this too is an empty threat. We have heard it more than once in Germany. The general strike cannot be produced out of one's vest pocket. The workers may be led to a general strike, but to do so one must fight and not play hide and seek with reality; a call to battle must be issued; one must organize for the struggle, arm for the struggle, widen and deepen the channel of struggle, not confine oneself to the legal forms of struggle, i.e., the framework dictated by the armed enemy. And first of all, the party itself must be permeated through and through with the idea that unless it engages in a decisive battle, it is lost.

It is quite possible that the General Committee will actually issue a call for a general strike, after the "open" (that is to say, the decisive) blow has been dealt. But this would mean that after leaving the stage, one calls upon the masses for a naked protest, or manifestations of impotence. Just so did the liberal opposition call upon the people not to pay their taxes after the monarch had told it to go to hell. As a rule, nothing ever came of it. In all probability, the workers will not respond at all to the belated and hopeless appeal of a party already smashed.

But let us allow that the Fascists will give the social democracy time enough to call for a general strike at the last minute, and that the workers will respond solidly to the call. What then? What is the goal of the general strike? What must it achieve? In what forms must it develop? How should it defend itself against military and police repression, and against the Fascist pogrom? Wiseacres will reply that it is impossible to answer such questions beforehand. That is the usual subterfuge of people who have nothing to say, who hope in their hearts to get along without

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C.P. Disrupts Garden Meet

BULLETIN—As we go to press, news comes of the disgraceful conduct of the Stalinists in disrupting Friday's Madison Square Garden meeting held in solidarity with the heroic Austrian workers. Called by the Socialist party and various N. Y. trade unions the Garden was packed with about 22,000 workers of all political opinions. The Stalinists could not run the meeting so they employed all means to disrupt it!

Clarence Hathaway attempted to take the platform to speak to the masses assembled. A fight started. Stalinists shouted: "We want Hathaway." Chairs were flung from the balcony. Throughout the hall fights broke out. The Stalinists who had shouted "Communists and Socialists! Unite and Fight!" showed what they meant by this slogan! Miseducated and misled, the Stalinist workers conducted themselves in a shameful manner.

Thousands of workers, thousands of trade unionists, Right and Left, saw what happened. The Stalinists showed the workers whom they are trying to win over what a farce their demands for free speech and workers' democracy are. Left wing workers not tied by Stalinist discipline left the hall cursing the Stalinists.

What ammunition for the Right wing labor fakery! What an instrument in the hands of the Socialist leaders! The uninitiated worker will confuse this action with Communism! True Communists denounce such disruptive tactics as anti-Communist and anti-working class.

A United Front on Austria

Pious resolutions approving the action of the Austrian proletariat in fighting determinedly against Fascism are already plentiful. Internally disrupted demonstrations of protest against the bloody terror of Dollfuss have already disgraced the workers' movement in New York. In any concrete sense the American working class has thus far done exceedingly little to demonstrate the concern it must feel for the fate of its brother class, now courageously defending the interests of the world proletariat.

There is no time to waste in bringing aid and comfort to the workers of Austria. Messages of sympathy and encouragement, really powerful mass demonstrations of protest and solidarity, even material assistance can be sent from this country to Austria. The fact that a government censorship exists and that the usual facilities of communication are closed, does not make such collaboration in this momentous struggle impossible. There are technical means available for carrying out every desirable action. Only the will is necessary.

The time has come once again when all efforts must be directed toward bringing about a united, militant, powerful mass participation in the struggle against Fascist reaction. Only such a united front will enable the American workers to make to the Austrian struggle the contribution which it should be their pride to make.

To bring this about, a united front conference is necessary at once. The Communist party, the Socialist party, A. F. L. unions, every other working class organization should participate. Despite the many important differences among them—and no united front can be permitted to obscure these—there is a basis for joint action in this all-important matter. The active support of the fighting Austrian workers, the smashing of Austrian Fascism, for the crushing of counter-revolutionary intervention in Austria—these are no sectarian matters. They are the concern of the whole class. He who prevents unity on this question, hurls a knife in the backs of the heroes of Vienna.

The Communist League of America stands ready to do its utmost to bring such a united front into being at once.

HOTEL STRIKE

BULLETIN

Just as The Militant goes to press comes the report that the Hotel Men's Association has rejected the agreement which, according to the heads of the Regional Labor Board, they had previously accepted. The struck hotels all during the day had been refusing to take back the strikers according to the terms of the agreement. Now it is reported they are insisting on the notorious "merit clause" under which the active militants among the strikers would be blacklisted.

Great indignation seized the mass of strikers at this double-cross of the hotel bosses. The general strike has been declared on again in full force, and at this writing the strikers are sweeping through the hotel district in a stormy mass parade.

(The following editorial was written after the acceptance of the agreement by the membership meeting. The new developments give no reason to change the viewpoint expressed in the editorial but, in our opinion, only add emphasis to it. At the present critical juncture plain speaking on every issue is necessary.—Editors of The Militant.)

A compromise settlement of the general strike of the New York hotel workers negotiated through the Regional Labor Board was accepted by a vote of the strikers at a mass meeting on Thursday February 15th. Already, however, there are reports of violations of the agreement by five hotels.

The agreement provides that all strike breakers are to be discharged, and all strikers put back on the job. The rehiring of strikers is to be completed in not later than two weeks and no new men are to be employed until all strikers have been put back on the job. The arrangements for the reinstatement of the strikers in their jobs are to be made with the hotel management by shop committees consisting of delegates from the shop.

Within two weeks after the men have gone back to work the Regional Labor Board is to open hearings on the question of working conditions, hours, split-watch, etc., with the Hotel Association of New York City and individual hotels. At these hearings the organized hotel workers are to be represented by the union. Such are the terms of the agreement. It can be taken for granted that the Hotel bosses will try in every way to violate and sabotage the agreement. Everything depends now on the firmness and solidarity of the strikers in enforcing the agreement.

While the main objectives of the great struggle—complete recognition of the union and definite wage increases and shortening of hours—have not been attained in the first test of strength, the conditions of the settlement provide a basis for the maintenance and development of the union and the actual achievement of its claims in the next period. The hotels were hard hit by the strike, as the concessions they have agreed to demonstrate, and if the union holds its ranks firmly and presses forward at every point, the establishment of a powerful union in the industry under the banner of the Amalgamated Food Workers will be a certainty.

Here everything of course depends on the strength and militancy of the workers and their reliance on that alone. The agreement negotiated through the NRA can become a trap for the workers, a means of disarming them and of paralyzing their organized struggle, or it can open the path for a further development of this struggle and the accomplishment of higher aims. The agreement in itself ends nothing and settles nothing. The relation of forces will decide. The ending of the strike does not end the struggle against the rapacious exploiters; it only changes its form. If the workers understand that and maintain their solidarity and aggressiveness in the next stage of the struggle, they can establish their union on a permanent foundation and confront the bosses henceforth as an organized power.

The fight of the hotel workers for organization has been conducted against heavy odds from the beginning. The New York hotels represent powerful aggregations of capital. Not since 1918 has any union arisen that was able to challenge them. It is to the glory of the Amalgam-

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Cops Slug Workers In Austria Protest

Demonstrating their solidarity with their heroic Austrian comrades, 5,600 militant workers paraded to the Austrian Consulate at 5 P. M., Wed., Feb. 14, where they were joined by thousands of others. Several hundred police, mounted and on foot, brutally charged into the crowd again and again in an effort to stop one of the most militant demonstrations ever seen in N. Y. C. Carrying red flags and banners, denouncing Fascism and pledging solidarity with their comrades on the barricades in Austria, the workers kept their lines solid and marched around the block where the Consulate is located.

The demonstration which was originally called by the S.P. & Y.P.S.L. was supported by all Left wing workers and was a splendid united front action, marred only by the efforts of the Stalinists to disrupt the Socialist marching lines. Members of the Communist League succeeded in getting leaders of the Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. together and averted a serious clash between the marchers. Following the demonstration one section of the workers marched down Fifth Avenue and dispersed at Union Square.

Stalinists marched to the Workers' Center. Socialists held a brief meeting at the Rand School and then dispersed.

Strikers Take "Militant"

The special hotel strike numbers of The Militant sold about 1500 copies at the strike halls. Strikers praised its attacks on Stalinist disrupters and Right wing elements. The Militant was the only paper to give substantial space to the strike, and to defend from the beginning to the present the interests of the rank-and-file. Strikers bought it, pasted clippings from it on the strike hall walls, and quoted from it. The Daily Worker spoke of the strike only to try to disrupt it. Right wing strike leaders spoke only of The Evening Post, because it was the solitary capitalist rag not to knife the strike steadily, and interfered with Militant salesmen.

French Gov't Priests Bless In War Move Fascist Guns

It was the murder of an Austrian Archduke which provided the signal for the world war of 1914-1918. Today France as well as all other capitalist countries is girding its loins for a new imperialist war. Europe will not go to war over Austria, but already the French government is taking steps which indicate that Austria may again provide the signal for war. The formation of a Right cabinet by Doumergue, as a result of the disturbances of last week, has led directly to a new tension in the international political situation.

The Doumergue Cabinet has placed the control of foreign affairs in the hands of a "directorate" of four: Doumergue himself, Barthou, Flandin and Tardieu. Doumergue is a bitter reactionary, a professional Red-baiter and imperialist. Tardieu is the chief political agent of the French steel trust and armament industry, headed by the Comite des Forges. Not Poincare himself is more bellicose than this quartet.

An "Aggressive Tone" Whereas Paul-Boncour, as Foreign Minister, met Hitler's rearming activities with a flood of talk about legal questions, the new quartet shows a different attitude. In reply to the German note of January 19 asking questions regarding French armament and war plans, the Doumergue Cabinet has taken what the New York Times calls "an aggressive tone, using some phrases that sound almost like an ultimatum." France refuses to disarm and de-

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Show Proletarian Will In War Against Fascism

The eleventh hour has struck in Austria.

With a superb heroism which has evoked the grudging admiration of even the capitalist press abroad, the Austrian proletariat is fighting desperately for its life. And what deathless pages it is writing with its own blood! What a thrilling spirit of selfless sacrifice, fearlessness and determination it is displaying! What militant in the ranks of the working class all over the world does not feel his blood pound furiously, and his pride rise at the thought of being a soldier in that international army whose vanguard battle the Austrian workers are now fighting!

The honor of the proletariat, besmirched by its established leaders in Germany who last year dragged it in the mud of capitulation and needless defeat, is being retrieved by the nameless immortals on Austria's blood-soaked barricades.

Where are they now, those who sneered at the working class for its defeat in Germany, who would not see that it was only a bitter episode in the ceaseless battle that will end only with the emancipation of all the oppressed? The proletariat of Austria is now in a fathom when once they begin to draw from them, what immense reservoirs of courage and endurance are the heights of heroism they can scale.

Clad in "old rubber jackets, ragged trousers and broken shoes," the revolutionary proletariat has nevertheless held out till now with only "rusty rifles, some hand grenades and a few score machine guns." Their fortresses are their homes of brick and glass. Their trenches are hastily thrown up barricades. Their auxiliary troops are their women and children.

Arrayed against them are all the forces of reaction. Field pieces, howitzers and even naval ordnance have been moved up to demolish in brief and merciless bombardments the model apartment buildings which the Viennese workers were taught to regard as imperishable

monuments to an unmolested "growing over into socialism." At the Brenner Pass, the artillery of Mussolini's legions points down menacingly upon the civil war in Austria, ready at a moment's notice to fire into the ranks of the proletariat. At the North it is threatened by the Hitler bands. From the West looms the threat of Berenger: an army of the international counter-revolution to occupy any part of Austria over which the red flag will float.

Drunk with the knowledge of the resources upon which he can draw—not so much for his own preservation as for the crushing of the rebels—the repulsive dwarf who is momentarily clothed with the authority of the Chancellorship is seeking to escape obscurity by infamy. To the laurels of a miniature Napoleon he must needs add the reputation of a Gallifant. Blinded by an exaggerated sense of his own permanence he does not realize that when the horrible massacre he has ordered is ended, and if he succeeds in exterminating the party whose leaders' toleration made possible his tenure of office from the outset, the moment will have arrived when the name of Dollfuss will disappear into the same oblivion as that of von Papen and Schleicher who enjoyed a similarly brief notoriety.

Hemmed in though they are by greater numbers, the socialist masses are fighting with an audacity and defiance which is without equal in recent times. Driven from one position, they appear the next moment in another. In many places their machine guns, rifles and pistols are proving the equal and even the superior of the enemy's artillery because of the limitless courage and solidarity with which they are fighting. Without the superior military equipment of the reaction, Dollfuss and the mercenaries of the Heimwehr, who march much better on a ration of beer than on a ration of bullets, would have proved a sorry match for the serried ranks of Austria's proletariat. And even as matters stand, the outcome of the titanic battle is by no means determined in advance at this writing.

That the embattled workers have stood their ground even for so long a time is still more impressive in consideration of the tremendous handicap under which they launched their revolt.

Austria is not Germany. Here no one need go far afield in seeking the Achilles heel. No need here to spend time in mathematical computations which are to establish the ratio of responsibility respectively borne by social democrats and Stalinists. Here the caricature of Communism represented by the latter reached that limit of absurdity which was equivalent to its total disappearance from the political scene, unaccompanied by the slightest convulsion.

For good or evil, the social democracy was tantamount to the political expression of the working class of Austria. Upon its leaders, and exclusively upon their shoulders, rests the responsibility for the course pursued in the past. They must be judged accordingly.

The international social democracy, which experienced its second catastrophic historical bankruptcy in the capitulation to Hitler which, with the aid of the no less ignominious conduct of the Stalinist leadership, left the German proletariat paralyzed with bewilderment and prostrate,—is now trying to refurbish its arms in the light of the flares of Austria's civil war. The eternally discredited 2nd International, which nineteen years after the first one, inflicted a second 1914 upon the German working class, is now seeking to restore its exploded prestige by a parasitic association with the heroism of the Austrian rebels.

In vain! History will never permit it!

What is there in common between

(Continued on Page 2)

DEBATE
The Crisis in the
Communist International

What is
The Way
Out?

JAMES P. CANNON
SAYS:
THE 3rd INTERNATIONAL
IS BANKRUPT—
FOR A 4th INTERNATIONAL.

On MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1934
8 P. M.
at IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place
Chairman: SIDNEY HOOK
ADMISSION 35c

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Austrian Workers Fight Points The Way To World Proletariat

(Continued from page 1)

the machine gunners of the Karl Marx apartments mowed down by Dollfuss' artillery, and the high priests of the social democracy who begged for months to be made partners of the same Dollfuss. What is there in common between the heroes of the socialist Schutzbund who emerged from illegality to smash Dollfuss, and the Bauers and Renners who lamented impotently but raised no finger when the same Dollfuss ordered the dissolution of the Schutzbund? What is there in common between the barricade fighters of Floridsdorf, Linz and Steyr who refuse with bulleted emphasis to tolerate for another day the encroachments upon their lives by the Dollfuss regime, and the Seitzes and Deutsches whose policy of toleration alone made it possible for Dollfuss to bear down, step by step, upon the organized working class? What is there in common between the fighters whose battle song is the "International", and those leaders who not so long ago sat by silently while the Austrian Imperial and Royal Hymn, outlawed by the revolution of 1918, was legally restored? What is there in common between the court-martialed insurrectionary who cried "I shall fight Dollfuss to the end!" as the hang-

man's noose was slipped around his neck, and the whole party leadership which hung pathetically at the coat-tails of Dollfuss until they were contemptuously kicked away?—But nevertheless called the general strike! They are nevertheless leading the masses on the barricades!

Illusions! Illusions! In its moment of crucial need, the Austrian proletariat was left in the lurch just as disgracefully as it was in Germany!

Where were the leaders upon whom rested such a tremendous responsibility—where were they all this time? What were they doing to prepare the workers for that decisive struggle whose inevitability stood out so glaringly and unmistakably, especially after Hitler's seizure of power? What were they doing to absorb and communicate to the masses the tremendously important lessons of the German tragedy? What were they doing during all the previous, jawed moments which Dollfuss garnered as they slipped through the shackled hands of the Austrian proletariat in the past year?

NOTHING! Nothing but allowing Dollfuss to grow more arrogant, Starhemberg to grow more peremptory, the Nazis to grow stronger.

True to the worst traditions of Austro-Marxism, whose tinsel of verbal radicalism embellishes a deadening passivity, the party leadership which taught the masses that they could not proclaim Austria a socialist republic because the European "balance of power" did not permit it, kept the masses in check to the very last moment. One by one, they allowed the reaction to deprive the masses of their institutions, their class weapons.

Dollfuss was permitted to dissolve the socialist-republican Schutzbund without a tremor. Dollfuss was permitted to suppress the Communist party without the Socialist leadership doing more than mailing him a mild blast of protest. Dollfuss was permitted to censor to discontinue issues of the central daily newspaper of the socialists, to force it to print Dollfuss propaganda, without action being taken. Dollfuss was permitted to abrogate the constitution so dear to every socialist, and to rule by despotic emergency decrees, without action being taken. The Heimwehr leaders were permitted to infiltrate one commanding post after another, without action being taken. Those thousand and one steps taken by all the Bonapartist trail-blazers of Fascism to hamstring and paralyze

the proletariat before the decisive hour—all of them the socialist leadership allowed Dollfuss to take without themselves taking action. To cap this characteristic record, the party leaders who apparently issued the general strike call chose a moment not only dictated by the enemy, but one when the means of carrying it out effectively were considerably reduced. The call was issued only after the *Arbeiterzeitung* headquarters had been seized by the Heimwehr and the paper suspended, automatically depriving the party of its direct contact with the masses as a whole. The result? The newspapers report how severely this defeat injured the efficacy of the strike.

But the leaders are fighting on the barricades! We permit ourselves, first, to deny the decisive importance of this fact, and second, to express doubts as to the accuracy of the reports and rumors. What is decisive is not the heroic conduct of this or that individual leader, but the policy of the leader which in the fundamental sense determines the course of his party. One has but to recall the tragedy of the recent case of the social democratic police chief of Vienna, who helped the Nazis to victory by permitting the notorious raid on that working class

quarter in 1931 which ended in a massacre. His conduct then did not prevent him from dying a martyr at the hands of the Fascist dogs a few weeks ago. The personal courage of this or that leader of Austro-Marxism in the present civil war will never absolve the leadership of the responsibility for the policy which played the game of the reaction.

The socialist workers in this country who, disgusted with the record of the social democracy, now cling so hopelessly to the reports of Bauer on this barricade and Deutsch on that one, reveal a sentiment which is more comprehensible than commendable. But it is a sentiment which experience will not tolerate. We have no reason to believe that, as a group, the Austrian Loebes and Brauns and Weisses (and let us include the Hecks and Muenzenbergs!) will have proved to rise to a stature even one inch higher than their German predecessors. They are made not of sterner but of identical political stuff.

If the masses were called upon to act, it was only after they could no longer be restrained. The first half-perceptible correspondent to come along will and has attested this brutal fact. With the night-

mare of Hitlerism, referring to dis- fighting if necessary, rather than to live as gagged and driven serfs of Nazidom. They could not avoid the battle, they picked up the gage the minute the straitjacket forced upon them by their leaders was relaxed. The working class, they realized, cannot get a passport for a villa in Switzerland. Individual leaders can . . . and do . . .

And it is because the workers must remain and fight to the bitter end that the keenest weapons must be in their hands. In Germany, both the social democracy and the official Communist party proved their bankruptcy to the hilt. In the present events in Austria, the proof is given over again. The Socialist party crumbled away even before it came to the decisive test. The Socialist party proved to be a brake on the working class and not an accelerator. It is now in a state of utter collapse, and in falling this once powerful party merely drives the bulk of the 2nd International deeper into the mire.

Austria stands out as the second great sign-post in one year pointing to the imperative need of new revolutionary parties and a new Communist International!

vanguard of the Austrian proletariat will step forward resolutely on this road. So it is to these shining champions of the revolutionary proletarian cause, to the barricade fighters of the Austrian working class, that we extend the hand of warmest comradely solidarity. It is before them that we lower our own banner in respect and admiration. It is for them that we cry out to all sections of the working class movement in this country, with all the power at our command:

"Forge a united front, now, instantly, for work of solidarity and aid to the Austrian working class! Others have fought as good a battle, as devoted a fight as they are fighting, but none a better one. Others may have fought a more successful fight, but none a nobler one!"

And each hour that brings new reports of the inspiring bravery and tenacity of the workers, and the jackal's work of their foes, will only deepen the conviction already embedded in our minds that the proletarians of Austria are true sons of the sacred cause that the flash from their firearms lit a flame that will burn in perpetual purity alongside of the beaconlights of the Paris and Russian Communes.

—M. S.

Priests Bless Fascists

(Continued from page 1)

first called to the Chancellorship in May 1932, he went to his favorite church and spent the night in prayer. The next morning he announced his soul had been called to rule Austria. Each morning before going to his office he prays for half an hour and he calls his speeches directly inspired.

Even before Dollfuss' promise to the Church to make Austria's Fascism a Catholic Fascism, the Church had received sufficient concrete examples of the Catholicism of the new order. The army barracks and banners are a striking example. In accordance with a general order signed by another pious Catholic, Minister of Defense, Karl Vaugoin, a crucifix must be hung in every room of every military barracks, and a picture of the Virgin Mary must be embroidered, painted or printed on all regimental flags, all battalion and company guidons. It was under these Virgin Mary banners that the troops marched against the workers' homes.

The main reason why Catholic workers are astonished at the role of the Catholic Church in Austria is that the American Catholic press suppresses most of these facts, as they do also the facts about the real relations between Fascism and Catholicism in Germany and Italy. The American capitalists are not yet desperate enough to try Fascism, and Fascism is hated by most Americans; therefore, any minor difference between the Church and a Fascist government abroad is hailed in the American Catholic press as proof of the divergence between the two. Thus, a quarrel in Italy over allocation of certain funds last year was so interpreted; but the real relation of the Papacy to Mussolini is revealed by such facts as that, in the Concordat, the Church pledged that every Bishop in Italy would take the oath of allegiance to Mussolini's government—an oath which not only would not have been granted, but was never asked for by previous

Italian regimes.

So, too, the controversies between Nazis and Catholics over theological doctrine, such as Cardinal Faulhaber's criticisms of the Nazi conception of a Nordic Christ, is treated in the American Catholic press as a "break with the Nazis." One need but compare these doctrinal quarrels with what the Catholic hierarchy says about Fascism itself. At a meeting of thousands of Catholic youth of the Berlin bishopric, last August in Neukoelln stadium, Vicar General Steinmann, representing Bishop Schreiber, spoke of Hitler and Hitlerism in the following terms:

"Our Chancellor has been appointed by God. There must be no antagonism between the church and the State; the future Reich will embrace both. Catholic youth will help the Fatherland to rise again to greatness and glory." (New York Times, August 8, 1933).

The Fascism of the Catholic Church in Austria, Italy, Germany, Spain—all Europe—will not be advertised in the American Catholic press, so long as Fascist sentiments remain unripe here. Not that there are no revealing signs of the way which the American Catholic hierarchy will go. At the recent Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems held in Detroit, no less a person than Dr. George Herman Derry, president of Marygrove College, delivered the usual Fascist rant about the causes of the crisis being that "a few international Jews hold a strangle hold on the world supply of gold, thereby enabling them to determine the destinies of nations," etc. Dr. Derry's speech was not quoted in the Catholic reports of the Conference. In the present temper of America, the Catholic hierarchy finds it more expedient to push forward the Fatherly and the Fatherly Couplings. But the Dr. Derrys are the real core of the Church—throughout Europe today, and here, too, when the time comes.

—AQUINAS.

645 Subs!

The list is still rising. Since we closed our records for last week's issue 76 new subs came in, making the total 645. New York advanced toward its goal of 400. With 40 new subs last week, its total now stands at 356. Chicago made a small beginning with 4 subs. Other branches have not yet notified us of what they have done or intend to do. We think that with their active participation we can push the total up to one thousand new paid subs. Accordingly we set the goal of this drive at one thousand.

The record to date stands as follows:

New York Local	356
Minneapolis Branch	88
Kansas City Branch	48
Pittsburgh Branch	32
L. Brown	20
A. Teacher	12
Youngstown Branch	12
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papoun	8
M. Hurwitz	5
H. Sukut	4
S. Hardy	4
Chicago Branch	4
D. O. Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	4
M. McLeod	4
L. Goodman	4
St. Louis Branch	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4

TOTAL 645

Reactionary French Government in War Moves

(Continued from page 1)

mands an immediate solution of questions surrounding Germany's "right" to arm herself. The Right press in France applauds the new imperialist government for its aggressiveness.

While Hitler talks peace, he prepares for war. The Doumergue government seems determined to interfere with his plans before they mature. At this time such interference can probably be managed merely by military demonstrations within the borders of France and the sending of firm diplomatic notes. Should the Doumergue government find such tactics insufficient, it has a pretext for bolder moves ready-to-hand.

There is civil war in Austria. Writing on its banners a collection of idealistic phrases—preservation of the peace of Europe, preservation of Austrian independence, liberation of Austrian humanity—the French

army can intervene in the Austrian struggle. The transportation of troops from France to Austria must involve either the violation of Swiss "neutrality" or the crossing of German territory. In any case, French intervention in Austria would be not only a means of staving off a rise of revolutionary tides throughout Europe, but a demonstration to German Fascism that French imperialism is still a power to reckon with.

This does not necessarily mean that the Doumergue government is heading for war with Germany. Where there are between two rivals an irreconcilable difference, the stronger does not waste time threatening while the weaker develops his powers. Differences being irreconcilable, he strikes as soon as he can. When, however, there is, despite disagreements and difficulties, a possibility of reconciliation, threats serve a purpose. I will

HOTEL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

ated Food Workers that it let and organized the great struggle of this year. Nobody but a charlatan can condemn the union for the failure to win a complete victory in the first battle. In addition to the powerful forces of the employers they were other factors which worked against the success of the struggle and finally compelled the union to accept the compromise settlement.

Foremost among these factors operating against the strike is to be counted the disruptive splitting activities of the "Food Workers I. U.", the private trade union organization of the so-called Communist Party (Stalinists). The leaders of this clique set their own sectarian interests above the interests of the mass movement, spread slander, sowed confusion and disorganization, and did everything they could to undermine the unity and demoralize the fighting power of the workers.

The NRA, in the person of Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, acting chairman of the Regional Labor Board, acted from the start like a direct agent of the hotel bosses and overlooked no opportunity to attack and sabotage the strike. Even after the pressure of the strike itself had forced her to negotiate a settlement with the hotel owners she came out with a public attack on the strike as "unjustifiable, unwarranted and improper." The illusions which many of the workers had held in regard to the impartiality, or even the "friendship", of the NRA for the cause of labor lent effectiveness to the direct services which Mrs. Herrick rendered to the hotel bosses. The union leadership, which had as its first duty to put the workers on guard against this deception, failed miserably in this respect.

A further weakness of the strike was the conservative, bureaucratic policy and methods of the official leaders—Fields, Caldis, and Costas. By its clique methods, which separated this leadership from the living movement of the class-conscious, militant workers, by its cowardly and capitulatory attitude before the NRA and bourgeois public opinion, and by its factional maneuvers and intrigues against the most advanced militant elements in the union, the Field-Caldis leadership weakened the morale of the strikers, disorganized the ranks and paved the way for their acceptance of a settlement far less favorable than could have been gained with a better leadership. Their method of negotiating the settlement and their bureaucratic tactics in railroadings it through the membership meeting was in line with their whole course throughout the strike.

The big fight of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union is still ahead and the great task is to preserve the union and build it stronger and on a sounder basis. This requires an unrelenting struggle in the first place against the disruptive activities of the Food Workers Industrial Union elements who seek to complicate the difficulties and exploit them for sectarian purposes. These professional disorganizers of labor, whose path is sown with unjustified splits and tragic defeats for the workers, now seek to complicate the difficulties of the Amalgamated and exploit them for the benefit of the discredited "18th Street Union". A similar struggle must be carried on against every tendency of anarchistic demoralization.

The conservative bureaucratic clique of Field and Co. cannot be an ally in this struggle of the responsible class-conscious workers in the union. On the contrary the fight of the genuine militants must be directed against them with no less emphasis. Most important of all now is the firm organization of a genuine Left wing in the union based on the militant class-conscious workers, which will take up the fight to enforce the agreement in the shops, to build the union, steer it on the path of the class-struggle and provide it with leadership that will be worthy of these tasks.

smash you, says France to Germany, unless you come to terms and join me in attacking our common enemy.

This is the key to French international policy today. The firm tone toward Germany, the aggressive attitude in the Austrian question, are above all an ultimatum to Germany: stop provoking us, join with us, let us settle our differences at the expense of the Soviet Union. It is the rapid pressing of this policy of making Hitler into the super-Wrangell of Europe that is the chief significance of the coming to power of Doumergue.

Need of United Struggle. Meanwhile, within France there seems to be a temporary lull. The shift to the right in the Cabinet has for the moment taken the wind out of French Fascism's sails. The working class, having demonstrated its opposition to Fascism by a significant one-day general strike, is surveying the aftermath of the bloody riots. It awaits the government's next important move.

How successfully it will be able to answer that next move depends on developments within the working class. Not only Germany, but Austria, too, provides a lesson for the French workers. In Germany Fascism took power without serious resistance. In Austria the workers began their historic and courageous fight under the worst possible conditions.

The French workers will be in no better position to defend themselves unless their present disunity is rapidly overcome. The French Socialist leaders are hopelessly divided against themselves on all points except one: avoiding all serious preparations for the decisive conflict which must soon take place. What is left of the French Communist Party continues the sectarian line of the united front "from below." Thus the action of each section of the working class—both of whom had to protest against one and the same enemy—was a strictly private action. Unity was sacrificed to the private interests of each party. The true Communist has no interests apart from those of the working class. There can be no doubt that it is to the interest of the whole working class of France today to strike together at the reaction initiated by Doumergue.

C. I. Phrasemongering. Where in this situation is the Communist International? *Pravda* prints windy editorials of congratulations to the French and Austrian workers and speaks of the imminence of world revolution. It ignores the fact that both in France and Austria the current struggles were opened at the will and at the moment chosen by reactionary forces, that the workers are at the moment fighting a clearly defensive struggle. If instead of solemnly jubilant pronouncements, the C. I. would issue a simple statement in favor of a genuine united front it might contribute something to converting that defensive into an offensive fight.

The Communist League of France, like its brother sections throughout the world, has learned not to wait upon the C. I. for such directives. In Germany the call for a united front came from the C. I. after Hitler was firmly entrenched in power, after the realization of the purposes for which a united front should have existed had become a remote possibility. If the C. I. lives up to its past, we may expect

fighting, and who consequently shy away in cowardice and superstition from questions of military resources and methods.

The general strike is only the mobilization of revolutionary forces, but still not war. To utilize the general strike successfully as a demonstration or a threat, i. e., to confine oneself only to the mobilization of forces, without engaging in battle—that is possible only within strictly defined historical conditions; whenever matters touch an important but still a partial task; when the enemy wavers and waits only for a push in order to retreat; when the possessing classes are still left with a wide field for retreat and maneuver. None of this obtains at present, at the time when all the contradictions have reached their highest intensity and when every serious conflict puts on the agenda the question of power and the perspective of civil war.

The general strike could prove to be a sufficient means for repelling the counter-revolutionary overturn only in the event that the enemy is unprepared and lacks sufficient forces and experience (the Kapp putsch). But even in the latter case, after having repelled the adventurist onset, the general strike only restored fundamentally that situation which obtained on the eve of the conflict, and consequently gave the enemy the opportunity to utilize the experience of his own defeat and to prepare better for a new attack. But the general strike turns out to be completely insufficient even for defensive purposes in the event that the enemy is powerful and experienced, all the more so if he leans upon the state apparatus, or even has at his disposal its benevolent "neutrality." No matter what the basic reason for the

conflict may be, under the present conditions general strike will close the ranks of the bourgeois parties, the state apparatus and the Fascist bands, and in this united front of the bourgeoisie, the preponderance will fall inevitably into the hands of the most extreme and determined elements, i. e., the Fascists. When face to face with the general strike, the counter-revolution will be compelled to make all its forces on one card in order to break the ominous danger with a single blow. In so far as the general strike remains only a strike it inevitably dooms itself under these conditions to defeat. In order to snatch victory the strategy of the strike must grow into the strategy of the revolution, it must elevate itself to the level of resolute actions, replying with a double blow to every blow. In other words, under the present conditions the general strike cannot serve as a self-sufficient means for the defense of an impotent democracy, but only as one of the weapons in the combined struggle of two camps. The strike must be accompanied by and supplemented with the arming of the workers, the disarming of the Fascist bands, the removal of Bonapartists from power, and the seizure of the material apparatus of the state.

Once again we repeat, if the establishment of a Soviet regime cannot be realized without the seizure of power by the Communist party—and we admit that this is altogether excluded by the unfavorable correlation of forces in the immediate future—then the restoration of democracy, even temporarily, is already unthinkable in Austria without the previous seizure of power by the social democracy. If the leading workers' party is not prepared to bring the struggle to its conclusion then the general strike, by sharpening the situation, can only hasten the crushing of the proletariat.

The Austro-Philistine will catch up these words in order immediately to deduce reasons in favor of "moderation" and "caution." For, is it permissible for a party to take upon itself the grandiose "risk" involved in the revolutionary methods of struggle? As if the Austrian proletariat has the freedom of choice! As if millions of workers can depart for their villas in Switzerland like Otto Braun! As if a class can duck mortal danger without incurring any danger! As if the victims of Fascistized Europe, with its perspectives of new imperialist wars, will not surpass one-hundredfold the sacrifices of all revolutions, past and future!

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VOLUME VII NO. 9 [WHOLE NO. 213]

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PRICE 2 CENTS

Heading Straight For Another World War

Horrible Spectre of a New Imperialist Holocaust Menaces the Whole World

The recent march of events conjures up again and again, and in ever more menacing proportions, the horrible spectre of a new imperialist holocaust. At the present moment the war clouds appear most densely packed in Europe. Will the outbreak begin there? That no one can predict. It is certain, however, that the sanguinary massacre of the Austrian workers brings the war question much nearer to monstrous reality. But elsewhere along the artificially created national boundaries the sparks are flying in an atmosphere already excessively charged with rapacious imperialist ambitions. In the language of capitalist diplomats it is no longer a question of "whether" the war will come, but "when" and "where" it will begin.

The United Press reports a formidable concentration of Italian troops along the Austrian borders. Henri Berenguer, head of French Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, publicly proclaims the necessity of dispatching armed forces to Austria—to "safeguard her independence." This may be merely symptomatic of general situation. Much more ominous, however, is the spreading of fascist reaction at a breath-taking speed and the efforts to annihilate the working class movement and crush its spirit of resistance.

War is a continuation of politics by other means. Politics between imperialist powers knows no other language than that of the marauders' capture of spoils. Armies, fortified by the latest developments in mechanized warfare, deadly poison gases, and composed of millions of humanity, are marching up in array to engage in a new death battle for redivision of the earth amongst the ravenous exploiters.

The mask of disarmament has fallen. In place of it there is now an open race for armaments. The League of Nations, created in the language of capitalist diplomatic hypocrisy, as an instrument to preserve peace between the nations, has sunk into disrepute even amongst its own creators. As a decoy it is not needed right now. The disarmament conference, in the words of its last remaining "faithful friend", the sleek Arthur Henderson, is in pretty bad shape. All the capitalist powers, large and small, have armed to the teeth. But most powerfully loom the gigantic war preparations of the American imperialist colossus. Wherever the war clouds may begin to unleash their torments, wherever the powder magazine of capitalist conflicts may be ignited, one thing is certain—the United States will play a major role in it.

It is in anticipation of these furious armed conflicts that the United States prepares. Coldly and deliberately it pursues its course towards imperialist war. Its enormous capital resources must find new fields of exploitation, not only as a means of issuing out of the crisis, but also as a means of reducing the share of the competing powers in world economy. A favorable decision in this contest it will seek through the force of arms. Hence the feverish strengthening at this moment of what are called the forces of national defense. The United States today leads all the other powers in the open race for armaments.

The greatest navy in the country's history has been voted by the house of representatives in passing the Vinson Naval Replacement Bill, providing a program to cost \$475,000,000 to \$570,000,000. Coincidentally with this program approval was secured for building of 1,184 new naval aircraft. Announcements for the expansion of the Army Air Corps is awaited. "The sky's the limit," said Representative Hastings of Oklahoma in the House debate on the naval program. "This program may cost a billion dollars."

But that is only half the picture according to figures marshalled by Representative Bierman of Iowa. According to him, Congress and the P. W. A. are already appropriating \$1,039,000,000 this year for the

navy. Meanwhile the prices on securities having direct relation to war industries soar on the stock exchanges in anticipation of huge profits to be cleaned up out of the coming slaughter.

"If the war would be fought to finish without inner movements (i.e., revolutions—A. S.), a state of exhaustion would result such as Europe has not experienced for two hundred years. American industry would then win all along the line and would set us all before the alternative: either a relapse to pure agriculture for our own needs (American grain forbids any other kind), or—social revolution."

Thus wrote Engels in a letter to Sorge, Jan. 7, 1888, foreseeing the world war. The "inner movements" did occur. Revolutions broke out before the world war reached the point of complete exhaustion. But only one remained victorious, that of the Soviet Union. The others were defeated. The world proletariat has suffered new and terrific blows. Meanwhile American industry is already able to assert its superiority, both in peace and war. Therefore the prediction of Engels still holds good. For the future there still remain the two alternatives. Only this much should be added. The possibility of social revolution is, of course, not confined to one continent. —A. S.

NRA Attacks Hotel Strike

Need Militant Policy to Overcome Crisis in Ranks

The fourth week of the New York hotel strike witnessed the complete violation on the part of the hotels of the agreement to reinstate the strikers through the agency of their shop delegates.

The Regional Labor Board of the NLRB at the same time came out into the open as the chief strike-breaking agency. Mrs. Herriek, chairman, excused the hotels, denounced the union and urged the strikers to apply for work as "individuals."

The union officials, taken completely off guard by this turn of events, although it could have been predicted and explained by any worker with an elementary understanding of the class struggle, lost their heads entirely. Instead of concentrating their attention on the task of improving the strike organization, educating and steeling the strikers for a further struggle and providing means to feed them, Field, Kaldis and Costas, the official leaders of the union, explained the situation as "a breach of faith", and during the past week they have been running back and forth from the Labor Board to Mayor La Guardia and from La Guardia to the Labor Board in fruitless efforts to "straighten out" a tangle that has been purposely and deliberately created by the very people they are appealing to. The variation of this routine by a flying trip to Washington to see General Johnson only made the whole business more ridiculous.

A Critical Situation

A certain demoralization in the ranks of the strikers has resulted, and nothing else could result. The strike situation has become extremely critical. A drastic change of policy is imperatively necessary in order to re-form the ranks and prevent a catastrophe. The militant left wing elements in the union, who have made a sharp break with the leadership over these fundamental questions of policy, is pushing forward aggressively along this line. The fate of the strike now depends directly upon the results of their fight.

The strike is a class battle. If it is conducted on this basis great reservoirs of workers' energy and militancy can yet be brought into play for the salvation of the strike and the union. Power is with the workers, but it must be organized and relied upon. That is the task of leaders. Take a lesson from the

Collapse of Austro-Marxism In the Vienna Struggle

The epic bravery of the Austrian proletariat has proved to be no match for the murderous bombardment of the reaction. Battling to the end, the workers fired into which they were driven and finally cornered. The last rifle shot sounded the death knell of the once mighty Austrian Social Democracy.

Now that the smoke has lifted, the crimes of the leaders of the social democracy stand out in all their ghoulish enormity. Not all the efforts in the world can succeed in covering the facts by referring to the fighting done by Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch. By their whole past policy they drove inexorably toward the catastrophe and sacrificed the Austrian proletariat, just as surely as did their German counterparts a year before.

A Fatal Policy

The leaders of Austro-Marxism chained the proletariat to the anchor of the constitution which dragged it ever deeper into a swamp. They taught the workers faith in capitalist democracy as the basis upon which a new society could be erected without disturbances, peacefully. They pursued a course up to the last minute of supporting Dollfuss as the "lesser evil", despite the tragedy to which the German proletariat had been brought by the same policy. They allowed the proletariat to be disarmed, the Schutzbund to be dissolved, the Socialist press to be confiscated. They whimpered at Dollfuss' heels while the proletar-

iat's ranks were being demoralized and enfeebled.

They talked big. They threatened a general strike if any one of four actions were taken against the workers and their organizations. In this way they succeeded in checking the uneasy masses who wanted to fight the hyena of reaction before it became too powerful.

But while they talked about a general strike, they did not take a single step to prepare for it.

That is why we charge the leaders of the Austrian social democracy with treachery to the proletariat!

A dozen articles would not be half so effective in revealing the depths to which Austro-Marxism has sunk, as are the simple words of its leader, Otto Bauer. Let every militant, the socialist workers above all, engrave in his mind the revelations made to the press in Bratislava, whence Bauer fled after the crushing of the workers. We print them here, extracted from the interview he granted to Mr. G. E. R. Gedyre, correspondent in Czechoslovakia of the New York Times (February 18, 1934):

"Since that date—the date of the Hitler triumph in Germany—our party has made the very greatest efforts to come to an agreement with the government, because we knew what the end would be otherwise. Either the Nazis were bound to triumph in Austria or some such terrible bloodshed as has now happened was bound to come.

Banking on Dollfuss

In the first weeks of March our leaders were still in close personal contact with Dollfuss and frequently tried to get him to agree to a constitutional solution. At the end of March he promised our leader, Dr. Denneberg, personally that at the beginning of April he would open negotiations with us for the reform of the Constitution.

"This promise he never fulfilled, for at the beginning of April he passed over definitely to the Fascist camp (although he concealed it from other countries) and refused to speak to any of the Socialists.

"When he said he could not see the existing leaders we offered to send him other negotiators. He refused sharply. As we could not see him again we tried to negotiate through other people. Honestly, we left no stone unturned....

"We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made. We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill through Parliament we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern by decree without Parliament for two years, on two conditions only—that a small Parliamentary committee in which the government had a majority, should be able to criticize decrees and that a constitutional court, the only protection against breaches of the Constitution, should be restored... Dollfuss refused.

"In our parliamentary committee in October, we announced that a general strike would take place if any one of four things, but only these things, should occur. You know these conditions. They were

(Continued on page 4)

Coal Yard Workers Win Strike in Minneapolis

Militant Battle Brings a Speedy Victory To Drivers

Vandalism!

Early last week the Rivera Lenin mural was hacked out of the wall on which Rivera had painted it in Rockefeller's Radio City Hall. Thus was carried to its logical conclusion the vandalism begun last May when Rockefeller peremptorily ordered Rivera to discontinue working on the mural because he objected to an image of Lenin's face appearing in it.

Various artists have begun a protest movement, withdrawing their work from an exhibition planned for Radio City. The protest is being joined by persons of divergent interests although the political sympathies of some of the artists for the social content of Rivera's art are the main spring of their protest.

Shachtman Tour New Haven

MASS MEETING

"DO WE NEED A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA?"

AT

WORKMAN'S CIRCLE CENTER

72 Legion Avenue, New Haven

THURSDAY, MARCH 1st, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Auspices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

Minneapolis.—After a whirlwind strike battle which electrified the whole city and tied up every coal yard tight as a drum, the coal drivers won complete recognition of their union in two and a half days.

The Minneapolis Labor Review of February 16 says:

"The workers of the city were thrilled, both organized and unorganized, at the masterly manner in which the struggle was conducted. Picketing of the coal yards was carried on continuously during the strike and there has never been a better example of enthusiastic efficiency than displayed by the coal driver pickets."

"A week ago Minneapolis was not paying much attention to the coal drivers. Today organized and militant they are a mighty factor in the industrial world."

The same paper reports "a memorable meeting of the Central Labor Union, that heard Miles Dunne, member of the coal drivers' strike committee, declare that anyone who doubts that the American workers will fight for their rights is sadly misinformed. He said that all delegates should report to their unions that the coal drivers' strike had been a very successful one."

The Strike was conducted by General Drivers' Union No. 574. The committee representing the strikers before the Regional Labor Board, which negotiate the settlement, consisted of William Brown, Cliff Hall, Miles Dunne and Carl Skoglund. Roy Wier, organizer of the C. L. U. and attorney John Goldie assisted in the negotiations as members of the committee.

Shoe Union Forges Ahead

Amalgamation Rolls over Reactionary Opposition

The new amalgamated independent union of shoe workers, born at the convention held in Boston last December, has proceeded steadily forward toward a completed organization against serious obstacles, obstacles that were successful in blocking previous attempts at unity in years past.

The United Shoe and Leather Workers Union has been represented since January 15th by the Coordinating Committee called into existence by the convention. It is to function until the constitution is finally approved and adopted by all ideals, and officers are elected. All locals that were represented at the convention have approved the constitution, or have submitted minor amendments, except those noted below. Soon after the close of the convention, reactionary officialdom of the former two principal unions proceeded to do all in their power to block the move: Mahan & Co. of the old National Shoe Workers Union and Nolan & Co. of the old Shoe Workers Protective Union.

Mahan's Waterloo

Mahan met his Waterloo first and has been forced to capitulate. Nolan and his clique, however, are still active. The St. Louis locals of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, having some 2000 organized workers in that territory have with-

drawn from the new union, a result of the "good work" of Nolan who travelled there at union expense for that purpose. Of 13 locals in Haverhill, Mass. district, he has succeeded in withholding 2 from the new union.

A statement circulated by the Nolan officialdom suggests—"with an honest desire to cooperate in bringing together several unions on a basis of more complete harmony, that the constitution (of the new union) be rejected and that a demand be made that the Coordinating Committee be dissolved and... in order to obtain ultimately an amalgamation to which all may subscribe (!!!) we offer the following: that the constitution of the Shoe Workers Protective Union be accepted with amendments... the amalgamation to be confined to the National Shoe Workers' Association; Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen; Shoe Workers' Protective Union and the Salem Independent Union." This in the face of the most overwhelming vote in support of the principles of the new constitution that the shoe workers have ever known!

The Fight at Lowell.

In Lowell, Mass., the bosses of Dodge, Perry & Bliss recently announced a wage scale for cutters of \$18.00 per week. The cutters refused to accept the reduction. The bosses suggested that inasmuch as there was a fight for jurisdiction between two unions (one would be the egg shell fragment of the Nolan officialdom), their factory operate temporarily on open shop principles and when the fight was settled they promised to recognize whichever wins. Needless to say this was unanimously rejected and the bosses informed that they must deal with the one and only union existing there—the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. This the bosses refused. "All right," said the workers' spokesman, "let Nolan make your shoes!"

Doubtless Nolan considered this seriously for the next day newspapers publicized Nolan's announcement to all unemployed shoe workers who were members in good standing of the "Protective" Union that jobs were available in this shop and urged them to go and get them. But the workers' ranks held solidly, the shop remained closed. The next day the boss sent post haste for a representative of the

Minneapolis.—With united forces and fighting determination the Coal Yard Workers gave a decisive answer to the coal bosses who had ignored their demands, claiming that the Union did not represent the workers in the yards.

From Wednesday morning until Friday evening, Feb. 7th, 8th, and 9th, the Strike Committee had complete command of the machinery of coal distribution in the City. So effective was the tie-up, that coal orders for hospitals, Orphans homes, etc., could move only upon written permission of the Strike Committee, the union furnishing driver and picket guard who were paid Union wages by the delivering company.

The Coal Drivers and Yard Workers Local 574 of the Int. C. L. U., organized into General Drivers' displayed a well organized, mobile, fighting picket line that stormed over all opposition, closed 65 truck yards, 150 coal mines and swept the streets clear of scabs in the first three hours of the strike. What proved to be decisive factors in the struggle, long foreseen by those active workers who took the lead in the organization of the Coal Yard Drivers and Yardmen, was the careful preparation for action and the militant mass picket line.

The patient work of preparing, the patient day to day organizational campaign in the various yards and sections of the industry, the devotion of a number of militant workers to the idea of the Union—this must be given FIRST place in any consideration of this or any other strike.

Composed in the main of young men learning the lesson of fighting solidarity in their first labor struggle, the Coal Yard Workers have in the ranks many older men who brought to the Union and into the fight valuable experience, supplementing enthusiasm with calm judgment, and therefore striking ability. The older and the young workers found their places together in the powerful drive and sweep of the offensive.

The "Crusading Picket Squad"

Some of the best proposals and many of the most courageous acts came from those workers who until a few short weeks ago, knew little about strikes or union membership. One of the outstanding features of the strike was the Crusading Picket Squad. This idea came from the ranks and played a great role in the strike. The general strategy of the Strike Committee was to concentrate the pickets at the largest and most dangerous yards, leaving a more or less skeleton line at the other points, picket captains to make the necessary shifts as occasion demanded.

There were more than 80 yards to cover scattered over an area of ten miles square. To guard the St. Paul line, where more than one hundred greedy coal operators awaited an opportunity to force their workers to scab, was a task of no small proportions. (That few St. Paul drivers tried to run the blockade is a living example of the fine solidarity that exists). Here the Crusading Picket Squad found its work. From the moment of its inception, when it was taken up eagerly by the Strike Committee as well as the whole membership, in the early hours of the strike, no stray scab had any chance to get through. Car after car volunteered for this work. Manned with five to seven pickets they supplemented the main lines, making them virtually "coal" tight.

(Continued from Page 3)

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The Collapse Of «Austro-Marxism»

A Lecture By
MAX SHACHTMAN
IRVING PLAZA HALL
(GRAND BALLROOM)
15th Street and Irving Place

Wednesday, Feb. 28, at 8 p.m.

QUESTIONS ADMISSION 15c DISCUSSION

DEBATE
The Crisis in the
Communist International

What Is
The Way
Out?

JAMES P. CANNON
Says:
THE 3rd INTERNATIONAL
IS BANKRUPT—
FOR A 4th INTERNATIONAL

On MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1934
8 P. M.
at IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place
Chairman: SIDNEY HOOK
ADMISSION 35c

JAY LOVESTONE
For
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THE C.W.A. FRONT

10,000 Demonstrate in New York

Last Thursday, February 15, a demonstration of 10,000 workers of the C. W. A. and C. W. S. and the various groupings of the Roosevelt sham of planned recovery—took place in Union Square. On the line of march, for the first time, joining with ditch diggers, bricklayers and all the other categories of Civil Works laborers, were the previously immune "unemployables"—the white collar office workers. They added zest to the spirit in the air.

"The C. W. A. must go on!" "No layoffs!" Thousands of workers shouted these slogans, the streets ringing with protest against the infamy of the present scheme of mass firing. The police—in their usual Hessian fashion attempted to provoke or to cut short the protest by laying out what they thought would be a "proper" route for the marchers. At the offices of the CWA at 28th St., the lusty shouts of the thousands of workers rang out their denunciation of the CWA officialdom. At this point the police tried to stem the march, but failed. The workers marched past the CWA offices twice.

While there are a few CWA organized CWA workers are members that the Association of Civil Works Employees at 22 E. 22th St. has the best chance for growth. All the speakers, including of course the Stalinists from the Relief Workers League, howled for unity! If there is to be unity among the CWA workers, the elimination of superfluous organization must take place, and the fusing of these groups into the main stream. The majority of organized CWA workers are members of the Association of Civil Works Employees. There is where we should concentrate, and help build it into a mass organization for the fight to come.

drains, filling in or leveling land; the bricklayers laying bricks on the soggy ground, with the melting snow making the work absolutely worthless. Two months ago when an attempt was made to organize the CWA workers for better conditions (such as pay every week, union scale) and in general the right to organize, Mr. MacArthur, a supervisor (now up on charges of padding the payroll) intimidated the process. He said "you can't organize against the Government". "The NRA does not include the CWA."

When a demonstration was being organized to demand pay three weeks in arrears, Mr. MacArthur howled and stormed, threatening the immediate firing of anyone who left the job to demonstrate at the office. Nobody went! The prospect of being fired with no organization as yet strong enough to fight for the workers, dissipated the possibilities of militant protest; everybody just grumbled and cursed. When the wage cut came—the same thing.

There was no organization to lead us, except for a few workers who vented their personal feelings at this damnable "charity work" of the government. Mr. Dutch Schultz and his cohorts grafted pennies and dimes from the workers by the policy racket, and his honor the mayor did right by the working class by suspending it for a week. Mr. Schultz is operating again in collusion with the genteel Tammany boys who officiate as the Foreman with the honorable mayor's dispensation. These boys have organized it on better lines and no arrests take place.

On below-zero Friday, a Negro foreman caught cold and died the next day. A number of workers died, unable to buy decent warm clothes on \$13.44 a week, and to support a family. A worker sacrifices these essentials for paying rent, clothing his kids and buying food. Is there any money left—rising prices—and our pay cut instead of increased to meet the rise in commodities?

A number of contacts have been made, which should soon enough develop and must develop into the basis for an organization at Inwood

Park to organize for the battle for better conditions and the continuation of the C. W. A.

Marine Park

Marine Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Marine Park CWA workers succeeded in forcing from the local officials a chance to make up a half-day's pay they had been cheated out of.

When the workers received their pay-check (\$11.20), they discovered they had been docked a half-day's pay, although a promise had previously been given them that they would not be docked for going home early in sub-zero weather.

Spontaneous strikes took place in almost every section of the park, despite the fact that the gangs, which are widely separated, were not aware of their common action. More than 300 marched to the pay-shack to demand their full pay.

The major in charge rushed off hurriedly to park headquarters and returned with the information that we would be permitted to come in early and make up the time "lost".

The whole affair should make it very clear to CWA workers that organized mass action is the only means by which they can defeat the plans of the administration to squeeze down on CWA funds and eventually fire every worker from the job.

The officials in charge of the park are prepared to go to any lengths to find excuses for firing workers. They hesitate to make mass layoffs, because they know that this will enrage the workers sufficiently to make them fight back.

On Saturday morning, a windy, icy day, when it was torture only to hold a cold shovel in your hand, the prosperous-looking car of the "major" who is in charge of the project, drove up in front of a gang of section 3, and after a whispered conference with the foremen the men were told to line up for discharge slips. The reason given was that we had "refused to work". But this dirty deal was too raw to go over, and the "major" drove away with every man still working.

What is to prevent him from coming back to try this trick again, and this time successfully? Only the organized action of the workers themselves OF WHICH EVERY CAPITALIST POLITICIAN IS AFRAID. CWA workers must learn the lessons of unions in industry and ORGANIZE TO PROTECT THEIR JOBS.

Prospect Park

Following months of the degrading nonsense which was C. W. A. "work" in Prospect Park, the new park commissioner Moses with the assistance of "Federal Brains" had put the majority of the \$13.44 leisure class at "constructive" work. In this "constructive work", the dictum laid down by Harry Hopkins that no machinery be used is carried out to the letter.

Some are sent to Coney Island to screen the sand on the beach by hand. Truly here is an eternal job for all the unemployed. Others with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows (in mechanized industrialized America) are at work, pecking away at frozen earth and rock—making roads, flower beds, ditches, etc.

Hard miserable work in abominable weather, carried on by poorly clad, ill-fed men for \$13.44 a week. A steam shovel and a truck could efficiently and well do more work than the whole crew. But no machinery is allowed for this is Roosevelt's "made work". In other words it is capitalist punishment for the crime of being unemployed.

Wage Cuts

Along with the cut in wages put over on the unemployed by \$500 a week politicians who think fifteen dollars too much for a CWA worker and his family, went the threat of even cutting off the miserable remaining \$13.44. And that threat is being made good.

Hundreds of thousands of men have already been laid off. They are to be absorbed into industry, we are told. At the same time figures released by Secretary of Labor Perkins, show a decline of five hundred thousand in industrial employment during the month of January.

Starvation on the farms is increasing. Farmers forced off the land by Roosevelt's A. A. A. program are joining city unemployed on relief rolls. There is nothing in sight for the "released" CWA workers except starvation or the bread lines.

"By May 1st, all CWA work will be ended", says Roosevelt. And in the parks, the mudholes and snow piles where the CWA men work this statement is being discussed. There Park. In the next week or so, a

meeting will be called near the is plenty of militancy and readiness for struggle. The conscious minority must now without further delay push the task of strengthening and building the unemployed organizations. The demonstration of Feb. 15, must be considered only as the beginning of a campaign to turn the paper or skeleton organization of the Association of Civil Works Employees and the Workers Unemployment League into real mass organizations of the CWA and other unemployed.

Shachtman Tour

On March first, comrade Shachtman begins his national tour. This is the second national tour undertaken by the League this season, but it will be far bigger than any preceding it, extending from coast to coast and covering the most important industrial centers throughout the country. A period of two months and a half has been allotted for its completion with at least one public meeting at every stop-over.

It is the aim of this tour to bring the League message to the most burning questions confronting the American workers to much wider circles than heretofore. First and foremost amongst these questions stands the one of assembling the forces for a new revolutionary party. This will be comrade Shachtman's main topic. He will present the Marxist answer to the question: "Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America?" Where more than one meeting is scheduled he will also deal with such subjects as: "Is America Headed Towards War?"; "The Future of the New Deal"; and "The Soviet Union Under Stalinism."

Comrade Shachtman is well qualified to answer these questions on behalf of the League. Our viewpoint is well known to many militant workers. They will form the active kernel in building up the meetings and there should be little doubt that in every respect the tour will be successful.

The League itself is in a state of growth with a network of branches throughout the country. Several new ones have been added recently in the Western states. This makes such an extended tour possible. The tour can be a new high point in winning new adherents to our viewpoint and gain new members for the League. In addition, and this goes without saying, the very successful Militant subscription campaign, now well under way, should find its climax in new readers being added to the list in every city visited by comrade Shachtman. All Militant readers will thus be able to help materially in making this tour a new forward step for the League.

The following is the schedule for the national tour up to Chicago. The additional dates will be reported in subsequent issues:

Thursday, March 1st—New Haven Workman's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave.

Friday, March 2nd, Boston Mass. Otisfield Hall, Cor. Otisfield and Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 8:00 P. M.

Sat., March 3rd Boston, Mass. Sun., March 4th Boston, Mass. Labor Lyceum, Auspices: Young Circle League, 4:30 P. M.

Tues., March 6th—Rochester, N. Y. Wed., March 7th—Rochester, N. Y. Thurs., March 8th—Syracuse, N. Y. Fri., March 9th—Syracuse, N. Y. Sat., March 10th—Syracuse, N. Y. Sun., March 11th—Buffalo, N. Y. Mon., March 12th—Pittsburgh, Pa. Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh, Pa. Wed., March 14th—Newcastle Pa. Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown, O. Fri., March 16th—Youngstown, O. Sat., March 17th—Cleveland Ohio Sun., March 18th—Chicago, Ill. Mon., March 19th—Chicago, Ill. Tues., March 20th—Chicago, Ill. Wed., March 21st—Chicago, Ill. Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago, Ill.

Shachtman Tour Boston, Mass. MASS MEETING

"THE SOVIET UNION UNDER STALINISM"

at LABOR LYCEUM Boston, Mass.

Sunday, March 4th—4:30 P. M. Auspices: Young Circle League

Shachtman Tour Boston, Mass. MASS MEETING

"DO WE NEED A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA"

at OTISFIELD HALL Cor. Otisfield and Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass.

FRIDAY, MARCH 2nd—8:00 P. M. ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Auspices: Boston Branch C. L. A.

Revolt in the Blockers Union

Reactionary Clique Struggle Threatens Split

The workers in the Blockers Local 42 of the Cap and Millinery International Union are up in arms against Zaritzky's arbitrary and autocratic leadership. The revolt reached its height Monday, Feb. 12, at a packed meeting in Bryant Hall when President Zaritzky was not permitted to proceed with his appointment of officers for the local.

Results of Clique Struggle

The present ferment of the blockers is the culmination of a protracted struggle that has been going on between the racketeering clique of Goldin, who headed the local till 1932, and the autocratic Zaritzky bureaucracy heading the International. In 1932, Zaritzky reorganized Local 42, and imposed upon it an appointed leadership of his own henchmen. Goldin, with a number of blockers following him, organized his own local as part of the United Hatters Union. This resulted in bloody warfare in the shops, with both cliques competing for the recognition of the bosses by giving up one after another the conditions the blockers had won through years of struggle.

Now, that the Zaritzky leadership of the Millinery International has come to terms the Michael Green outfit heading the United Hatters, Goldin was left out in the cold. One of the terms of this agreement was the merger of the two blockers locals. At the meeting on Feb. 12, Zaritzky came to announce his appointments for the merged blockers local. The workers reacted in no uncertain terms against Zaritzky's abuse of their fundamental democratic rights, to elect their own officials. Goldin is now taking full advantage of the sentiment among the workers.

Among those who joined up with Goldin in the hypocritical cry for workers' democracy in the union, are Brickman and Sint who have been partners in crime with Zaritzky in 1932 during the reorganization of Local 42. These individuals, themselves are guilty of violating the workers' rights, by accepting Zaritzky's appointments when the organization took place.

Fishing in Troubled Waters

The "united front" Stalinists too are trying to fish in the troubled waters. Working in the interest of the discredited "Industrial Union" they exploit every occasion to weaken and split the International. This "United Front" group has become part and parcel of the Goldin clique of racketeers. These masters of split and disruption are trailing behind Goldin, supplying him with the "left" phrases. The "leaders" of this so-called United Front, Gustav Wollman & I. Wollman have themselves had a taste of the kind of union Goldin can give them. Goldin is the very one who expelled militant workers from the local during his rule, keeping them out of meetings with the aid of police and gangsters. We have not forgotten the kind of "democratic" elections Goldin gave us. We have not forgotten the gangster rule of terror with which Goldin maintained himself in office.

Another small figure in this shady combination is one Max Rose. This irresponsible person, who played around with the Left wing and even

made a big noise about his radicalism, has shown his colors in this crisis and has become a supporter of the splitting combination.

This colorful combination of the black Goldin clique, the "red" United Front and the section of Zaritzky's former henchmen, are trying now under the battle cry of workers' democracy to mislead the blockers to go through with an election of officers over the head of the International, this Monday, Feb. 20.

Where Will Revolt Lead?

The revolt of the blockers against Zaritzky's abuse of the fundamental rights of the membership has reached a point now when the next immediate step will decide whether it is to become the lever that will shake his autocratic rule in the International, or it will become a purely local movement of defiance and eventually get into the blind alley of split, disintegration, and subsequent destruction at the hands of Zaritzky's superior forces: the control of the International machine. The latter must be the outcome if the blockers follow the misleadership of Goldin, Wollman, Brickman, Sint, and Co.

Zaritzky has appointed the administration of the local. Goldin and his allies are proceeding with their own elections. The day after these proposed elections, the blockers will find themselves with two sets of officers. This will mean another protracted guerrilla fight and a contest in each shop, with all the advantages on Zaritzky's side: control of the other crafts, the agreement with the bosses, and an army from unemployed blockers from which to draw recruits, not to speak of the treasury at his disposal, and the backing he will undoubtedly get from the other needle trades International unions. The hopeless fight of Local 43 and its consequences are still fresh in our memory.

The Right Road

There is only one remaining road for the blockers to follow. It is necessary to utilize the entire pressure of this revolt to force Zaritzky's to call for an early election. The protest movement must be intensified and spread into the other locals of the International to pick up our battle cry for a democratically run union. There is sufficient discontent among the milliners of all crafts with Zaritzky's autocratic rule that can be ignited into a powerful movement, to do away with the abuses of Zaritzky and his henchmen. Goldin, Wollman, and Co., are merely playing into the hands of Zaritzky, by dragging the blockers into the trap of a dual blockers local, court proceedings, competition for the good graces of the bosses, and the further lowering of the miserable standards that prevail in the trade.

Maintain United Local

We warn the blockers to maintain a united local under any and all conditions, not to be misled by Goldin and his henchmen, who are out merely for their personal gains; not to be misled by the irresponsible adventurism of the so-called "united front".

In this revolt of the blockers there was only one voice that spoke clearly for a militant fight along

Money vs Men

Capital and Labor in the Hotel Strike

Like a good many other industries, the hotel industry expanded and overexpanded during the boom period of the 1920s. The effects of this investment orgy were obvious even as early as 1928, at the very height of the prosperity flush. In the eight year period from 1920 to 1928 the number of available rooms had increased 50 percent (from 1,070,000 to 1,521,000) whereas the rooms actually occupied increased less than 13 percent (from 914,850 to 1,028,916), and the number of guests by about the same percentage. In other words, the percentage of occupancy had declined to 67.6%, though it is understood in the trade that 70 percent occupancy is necessary for profitable operation. During the same period, failures increased yearly from 59 in 1921 to 112 in 1928.

Wages in 1929 were as low as \$844 annually for dining room, lunch room and kitchen employees in the whole country and \$988 for New York workers. The average annual wage of other workers was \$904 and \$1,081 respectively. (These figures taken from the U. S. Census Bureau statistics of 1929 refer only to hotels of 25 rooms or more, operated all year around.)

Since the above figures were gathered wages have fallen twenty-five percent and more. Nor has the NRA helped any. Quite the contrary. Wages of waiters and waitresses which were \$20 before had fallen to \$15 in August 1933. And these are official government figures. A group of skilled workers—cooks—who were making an average of \$40.88 a week when they took their jobs, were making \$30.04 in October 1933. At the same time, hours and the amount of work to be done have increased.

Along with excessive investment what characterized and characterizes the hotels is the high degree of concentration of capital. There are 26,800 hotels in the country of which about half are small businesses (less than twenty-five rooms), many of them operated only seasonally. In the remaining half, the estimated investment is \$250,000 per hotel, 22 workers in each of the whole country and 33 in each for New York.

To further justify their wage cutting, the bosses and bankers have resorted to manipulating their accounts so that their books show smaller profits. Costs of depreciation of buildings, etc., have been falsely raised to an absurd degree; financing costs have been heavily padded. All this in order to show excuses for wage cuts against workers who in many cases have spent eighteen years learning their trade—cheats for example.

But while the bosses have no money for wages, they have plenty of money to fight workers' organization for better conditions (the "war chest" has been estimated at some \$800,000). They have the bankers who control them behind them. It is against them, against miserable conditions that thousands of workers, following the example of the Waldorf-Astoria men, are now striking under the leadership of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union.

these lines, for a fight against Zaritzky's abuses and Goldin's misleadership. That was the voice of the United Blockers League. This group of militant workers, through its leaders, and at the mass meetings, gave the proper warning and pointed out the correct road for the blockers. We are confident that the blockers will realize that this is the only road for them to follow.

—BLOCKER.

Another United Front Burlesque

Chicago—A "united front" conference held here in the Abraham Lincoln Center on February 10 and 11 resulted in the organization of a Chicago branch of the American League Against War and Fascism. The whole thing evidenced the fact that the Party has as little conception of what constitutes a united front as it had during the height of the "third period".

The call was issued by a group of individual liberals, pacifists and Communists in their own name and stated that they were not representing any organization. The opening session of the conference which took place Saturday night was held with the signers of the call firmly in the saddle as arrangements committee. They had decided in advance the number on the credentials and resolutions committees and who should compose such committees.

Thomas McKenna, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union and undercover Stalinist, called the meeting to order. He called on John Werlik, "representative of the American Federation of Labor" but in reality representing a small metal polishers' local to act as chairman. Then he elected himself secretary of the Conference.

The chairman first called on McKenna to read a communication from Prof. Robert Morse Lovett who could not be present. The Professor's letter was full of "sexual urges" and "cosmic urges" as causes of war. Then he called on Mrs. Felsenthal, representing the Jewish bourgeois Women's Federation, to read a letter from Mrs. Lola

Maverick Lloyd of the Women Peace League who also could not be present. Her letter called on the conference to "organize the beautiful sentiments and mobilize the human instincts against war."

Both letters were roundly applauded by the 75 Stalinist audience and practically set the keynote to the entire proceedings. There followed Rev. W. B. Waltire who recounted the horrors of War and B. K. Gebert, Communist Party District Organizer who spoke in the same vein offering no clarification on either war nor Fascism.

Joseph Knight, delegate representing Local 34 of Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, introduced a minority report of the Resolution Committee. His two resolutions, in contradistinction to the majority (Stalinist) resolution, summed up Marxian analysis and program of action on the questions of war and fascism. The first resolution established a correct relation between these two which the Stalinist resolution lumped together in a most confused manner. In addition to Local 34 the minority resolutions were supported by Local 21 of the same organization, the Communist League, the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonites) and the Militant Workers Club of the South Side.

The Communist League was represented by comrades Goldman, Satir and Giganti. Of these only Goldman was able to get the floor to speak. When his allotted five minutes were up and the chairman requested him to stop voices throughout the hall urged that time be extended. A motion to extend his time, made by R. Sacharow,

representing Workers Committee, Local 21, and seconded by an I. L. D. delegate, was voted down.

The credential committee reported delegates from 151 organizations: I. W. O.; I. L. D.; W. I. R.; Communist Party; Fraternal and Cultural societies, Ladies Peace Society's; etc. The only people present not under direct party control were ourselves, the Lovestonites, the Workers Committee Locals, Junion Wobblies and several other groups. Nevertheless, the reporter for the credentials committee stated without stammering that the conference represented 60,000 organized individuals. This does not prevent the Daily Worker, however, from reporting present 175 delegates with 70,000 being represented. This enormous paper strength does not fool anybody.

The antics of the Stalinists made good subject for humor, in many instances. For example, Beatrice Shields, the party's theoretical heavy weight in the District, unwittingly told the delegates that the Program of the American League Against War and Fascism, which was placed under fire by the Left Opposition as well as by Hackman of the Lovestonites, had been formulated by the party as a minimum program and that their maximum program went much farther. It must have occurred to many that no matter how "minimum" this program was, it still IS THE PARTY'S PROGRAM. It was arrived at by agreement with no one but themselves. It is designed to attract the Ladies Peace Society but not the workers.

—J. S. G.

Things the Minneapolis Coal-yard Workers Won't Forget

Those pickets who dumped two seven-ton loads in front of North Western Yard No. 1 on the first morning of the Strike: The action that warned the rest of the Companies what to expect.

That 3 hour running fight up West Broadway to keep a load of coal from being delivered to ex-Sheriff Brown's greenhouse.

That fighting young worker who seized a cop by the throat and made him apologize (before the crowd) for calling him a vile name.

That in this Strike, mass picketing became a reality—not an empty slogan.

The sight of a hall full of sleepy men jumping to their feet, shaking the sleep from their eyes, responding eagerly to the never ending demands—ten pickets here! twenty pickets there!

The steady line of workers flocking up to join the Union—then leaving to swell the picket lines.

The fact that few—very few, farmers tried to scab by selling wood for easy cash although wood is plentiful—and the farmers needed the money.

The cheer that went up from the coal workers when they learned that the Ice Wagon Drivers, in spite of their officials, had decided to go out in sympathy.

The militant young pickets who in the face of pistol fire and five squad cars full of cops—dumped that load of coal.

That the second and the third night of the Strike—found the fuel oil drivers responding to the pickets' demands for "no fuel deliveries". Many drivers refused to work.

The fact: That the entire police force backed the bosses, but that all the coal that filtered through the picket lines, could have been delivered by ONE Union DRIVER in two hours.

That the Strike was so effective after the first day—it required a Doctor's prescription to get coal through the lines—in case of sickness.

That the Union agreement to let Welfare Coal go, the first day—was violated by any number of greedy coal owners—it was banned after that because of this double-crossing.

That the bosses had to swallow their insolent sander that "the men can't organize", "they won't stick"—they saw UNION organization—they saw them STICK—More than that, they saw them FIGHT.

—V. R. D.

Oneal Discovers «Trotskyism»

Socialist Locals Come Out For The Fourth International

A sacred flame flickers in the weekly column of the socialist organ, *The New Leader*. It is kept alive by the oracular commentaries of the editor, Mr. James Oneal. Every week, Cassandra croaks a warning to one or another group in the flock which threatens to stray from the barren pastures fenced in by the high priests of the Socialist party. One would think that a shepherd who has had such unrelieved bad luck in the past fifteen years would shut up shop and go into a business more suited to his talents. But not Mr. Oneal.

Local Denver for 4th International In the *New Leader* of February 10, 1934, the smallest available type in the most obscure corner announces the not unimportant fact that

"Local Denver has endorsed the Springfield (Ill.) resolution to withdraw from the International and join the Fourth (Trotsky) International."

Elsewhere we learn that, at least in New York, branches of the Socialist party are listening to speeches on "Trotsky and the Fourth International". At all events, the highly encouraging news that two branches as far apart as Springfield and Denver have adopted resolutions in favor of the new revolutionary International, would indicate that there is a distinct—if as yet a weak—current in the ranks of the Socialist party for a clean break with the Second International and association with the Fourth.

Into the breach rushes Mr. Oneal. In his column of February 17, he writes:

"A resolution has been adopted by a few (A few!...) Socialist locals which declares that the Labor and Socialist International, 'commonly known as the Second International, has an unbroken record of servitude to the working class of the world, beginning with its support of the nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of the bourgeoisie before and during the war of 1914-1918, followed by its attempt (altogether too successful) to restore order and harmony to the disrupted capitalist economy in the defeated nations, and this at the expense of the proletariat.'"

"Then the strategy and tactics of evolutionary socialism and reformism have proved its inability to withstand the advance of Fascism which destroyed all the reforms and advantages that labor unions and political action have gained in decades. Therefore, it is urged that the party withdraw from the L. S. I. and join the Fourth International."

—And what would this mean? Mr. Oneal is not easily deceived. "Party members should understand that the Fourth International is a project of the Trotsky Communists and that it means that the Socialist Party should affiliate with a new Communist International. The resolution conceals this important fact."

Oneal Distorts Facts But who is Mr. Oneal to cast a stone? He not only conceals facts of no lesser importance, but also he distorts several more. The merits of Communism versus Social

Democracy are today far less a matter of only theoretical dispute than they were over a decade ago when Oneal engaged in debate in the New Star Casino in New York and proclaimed that he would never join an International which harbored Noske and Scheidemann. There is today a far vaster store of factual material by which to judge than existed a decade ago—and there was more than enough even then.

As an historian or early colonial life, Mr. Oneal has delved as meticulously into facts as his un-Marxian mind would permit. Whenever he has occasion to touch upon the history of Communism and proletarian revolution, however, he becomes a disseminator of myths. To the erring "Trotskyists" in his party, therefore, he lectures as follows:

"That situations have been misjudged at times by the movements abroad may be granted, but that Communist ideology and methods have been wise and have served the working class is not true, as Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany show.... The Bolsheviks judged wrongly and paid the penalty in Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany. The Labor Party in England miscalculated its duty in union and paid the penalty. The Socialists in Germany and Italy had not only their own choice to make but that choice was also limited by what the Communists decided to do."

Social Democratic Legends

If by "Communist ideology and methods" are meant the ideology and methods of Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International which they founded, we don't know what Oneal is talking about. If he is referring to the legend created as a cover for socialist treachery, it should not take more than a few sentences to explode it.

1. The revolution in Bavaria was not led by the Bolsheviks at all, but by the Independent Socialists under Kurt Eisner, later murdered by Count Arco-Valley. Into the Eisner cabinet entered, upon the urging of agents of the Berlin Chancellery, the notorious social democrat Auer, who later sent a bouquet of flowers to Count Arco. Auer did not "miscalculate"; the Bavarian revolution was drowned in its own blood—but not because of the Bolsheviks.

2. It was not the Communists but the social democratic head of the Italian trade unions, D'Aragnona, who quit the meeting of the National Council (where for five days and nights the Right wing had been trying to find some way of calling off the two-weeks' old occupation of the factories) in order to proceed secretly to Turin to meet with Prime Minister Giolitti. It was these two who stabbed the Italian movement in the back at the moment of its highest ascent, on the basis of Giolitti's promise that a Factory Council Law would be proposed to parliament and carried—which it never was. Two weeks after the factories were cleared, the big Fascist offensive was launched which ended with the

march on Rome. Nor was it as a result of "Communist ideology and methods" that D'Aragnona boasted that he had remained within the Socialist party in order to prevent the revolution; or that Turati ran to the King in the hope of staying off Fascism by a coalition; or that Baldest was ready to enter the first Mussolini cabinet. Despite all errors they may have committed in the early period of their party existence, the Italian Communists do not bear the responsibility for the crimes of Italian reformism.

The Case of Hungary

3. Hungary is just as poor a case for Oneal, because it was never an example of Communist methods. This is sufficiently indicated by the mere fact that the Hungarian Soviet republic represented a division of power between the Communists (if that is what the group around Bela Kun can be called) and the Socialists. The dictatorship was proclaimed after the conclusion (in half a minute!) of an agreement between the socialist leadership and Kun's group. In the council of five which actually directed the affairs of the Soviet republic, the socialists had the majority! The telegraphic inquiry of Lenin, who was deeply concerned about this union with the perfidious social democrats, was answered by Kun with a deceptive assurance that the Communist position in the government was adequately guaranteed. As to the role played by the Austrian and Czech social democrats when the counter-revolution crushed the Soviets—perhaps Oneal would like to spend a couple of paragraphs on the subject....

4. As for Germany, one must be possessed of a monstrous insolence to compare, let us say, the miscalculations of a Liebknecht with the "miscalculations" of an Ebert or a Noske, or fourteen years later, a Weis and a Stämper. We will not affront our readers by elaborating on this theme!

Stalinism Is Not Communism

Mr. Oneal is disturbed, and properly so. He is not dealing here with Stalinists, you see. He cannot foist upon the "Trotskyists" the onus of any of the ideologies and crimes of the bureaucracy which disgraces the good name of Communism. He is unable to resort to the trick of dangling before the discontented Socialist militants the misshapen form of Stalinism and labelling it Communism, in order to lighten back his ranks from the path which leads to a revolutionary position. He must therefore fumble around in his memory for the tattered legends about the "failure" of "Communist methods"—even under Lenin and Trotsky.

We do not think that those militants in the Socialist party who stand in the revolutionary vanguard by the very fact that they have properly put the emphasis on the key problem of the day—the International—will worry greatly over Oneal's oracular admonitions. They are obviously past that stage. And the ranks will swell of those who see that there is an uncommon amount of yellow in Oneal's guttering sacred flame.—S.

MPLS. LABOR NOTES

Minneapolis. — Immediately following the lay-off of four thousand CWA workers the Public Welfare Department was besieged with angry crowds of unemployed demanding food and fuel. A near-riot followed the arrest of one demonstrator at the Court House, when the extreme temperature of 20 below zero had driven some 20 men to the relief lines for 'emergency orders'. This spontaneous demonstration forced the issuance of hundreds of coal-orders along with some food-orders 'without investigation'.

The cause of this flocking back to the relief lines of thousands of CWA workers lies in the fact that the wages they were receiving were inadequate for men with large families.

During the last month several different organizations of unemployed started among the CWA workers around every kind of issue. The Unemployed Council of the official Communist Party was given a new lease on life—under a different name however. There were Blue Eagle Clubs, Citizen's Worker Ass'n, etc. New branches of the Minneapolis Central Council for the Unemployed were formed, along with two CWA job councils.

This latter movement is a genuine united front of workers' organizations affiliated to a Central Council, which in turn organizes the unemployed, co-ordinates the efforts of all separate workers' organizations on a common minimum program of struggle against unemployment. The Central Council is made up of delegates from numerous local unions, from the co-operatives, and from three labor political groups, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist League.

This movement by its program and policy is in a position to unite the organized and employed workers with the unemployed and bring the greatest pressure and striking force to bear upon the bosses and their administrators in the City Government. It has projected a conference of all CWA workers groups, not yet affiliated, to work out a program of common struggle on the CWA front. At the last meeting the M. C. C. U. changed its name to the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers now the M. C. C. W.

A hard fought struggle of the upholsterers in Minneapolis for 'Union Recognition' has been interrupted for the time being by an NKA Labor Board 'Decision'. To say it is pro-boss would be mild, compared with what the striking upholsterers called it. The decision was that the strikers go back to work with the scabs that the labor board could not order a 'closed shop' or an 'open shop', neither could it 'order' that piece-work be abolished when it existed in other 'centres of the industry', and provided for the 'code' wages, and election of shop representatives for collective bargaining. On the Board were six 'Labor Leaders', six employers, and a liberal 'pro-labor' lawyer as impartial chairman. This decision smashed more illusions about the NKA and the 'New Deal' among the trade unionists of this region than any other single act of the administration so far. It solved none of the fundamental problems involved in this strike and lock-out situation.

The workers are going back to work to vote for their representatives and 'their demands', although under a handicap which may break the fine solidarity they maintained throughout the long weeks of struggle right up to the Labor Board decision. The betrayal of the A. F. of L. Labor Leaders, the Halls and Lawsons, sitting on the Board, consisted in this: they pawed off 'their rights' as labor leaders to organize workers into a union and get recognition for themselves before a Labor Board as representatives of the workers in that industry, 'their only right' under section 7a. The provincial petty-bourgeois prejudice, to keep this industry in this territory, by not putting too heavy demands upon it from 'labor', so that it can compete with other sections. This is truth, was their position. The effect is this, slower movement into the unions, more suspicious of 'Labor Leaders' are the workers, and a more serious and deeper attitude towards the whole problem of union organization on the part of the rank-and-file in the unions.

The outcome to date has demon-

Stalinism on Austria

Comments Refute Course in Germany

"But the Austrian workers had drawn a lesson from the German events, a lesson that every worker must learn. They chose to die fighting on the barricades rather than to be tortured in the Fascist camps."

Who penned this unquestionably correct lesson from the German events? None other than those who shout from the roof-tops that the German workers should not have fought, that the Communist party did not have a majority of the workers behind it, that armed resistance to the Fascist mob would have been a putsch! None other than the Stalinist editorial writer of the *Daily Worker* (Feb. 14, 1934) who only yesterday fulminated against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" who have the audacity to say that the Communist Party of Germany, which had a parliamentary strength of six millions, should have fought a defensive struggle against Hitlerism!

What happens to this bookish strategy of revolution (or rather retreat) of the Stalinists, Heckert and Piatnitsky? These "generals" have clearly (?) explained that without a majority of the workers behind the revolutionary party, armed struggle against Fascism was impossible, futile and counter-revolutionary!

After the German defeat, the American Stalinists were quiet for a few days—Pravda had not yet given them the line! Today they write voluminously—following the Pravda editorials! "The Social Democratic workers of Austria, abandoned by their leaders, are carrying on their struggles with supreme courage and devotion," writes Pravda (Feb. 14). If it appears that the leaders called the general strike, that some of them are on the barricades, all this must be "overlooked". They do not like the facts, because they do not fit their theories. So they invent others. "The Social Democratic Leaders Are Already Coming to Terms with the Dollfuss Government!" runs the subhead of the *Daily Worker* report of the Pravda editorial (Feb. 14, 1934—Special Edition). Without any proofs being offered!

"The devoted fighters for their class, the Austrian Communists, are in the front ranks of the present struggle. The small Austrian Communist Party has given thousands of fearless fighters to this struggle, fighters who are leading tens of thousands of workers in heroic struggle," writes Pravda. That Communist workers are active in the fighting is undoubtedly true; but that the non-existent Communist Party of Austria, wiped out without leaving a trace by the Dollfuss government months ago, is leading the struggle is a lie made out of whole cloth.

What happens to the theory of "social-Fascism"? Like all the spurious theories of Stalinism it goes up the chimney with all their other rubbish. The fact that Social Democracy and Fascism are irreconcilable is once again proved by

life itself. This does not disturb the equanimity of the Stalinists: so much the worse for the facts—they still persist in their theory!

The fact that the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy by their whole course since the World War have paved the way for reaction and Fascism is indisputable. Their support of Dollfuss' emergency decree was a result of their programmatic bourgeois democratic viewpoint: Dollfuss was the 'lesser evil' (as compared to the Nazis). This permitted Dollfuss and the Nazis to consolidate their forces. Their threat of a general strike "if and when" legality was violated by Dollfuss was a logical outcome of their "constitutional" program. Instead of putting it on this basis, the bureaucratic Stalinists turn the entire question on its head. Their whole emphasis is placed under the purely secondary consideration of the personal cowardice of the individual leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy.

By such methods the Stalinists are alienating the Socialist workers. Instead of clear-cut explanation of the facts—distortions, fabrications, stupid boasts as to the activities of the non-existent Austrian Communist Party. And yet they shout with added emphasis for a "united front with the Socialist workers."

What hypocritical gestures! The *Daily Worker* of Feb. 14th carries an appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. for a demonstration that day (Wednesday) before the Austrian consulate at 4 P. M. It appeals to all workers, particularly Socialist workers. The conscientious Stalinist worker is attracted by the apparently militant tone of the call. The Socialist worker reading the appeal grits his teeth at these professional splitters. For the Socialist Party, and several of its sympathetic organizations, had already made public its call for a demonstration for the same day at the same place at 5 P. M.! Not a word of this is mentioned in the Stalinist appeal! No attempt is made to appeal to the New York City Central Committee of the Socialist party for a united front demonstration!

At the demonstration itself the Stalinists behaved in a shameful manner. The misled Stalinist workers shouted "Socialists and Communists unite and fight!" but time after time their leaders disrupted the orderly procession of the demonstrators. Fist fights between Socialists and Stalinists were barely avoided. After some time, through the intervention of a member of the Communist League, the heads of the Socialist and Stalinist steering committees met and agreed to the demand of the Stalinists that their banner be at the head of the parade with the Socialist banners. But even this was not sufficient for the Stalinists.

Various of their leaders, including Norman Tallentire, ran up and down the line of march calling on the Stalinist workers to break their lines and get near the beginning of the parade! Here again fist fights were barely avoided.

The Stalinists repel the Socialist workers by such tactics at a time when it is a dire case need that a united front of all workers' organizations be formed which will rally behind the heroic Austrian working class. Time presses.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

Here and There with the United Front

In the era of the "third period" the united front policy of the Stalinized Comintern was the united front from below. Reduced to its concrete meaning this policy was a call to the workers in the Socialist parties and the reformist and Right wing unions to leave their organizations, leave their leadership, and enter into joint action with the Stalinists under the leadership of the latter on a program determined in advance by them. The theoretical sugar-coating with which the Stalinists dressed up their conceptions did not for one minute alter their ultimatum and disruptive nature.

On March 6, 1933 when the situation was already lost in Germany and Fascism was decimating the organized working class the Comintern issued a call to the Second International for a united front of organizations, repudiating on its face the united front from below. Forthwith the journalistic hacks of the Stalinist apparatus set out to prove that the line of the C. I. manifesto was the only correct line, that this was always the line, that any other was counter-revolutionary.

On May 1 the C. I. issued another manifesto reverting back to the united front from below. The same writers wriggled like worms. The united front from organization to organization had unmistakably demonstrated its superiority in the question of the Chicago relief demonstration, the New York May Day parade, the Mooney movement and the united front with the Socialist locals on the West coast. The people who had seen its fruits struggled against abandoning this policy. No doubt heavy pressure

from Moscow was instrumental in forcing the recalcitrants to accept the inflexible line.

The theses of the Thirteenth Plenum affirmed again the united front from below: "The 13th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the C. I. persistently to fight for the realization of a united militant front with the social-democratic workers in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy." And the sub-head under which this Democracy and For a United Front appears is: "C. Against Socialism from Below."

That is the policy now. But within this same FORM a change has taken place. Two outstanding events demonstrate this clearly. In the New York Hotel Strike after many appeals for unity of the Stalinist paper union with the A. F. W. the Stalinists put their new united front from below policy to work. They called upon all the strikers to strike under the leadership of the A. F. W. And under this slogan they invaded the A. F.

W. The line they pursued there was no less disruptive than it was formerly when they were outside.

In the Madison Square Garden protest the Stalinists, who were not invited, came down in the name of unity to make a united front from below. Under the direct incitement of the Party leaders they conducted themselves as Fascists do at workers' meetings.

Their united front is a maneuver to transfer their disruption from the outside to the inside. In this way they want to cover up their weakness and bankruptcy.

Essentially the policy is the same: disruption of all organizations and movements not controlled by the C. P. in the name of and under the slogan of unity.

The appeal of the *Daily Worker* of February 18 to the Socialist Party for a united front is an attempt to cover up the Stalinists' entirely unjustifiable conduct at the Madison Square Garden protest. It means nothing. And it does not signify a change in the united front policy of the Communist Party.

The recent united front maneuvers of the Stalinists have given rise to much confusion on the part of workers who thought that the Stalinists unlike the leopard could change their spots. They thought the Stalinists, cognizant of their weakness, had finally come round to seriously promote unity in the workers' rank. The course of the Stalinists in the Hotel Strike and in the Madison Square Garden protest should show them that it is only a tactical shift within the framework of the old strategy; and that its essence is still the same: disruption.

—T. STAMM.

Shoe Union Forges Ahead

(Continued from page 1)

Coordinating Committee of the United. Joe Greeton was sent and found on the conference scene a third party. Informed that a representative of the State Board of Arbitration was invited to help, Greeton said curtly, "Send him away and then we'll talk business. We don't recognize the State Board any more." Protests were of no avail. The state representative was sent away, then business was discussed, ending in retreat by the boss and the complete victory of the workers.

In Amesbury, Mass., Sweeney, business agent of the old "Protective" local, ignoring the existence of a new union, made a new agreement with the bosses for lower wages in the name of the "Protective". The indignant workers now of the United promptly repudiated him and refused the cut. The bosses retreated. The workers won. For this good work, Sweeney was promptly promoted to the post of "commissioner Reynolds" is the new agent of the United and will represent the workers interests, not the bosses!

In Lyons, Mass., the bosses of the Goldseal Shoe Co. announced a wage cut in conformity with the decision of the State Board of Arbitration last summer. The workers struck. In a short time the bosses gave in and restored the cut. The workers again won.

The Manchester and Nashua, N. H. shoe workers have endorsed the new union one hundred percent, as have the workers of Auburn, Me. These workers were not organized at the time of the convention and have no delegates there. Auburn workers had a bitter experience with union officials a couple of years ago when an organizer fled the country after a ten thousand

dollar sell-out, so their newly-placed confidence is noteworthy.

In the New York district a less encouraging picture is presented. As previously described, the shoe workers were in three principal divisions: the Shoe & Leather Workers Industrial Union, the Boot & Shoe Workers Union, and those who organized together with one or two locals each under the aegis of the "National", the "Protective" and the independent "Brotherhood of Greater New York". A principal task has been to consolidate the organizations existing separately into one—those of the former "Industrial", the "Protective", the "National" and the "Brotherhood". In addition it was agreed that a complete auditing of the books and records of the old unions should take place and be sent to the Boston office and, further, that old officials should be ousted and new elections held.

None of these things have been done. Even the per capita tax money has been received from all locals except New York. Evidently the Stalinist bureaucrats headed by Biedenkapp fear for their control if new elections take place, and perhaps they are losing so much time because of the problems this presented, viz.—how to carry on the elections agreed upon with simultaneously risking control of the old organization. However it be, this much is certain: There has been plenty of time to effect these acts, and if it be true, as suggested above, that fear of the outcome of the elections is the cause of delay, then it is a sad comment on the character of that leadership, whose policies have been so bankrupt as to alienate their own rank and file.

Irritation in leading circles of the new union in Massachusetts at these stalling tactics is not un-

ed, however, with a certain hope. Without doubt there are many who would consider it a boon to be rid of these Left wing elements and as certain it is as that the sun rises and sets, that if the audit, tax remittances, and district elections are not complied with in time, it will be used as an excuse to prohibit nominations for general officers by the New York district. This would happily relieve all reactionary elements.

Recently, L. Shore of the Coordinating Committee was delegated to go to New York to hasten along the organizational consolidation and other matters mentioned.

Elections in New York Shops

Elections held a couple of weeks ago by the N. Y. Regional Labor Board in 16 shops hitherto unorganized, but several months on strike, to determine with which union the workers desired to affiliate recorded 9 for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, and 7 for the reactionary Boot & Shoe Workers Union of the A. F. of L. There is evidence of the most flagrant intimidation and crookedness in the conduct of these elections including wholesale importations for the day of the election from other factories in other towns. Protests have been filed with the Labor Board in Washington, but nothing can be hoped for from this source. Only future organizing activities of the new union hold a prospect of adding these and other oppressed groups to the fold.

—SHOE WORKER.

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Vital Questions of the New Party

The Program of the A.W.P.

The idea that the greatest immediate need of the working class everywhere is a new revolutionary international and a new revolutionary party in every country, is being accepted by ever wider sections of the radical labor movement. The decision of the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to launch the "American Workers Party" on July 4, 1934, is additional proof of the irresistible power of this idea.

Because we internationalist-communists are for a new party which unites the maximum possible forces on a revolutionary program and for revolutionary action, we have commenced a discussion with the representatives of the American Workers Party, with the aim of establishing the extent to which agreement exists, and consequently, united action and eventual fusion is possible.

The Decisive Question

In this discussion, we pursue no narrow or sectional interests. Our fight for the fundamental principles of Marxism (carried on for over five years in this country and ten years internationally) excludes such a conception. What is decisive for us in our attitude towards any other group is not this or that individual in it, or this or that isolated action in which it has engaged. Our first question is: What is your program?—here is ours. Only when, by open confrontation, sharp if comradely mutual criticism, an agreement has been arrived at on the programmatic questions, is it possible to talk seriously and fruitfully about unity and fusion.

Program is of fundamental importance because by it the party is judged—essentially by program and not by action, because it is the former that determines and guides the action.

And it is precisely in the domain of the program that the founders of the new revolutionary party have a tremendous advantage over those who preceded them. The Third International, when founded in 1919, was able to take all the events, the actions, the isolated phenomena, the ideas, the men and the movements that went before it, subject them to the pitiless fire of Marxist criticism and strain the residue through the screen of generalization. The distilled result was condensed into the basic programmatic documents of the new International and the forming Communist parties. This not only gave them political justification for existence and an unmistakable physiognomy, but immediately invested them with a vast superiority over all the old organizations which sought to continue as if nothing—neither the war, the collapse of the Second International, the Russian revolution, nor the post-war revolutionary movements—had occurred.

On the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, much the same task has to be performed. Even less than in 1919 we are handicapped this time by the need of starting out with nothing. A great deal has been lost in the painful defeats suffered by the working class. That is true. But just as victories teach us, generally speaking, what to do, defeats should teach us what not to do, what to avoid.

Settled Questions

The experiences up to the time the Third International was formed were sufficient to settle in the mind of every genuine revolutionist—once and for all, irrevocably—the dispute between reform and revolution, social democracy and Communism. In the new movement, there was no longer any need to debate a whole series of problems and questions which had agitated the pre-war parties. They had become settled questions for Marxists.

Not being a political Hamlet, who is worthless just because no question is ever settled for him, the true revolutionist engaged in building up a new party must also cast up a balance of the past period, take inventory, and settle in his own mind, and what is more, important settle publicly in his own program, all accounts which the class struggle itself has settled beyond further argument. No dispute over questions of principle and strategy can be ignored in this reckoning. An unambiguous and positive stand must be taken on all of them.

It is here that the document issued several weeks ago, "Toward an American Revolutionary Labor Movement, Statement of Programmatic Orientation by the American Workers Party", reveals a number of defects which, we think, require the most drastic revision.

A new revolutionary party cannot be formed—certainly it cannot gain important strength—without justifying its existence. It cannot justify its existence as a separate organization, at least not in the eyes of the more advanced workers.

without showing conclusively that the parties already operating in the field are fundamentally outlived or injurious to the interests of the working class.

Following the classic example of the "Communist Manifesto" a revolutionary party must make its programmatic debut with a criticism of society in which it lives and which it aims to overthrow, and conclude with a criticism of all the parties of any importance, and above all, of its basic conceptions. Not, let us make clear, a criticism of every little sect with ten members, but of every distinct current in the labor movement.

For purposes of concentration, we will in this article confine our comments to the third chapter of the A. W. P. statement: "The Inadequacies of Existing Parties as Instruments of Revolutionary Change." The parties referred to are of course the socialist and the official Communist (Stalinist) parties.

The International Approach

In the case of both parties, the problem cannot be approached from the angle of one country. The bankruptcy of social democracy and Stalinism in this or any other country derives from the fatal explosion caused in both instances when their fundamental conceptions, universally held, were tested against decisive events. It is only from this angle that the criticism of them can be generalized; for the United States only the specific manifestations can be established. (Thus, social democracy is equivalent to coalition governments with the bourgeoisie; the American social democracy, with all the will in the world, has not yet had the occasion to join a coalition.)

By failing to deal with the two principal labor parties from this angle, the A. W. P. statement not only presents an inadequate and partly false criticism of them, but one which characterizes its dangerous approach to the problem of internationalism.

The Socialist party, it says, is not a party of revolution, but of ineffectual reformism. Yes. But no reference is made to the essential characteristic of present-day socialism: its renunciation of the class struggle and, consequently, acceptance of class collaboration.

In departing from the program of class struggle and revolution, the socialist parties have degenerated into capitalist parties of labor, or more accurately, petty bourgeois labor parties, standing on the foundation and operating within the framework of capitalist democracy.

If the American Socialist party is small and weak today, that does not signify that a social basis does not exist for it (or its successor, or surrogate tomorrow, in the form, say, of a "Labor" or "Farmer-Labor" party) to serve as the main pillar of bourgeois democracy. It is the sheerest self-delusion to imagine that because the American S. P. is small in numbers now, the ideology of social reformism in this country can either be ignored or passed off with an occasional sally.

It is true that we hold to the view that the American working class need not necessarily pass through so protracted a reformist stage as did the English or German. Grounds exist for the belief that, given a competent revolutionary party, the period of social reformist influence in the working class can be compressed into a comparatively brief span. But one of the main preconditions for a successful achievement of this desirable aim lies in a clear-cut recognition of the essence of social reformism and a readiness to deal it vigorous and effective blows wherever it takes root.

As the party of petty bourgeois democracy, its alliance with the trade union bureaucracy lies in the very nature of things. "The Socialist party," says the statement, "takes cognizance of the workers' industrial struggles only to the extent of rendering auxiliary relief or publicity services, but in every other way seeks to remain 'neutral' in the conflict of ideas, objectives and organizing principles which these struggles so abundantly express or reflect. No large political purposes will ever be achieved by the labor movement if this most powerful base, the industrial struggle, will be left to drift or go in circles, or move intellectually backward. The party's record in this most important field is further marred (marred? Not at all. Characterized!—S.) by its policy of siding with the conservative as against the progressive forces in every contest in a union for influence or control. It has always wholeheartedly supported the 'official' labor leadership and invariably remained 'neutral' while progressives and militants fought the stalwart and pure and simple reactionaries."

S. P. "Neutrality" in the Unions

This passage is either wrong and contradictory, or just plain wrong.

If the S. P. "seeks to remain 'neutral' in the conflict," why does it follow a "policy of siding with the conservative as against the progressive forces in every contest"? Or how has it "invariably remained 'neutral' while progressives and militants fought" the reactionaries when it has "always wholeheartedly supported the 'official' labor leadership," i. e., the same reactionaries?

The fact is that by its whole incorrigible nature, the S. P. is not and cannot be neutral in the trade unions, either with or without quotation marks, any more than can the other political groups in the labor movement. "Neutrality" in the trade unions, like its cousin "No politics in the unions," has always been a pleasant mask behind which reaction fought against awakening class consciousness and against a class struggle policy and leadership. The Socialist party is just about as neutral in the trade unions as are the Communists. Directly and indirectly, the Socialist party is a prop and an ally of every reactionary, bureaucratic, class collaborationist group in the American trade unions in its struggle against the progressive and revolutionary forces. That is how it should be stigmatized.

Why is no mention made of the international connections of the Socialist party? Even for a party whose absorbing concern is with the problems in this country, the Second International is worth something more than one casual and one accidental reference. After all, it does live, and breathe, and poison the atmosphere. The fourth chapter of the statement cites, in curt parentheses, as one of the

Collapse of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from page 1)

that if the government imposed a Fascist constitution on the country, if a government commissar were appointed in Vienna, or if our party or the trade unions were dissolved we would strike. Our party stuck to the last to these four points.

The Dissatisfied Masses

"The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee grew as the government provocations increased. The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us. Excitement rose to a fever pitch during the last weeks."

"Last Sunday night in Vienna a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms they would defend themselves for the sake of the Republic."

"I was alarmed to hear of the spirit, and after discussion with my informant we both decided that urgent messages must be sent to the workers to keep cool. I arranged for them to be told that if we in Vienna could submit patiently to an arms search in party headquarters they must try to do the same. Apparently the message arrived too late...."

It is by these methods and with this spirit that the Bauers, who warned the Austrian proletariat, over whom they wielded an undivided and undisputed influence, for the decisive battle which they fought and lost. What does it matter if, unlike so many of their German prototype, a few Bauers or Deutsches did engage in the actual fighting?

The fact may be a credit to their personal courage or political intelligence. But the Bauer interview lays bare what was never successfully concealed: the leaders of the Austrian social democracy wanted anything but a struggle; they left no stone unturned as an obstacle in the road of the working class; they lifted Dollfuss into the saddle so that he might cut down an unprepared working class.

The Austro-Marxist school, in the deepest sense of the term, left its proletariat in the lurch at the crucial hour! It shored the Austrian Sampson of all his strength so that when his strength was tested the pillars of reaction could fall upon him and crush him to earth. So we solemnly repeat today the terrific indictment of Austro-Marxism uttered in court by Friedrich Adler, on trial during the war for assassinating the Austrian Prime Minister Stuerghk as a protest against the chauvinism of the official social democracy, the same Friedrich Adler who today shares, as the penitent secretary of the Second International, the responsibility of all the others:

Adler's Indictment

"As faithful servants the leaders of the proletariat strove to save the organization. But in so doing,

events which hastened the political evolution of the C. P. L. A. into the A. W. P. the "rise of Hitlerism". A not unimportant contributor to this rise was the sister organization of the American Socialist party in Germany, that is, in every sense, the Second International as a whole.

A revolutionary program which does not establish the bankruptcy and perdition of the Second International in the imperialist war and in the post-war revolutionary storms (and it must), might at least record the fact (and the way of it) of the second terrific collapse and treachery of the Second International in Germany in 1933, and the irreconcilability of the revolutionary party with that International, its foundations and ideas. An organization which has proved to be so potent an instrument for the devastation of the world labor movement, cannot be so off-handly dismissed by the program of a revolutionary party, unless the international aspect of the proletarian struggle for freedom is to be relegated to second, or third, or tenth place, or into an obscurity from which it is to be hauled out on annual holiday celebrations.

There is, unfortunately, a great deal in the A. W. P. statement which lends itself too easily to such a conception. If it should prevail, the results would be little less than fatal. The true revolutionist of today, despite the nationalist reaction which has intoxicated and poisoned whole sections of the labor movement, is like the true revolutionist of yesterday: first and foremost an internationalist.

If this truism is stated so emphatically here, it is because it is all but emphatically (and far from correctly) stated in the document of the A. W. P. The deficiencies of the program in this respect, as shown by the stand taken towards the Stalinist party and the problem of the International, require comment which must be left to another article.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

they have betrayed their real class interests, they have betrayed the international, and the idea of the social revolution. They have won small benefits for the workers during the war, it is true. I should be the last to refuse to recognize what was accomplished to protect the working class from many a threatening wrong. But they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage...."

"I came into conflict with the Party Executive Committee particularly because it also became more and more a counter-revolutionary institution. The conviction has grown upon me that a revolution in Austria can come only against the will of the Executive Committee which will always be a hindrance to the revolutionary movement...."

"What I wished to prove was that only over the heads and against the will of the Party authorities in Austria can a real revolutionary upheaval in Austria come, that only by disregarding them will it be possible to use the force that must be used to overthrow the rule of force upon which our government rests...."

Though he has since turned apostate to his own words, they rise from their pages again today to nail to the pillory of eternal shame the perfidious leaders of the Austrian working class.—S.

AD NAUSEAM

FROM THE DAILY WORKER
REPORTS OF THE 17th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

"He (the speaker) concludes with the cry 'Long live the world C. P.!' Long live Stalin, great leader of the world proletariat!"

"Zinoviev hailed Stalin as the true Leninist and preserver of the party."

"Grant of the revolution, Stalin leads to greater tasks."

"The great Stalin, giant of revolution, thought and action."

"Joseph Stalin, great leader of the party of Lenin."

"Stalin given thunderous ovation."

"Stalin's irreconcilability—conquered."

"The inspirer and organizer of our victories, the steel giant of the revolution, Stalin enjoys the limitless love of our party."

"There is no such man now in the world who is listened to as Stalin."

"Millions of fighters-conquerors impatiently wait to hear the man who fulfilled Lenin's bequest."

"Burning with enthusiasm the Congress rises to greet the great leader."

"Long live Stalin!"

"The hall is hushed as Molotov speaks about the party's successes, about the Five Year Plan—and about Stalin."

"Stalin takes the floor—the Congress stands to greet the leader—Long live Stalin! Hurrah!"

"Stalin concludes. Applause honoring the leader, comrade Stalin, lasted many minutes."

"Our Congress will mobilize around the leader, comrade Stalin." (Molotov). "All stand and shout hurrah." Ad infinitum. Ad nauseam.

The Waterloo of Pseudo-Radicalism

Vienna: the Socialist 'Millennium'

Except for the Fascist bloodhounds, who glory in the extermination of the militant proletariat, acclaim for the unbounded heroism of the Austrian social democracy has been universal. A casual reader of the newspapers is led to believe that die-hard conservatives have made common cause with revolutionaries in tribute to the immortal Austrian working class. Many have no doubt been confused by the sympathetic treatment accorded to the Austrian workers by American capitalist journals. That society is no more than skin-deep this "united front" of extremes in will soon be proved.

It is out of no sympathy with the working class that the brass check press bemoans its bitter fate in Austria. Not many days prior to the Austrian bloodfest when the friction of social convulsion had burst into a menacing flame in France these self-same newspapers thanked their lucky stars that France had been "saved" from the "riotous Commune, dominated by the mob."

The Capitalist Press

The capitalist press was the civilian field marshal and recruiting sergeant for the imperialist mass murder of fifteen years ago. They revelled in the sadistic White Terror of the post-war years.

The Wrangels and the Kolehaks were proclaimed heroes in their filthy pages. Indeed wherever the proletariat has striven to power, wherever it has challenged the rights of private property it has found the jackal press barking denunciation at the enemies of "law and order."

Austria is no exception.

The Austrian workers were not fighting an offensive battle. They were defending their institutions and organizations. While we have nothing but praise for this superb fight against the Fascist monster yet it must be said that both the party and the institutions defended by these workers had become a brake on their revolutionary struggle.

for socialism. It is only because the capitalist press appreciates the services of Austro-Marxism in maintaining bourgeois civilization that they now reproach Dollfuss. (Yesterday he was hailed as a "modern David") The New York Times makes no bones as to its motives. Shepherd Stone says in a feature article on February 18th.

Bourgeois Praise of Austro-Marxism

"When the Hapsburg monarchy collapsed in 1918 and Austria became the ball instead of the bat in the European game, Socialists and Christian Socialists (the bourgeois Catholics) cooperated to salvage the ruins of the Empire. The despised Marxists who barricaded themselves in their tenement houses last week saved Austria from Communism in 1919. At that time propagandists from Moscow and from Budapest, which was temporarily under Communist rule, preached the new faith in the streets of Vienna. But the activities of the Socialist leaders prevented a bloody conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Last week some of the men who had rescued the country from Communism were dying because of their Marxism (sic!)."

Need we explain further that the destruction of Austro-Marxism meant the loss of a steadfast ally to the democratic and liberal capitalist class in Europe and America. Under the cloak of democracy and in the guise of a gradual peaceful evolution from capitalism to socialism the Bauer's, the Adler's, and the Renner's stayed the tide of the proletarian revolution long enough for the Heimwehr to thrust it far out of danger.

Vienna: The Symbol

"Red Vienna" was the symbol for Austro-Marxism. It was hailed by its supporters as living proof that it was possible to attain a great maximum of socialism without violence, without depriving the capitalist class of its wealth or privileges—without acting as Communists. They built apartment

houses which the Times says "became models for city planners throughout the world. Rents were astonishingly low, and it was only natural that these blocks should become strongholds of socialism."

And further "Under Socialist rule in Vienna utilities were taken over and in general income from taxation was employed for public improvements and social welfare. Socialist legislation provided for the citizen from a few months before his birth until his burial. Health, housing, wages, unemployment dole, all came within the scope of municipal government."

Reformist Utopia

Thus the utopian reform socialism reached its pinnacle in Vienna and here too it ended in a horrible debacle. The Achilles heel of the Austrian workers was the lack of state power. The treachery of its leadership lay in their harnessing the struggle for state power when the time was ripe and the proletariat ready. Between the Commune which lasted but two months, and "Red Vienna", the socialist millennium there was this difference: state power. That is all the difference in the world. The capitalist press is thankful to Bauer and Co., because they did not follow the sure road of the proletarian revolution.

How clear is the difference in tactics and results between Communism and social democracy! The bombarded tenement houses in Vienna stand as demonstration of the futility of trying to reform capitalism out of existence. The thousands of proletarian corpses are dumb witnesses to the fact that the gradualism of the Vienna lackeys meant the gradual arming of the counter-revolution and the not-so-gradual annihilation of the flower of the working class.

"Red Vienna" is now red only in worker's blood. The pride of "international" socialism has become its everlasting shame!

—G. C.

Victory In Minneapolis Coal Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Inspiration and Example For Union Workers

The methods used and the manner in which the organization work was carried out, stands as a model for the benefit of those who will take up the vast work that lies just ahead. The coal workers section of the transportation industry, has gained its first objective. These workers have tested their organized strength, almost alone, in a sharp and successful engagement with the bosses.

In the course of preparation, and during the fight, many obstacles, hitherto unsuspected by the average rank and file worker, came to light. A careful study of these weak points, with a view to correcting them, will be of extreme importance for the future. The union can be only as strong as an alert and determined membership chose to make it.

First of all: No barrier must be placed in the way of recruiting the membership to full strength. THE FUEL OIL AND GASOLINE DRIVERS AND HELPERS are the next section to be organized, here there must be no delay. This approach connects up the campaign which leads from section to section and gives what assurances can be given in advance that the gains made in the Coal Strike will not be partially sacrificed.

The Open Shop bosses have learned a bitter lesson. That they are far from idle is well known to every wide-awake worker. The example of the whole police force ranged on the side of the bosses in the futile effort to break through the picket lines with scab coal, has only one meaning for the Union and each member of the Union. Be prepared! Be prepared! BE MUCH BETTER PREPARED! for the next test.

Every member of the Union as well as those workers who will be members in the coming period, should be vigilantly watching the Regional Labor Board. What exactly has been its role? It is well to note the fact that in all the efforts made by the Union Committee to present the coal workers demands to the bosses, the Board was only an agency to transmit an insolent reply and a flat refusal of the bosses to deal with the Union. During the most advantageous time of the winter season this Board together with several Labor officials were instrumental in postponing action under one pretext and another, which gravely weakened and endangered the coal workers' position.

When in spite of these obstructive tactics, the justly angered and aroused workers STRUCK the bosses, demonstrating to the bosses and to all who wished to see that the union did actually speak

for the coal yard workers and drivers—then the Board, with little delay, came forward with a decision that actually saved the face of the bosses. And not only their faces. A vote in the separate yards was ordered. This played directly into the hands of the coal yard owners who had LOST the Strike.

Here is one of the most important lessons of the strike. It must be discussed again and again in the Union. There must be no misunderstandings. The way to avoid them is through full and free discussion by the membership.

The next phase of the fight for better conditions in the coal industry will open up in the near future. When it is considered that union organization has come to the coal yards for the first time in Minneapolis, the workers in the yards and on the trucks have no reason to take second place in matters of organization and militant action. They have already conducted one of the best struggles that the city has seen in its labor history. The very nature of the work in which they are engaged gives them a responsible and powerful position in the trade union movement.

These workers have demonstrated their power. They have forced recognition of the union while ON STRIKE, a victory of no mean proportions, in the present state of the local Drivers' Unions. They have, while in struggle, won the loyal support of the rank and file of the Ice Wagon Drivers Union. This and other advantages must be organizationally consolidated, by welding the drivers' unions into a more solid unit. Those who oppose progress in this direction must take their place with the forces of reaction.

That this can be accomplished at one stroke, no responsible and experienced worker will contend, but any undue delay in advancing along this road will be costly for the whole movement. To follow up the advantage and achieve the greatest good, means for the membership to be ready for further devoted work, to stand ready for further developments. Ready at all times to "crack down" if danger threatens the UNION.

—V. R. D.

AGAINST HOOLIGANISM

The Spartacus Youth Club (Brownsville) unanimously condemns the actions of the disrupters of the mass meeting in Madison Square Garden called by the Socialist Party and A. F. L. trade unions. We feel that the blame falls squarely on the shoulders of the Stalinist misleaders who are doubly to be blamed because they are prejudicing the cause of Communism among the working class of America.

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB

Hotel Strike

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of pollyanna optimism. We repeat: heroic action and a sharp turn of policy are absolutely necessary. The genuine militants in the union must understand this, shout for it and FIGHT for it.

In our opinion concentration is necessary especially on two practical tasks:

1. Relief. Mobilize the strikers to collect funds. Organize a tag day. Put five hundred strikers on the busy corners, in the subways and at workers' meetings and gathering places with collection boxes to raise money quickly. Organize a big squad of strikers to canvas union meetings. Open a real kitchen and really feed the strikers. Send squads out to collect food supplies from stores, sympathizers and workers' neighborhoods. Circularize every workers' organization with an appeal for funds, get out collection lists—raise funds at once by every practical means and utilize the latent energies of the strikers themselves for the task. The strike depends relief now. The force to collect it doesn't need to be hunted for. It is right in the union headquarters. Let the leadership organize it.

2. Picketing. Connect the dispensation of relief directly with service on the picket line. Real and systematic picketing combined with mass demonstrations can force a settlement, and nothing else can. Instead of subordinating the actions of the strikers to the negotiations, subordinate the negotiations to the actions of the strikers. On his line the situation can be changed in 24 hours, morale can be restored and the strike can take on new life. There is no other way.

3. To the Leaders. Quit chasing after "respectability". Stop crawling before the Labor Board and its chairman, Mrs. Herrick. Answer the insults of this strike breaker in a manner worthy of the leaders of striking workers. Let the world know that the hotel workers are fighting for their rights, not begging for them. Above all try to convince the strikers by deeds that you conceive of the strike as a class battle and lead it accordingly. Stop your treacherous maneuvers and intrigues against the militant elements in the union and give up the idea that you can silence them with strong arm methods. Remember this is a progressive and democratic union, not a reactionary, bureaucratic one; it is the A. F. W. not the A. F. L. Therefore try to act like progressive and militant labor leaders, not like bulldozing labor fakers.

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Toward the New Party

Internationalism and The A.W.P.

As has already been reported, the National Committee of the Communist League is conducting negotiations with the Provisional Organization Committee of the American Workers' Party. We hope for fruitful results of these negotiations and for the eventual fusion of the two organizations in the great task of launching the new party. Such an outcome of the negotiations would undoubtedly give a tremendous impetus to the reorganization of the proletarian vanguard in America and could not be without effect internationally.

And since, in our conviction, this can only be realized if there is a firm agreement on the fundamental questions of principle—an agreement, moreover, which extends down into the ranks of both organizations—we are bringing out in a series of articles in the *Militant* the point of view which we are advancing in the discussions within the joint committee of the two organizations. The more openly and clearly the points of disagreement are discussed the firmer will be the foundation for eventual fusion if agreement is arrived at.

The Paramount Question

For us, the question of Internationalism is a paramount question as it has always been for revolutionary Marxists. Marx and Engels

began with an international program—the Communist Manifesto. After all that has happened since, after the collapse of the Second International along the line of social patriotism and the downfall of the Comintern along the line of "socialism in one country" (national reformism), there is less ground than ever to think the problems of the proletarian revolution can be approached from a national standpoint. It is from this point of view that we raise the question of the Fourth International as a fundamental consideration in the discussion of a new party in America. We take part in the discussion of a new party in this country not merely as American revolutionists but as internationalists, as adherents of the Fourth International.

The A. W. P. Program

The programmatic statement of the American Workers Party ("Toward an American Revolutionary Movement") appears to us to be inadequate and decidedly incorrect in its treatment of the international question and to chart a course which would doom the new party from its inception. The collapse of the Stalinist and Socialist parties in this country, from which the imperative necessity for a new party arises, is not due simply to

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SPRING FESTIVAL

The last indoor affair of the season to be held by the New York Local of the League will be held on Saturday, March 31st, at Victoria Hall, Irving Place.

This affair will be primarily a dance, with a good band. In addition, we are planning a short program of entertainment. Among the numbers of the program we expect Chief Littlemoose, an American Indian, in a recital of his native dances, and Madame X who will appear in typical gypsy costume prepared to tell you all the pleasant things you want to hear about your fortune.

Keep the date open. Come and bring your friends. Get together. Talk, dance and have a good time generally.

Big Crowd At Debate

Cannon and Lovestone Discuss Internationals

Before an audience of 1500 the debate which the Lovestone group had so long evaded occurred. In a packed hall, on Monday evening, March 5th at the Irving Plaza the representative of the Communist Party (Opposition), Jay Lovestone, defended the position of the reform of the Communist International, while James P. Cannon, representing the Communist League, spoke for the formation of the Fourth International. Sidney Hook acted as chairman. At the conclusion of the debate the question which stood outstanding was why the Lovestone group was outside the ranks of the Stalinist party, since such warm defenders of the Stalinist Comintern really deserved to hold a place within it.

Lovestone maintained that with some tactical reforms in the line of the Comintern it could be made to serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Cannon in an annihilating reply showed how Lovestone completely ignored the significance of the great events which had occurred internationally in the last year, that Lovestone could just as well have made the same speech two or three years ago with no change. From the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, from the tragic defeat of the Austrian workers in their desperate attempt to defend themselves against Fascism, Lovestone was incapable of drawing any Marxist conclusions. In these events not only social democracy, but also Stalinism had demonstrated its bankruptcy and impotence. Does the working class need the victory of Fascism in a few more countries before the revolutionists will be convinced of the necessity of a new International?

"Yes, it is true, the Communist International has made many mistakes of an ultra-Left character," said Lovestone, "but it is getting better." Cannon had merely to point to the decisions of the 13th plenum of the Comintern which endorsed the whole disastrous course in Germany and to the native Stalinists with their hooligan actions at the recent Madison Square meeting to finish this ridiculous assertion. Stalinism, said Cannon, does not follow only an ultra-Left course but also a Right opportunist one as was manifested in the referendum with the Fascists in Germany and the agreement to refrain from criticism of the social democrats in the united front manifesto of March 1933.

As to the program of the Fourth International, Cannon stated, it won't have any innovations, but will stand on the foundation of the first four congresses of the Communist International and the revolutionary experiences of the last ten years. In other words, on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Lovestone's attempt to make of the International Communist opponents of the Soviet Union because they fight the Stalinist bureaucracy collapsed dismally. Marxist revolutionists could not be silenced and prevented from speaking the truth by such methods.

Is it to be expected, asked Cannon, that the Stalinist parties which so miserably capitulated before Fascism would be capable of defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of the imperialist bourgeoisie? The answer is obvious. They would prove just as bankrupt. For the defense of the Soviet Union is necessary the creation of new Communist Parties and a new Communist International.

—G. R.

A Statement on the Rakovsky Case - by L.D. Trotsky

L'Humanite (organ of the French C. P.—ed) for February 21st published a telegram from Moscow which announces that Rakovsky is giving up his fight and submitting to discipline. Without a doubt this news cannot fail to produce a deep impression among all the workers who knew and followed the old fighter.

It has always been our motto to speak out what is. Even at this time we do not wish either to mitigate or conceal.

The telegram concerning the declaration of Rakovsky tells us, however, that Rakovsky has not "capitulated" after the fashion of Zinoviev, Kamenyev and Co. He has not recanted a single word of the ideas in whose name he fought together with us. He has not recognized the so-called "mistakes" committed by the Left Opposition. He has not proclaimed the correctness of the official policy. Thus, in the conditions of the U. S. S. R., of which we are well aware, this essential feature of Rakovsky's declaration is exceptionally outstanding. It can only emphasize the fact that Rakovsky, theoretically and politically, has abandoned nothing, nor has he renounced his past.

In an interview with comrade Trotsky on this subject he had the following to say:

"Rakovsky states that he will give up his struggle and submit to discipline. That is the only content of his declaration. In order to understand this declaration in its proper light—and naturally we condemn it—it is necessary to understand the situation in which Rakovsky was placed. In fact he had been placed in a condition of giving up his active struggle three or four years ago. He could neither communicate with his friends, nor write articles, nor receive the literature of the Left Opposition and generally information on the international labor movement. In his complete isolation he remained without any perspective whatsoever.

"Rakovsky's declaration, far from being an ideological or political capitulation, is at the same time not only a highly regrettable but a condemnable fact. Undoubtedly this example will be extensively utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to draw many of the youth, imprisoned and isolated like Rakovsky, on the path of capitulation not in the manner of Rakovsky but of Zinoviev.

"We have reiterated many times that the restoration of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. can only be accomplished on the international arena. The case of Rakovsky confirms this in a negative but striking manner. The Bolshevik-Leninists in the U. S. S. R. are not aware from the *Pravda* of the burning facts of international life: Hitler's victory, the danger of war, now the crushing of the Austrian proletariat. They have no opportunity of orienting themselves in the true light of these events, nor of discerning the different formations in the workers movement.

"In order to recreate a powerful Internationalist-Communist movement in the U. S. S. R. the struggle of the IV International must take form, become so powerful a factor that the Stalinist bureaucracy will no longer be able to hide it from the Soviet workers, the Bolshevik-Leninists included.

"We register the purely formal declaration of the old warrior, who by his whole life has demonstrated his unshakable devotion to the revolutionary cause; we register it with sadness and pass on to the order of the day, that is to the doubly vigorous struggle for the new parties of the new International."

—INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
LEAGUE OF INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNISTS
(BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

FRENCH INTERNATIONALISTS APPEAL TO THE MASSES

Appeal of the Communist League of France (Bolshevik-Leninists) published in *La Verite* of February 16.

TO THE WORKERS OF FRANCE! Two forces face each other.

On February 6th the reactionary vermin (Action Francaise, Jeunesses Patriotes, Croix de Feu, Solidarite Francaise) mutilated. Assured of the support of Chippie (ex-police commissioner of Paris—Ed.) they exploited the discontent and the chauvinism of a section of the petty bourgeoisie which overthrow the last Left government of Daladier. Its objective: the establishment of a dictatorial regime for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie, the suppression of the workers' rights, the enslavement of the toilers, to sweep away the last remnants of bourgeois democracy; opening the road to complete Fascism, to unleashed chauvinist barbarism, to war.

February 12 saw a magnificent proletarian reply. You have accepted the challenge of the Fascist provocation in a complete general strike, a mass gathering of the proletariat in all the workers' centers of France. Everywhere, the workers of city and country mustered their forces to block the road to reaction and Fascism.

Two forces are measuring their strength. War has begun between them. No peace is possible, but struggle to the death. One must annihilate the other and take power. The period of democracy and parliamentary games is over. The future will be decided in the street by force.

The present government, the Doumergue ministry, is proceeding to the first alignment of bourgeois forces for the establishment of a dictatorship. The inauguration of a period of Bonapartism, the equilibrium between the two hostile camps, will not prove any more stable in France than it was in Germany. Hindenburg made the bed for Hitler, Doumergue can only pave the way for bloody Fascism.

on the model of Hitler. WORKERS!...EITHER YOU OR THEY!

Upon your action depends the future of the proletariat and of all society. It depends on you to mobilize all the toiling masses against Fascism as well as a large part of the armed forces of the nation who have been completely disoriented by the present situation.

HOW SHALL THE STRUGGLE BE ORGANIZED ON?

By organizing your forces rapidly. There is not a minute to lose. The heroic example of our Austrian brothers should inspire us to act very quickly; not to wait for the moment chosen by the reactionary provocation and then to put up a desperate struggle.

The magnificent general strike of the 12 of February which enlisted all the workers of France, was not, it must be said, the result of concerted action of all the central organizations of the working class. They acted separately. Workers, it was under your pressure that all of the organizations were finally forced to join the demonstrations. We greet you in this first step, but you must continue your pressure for more far-reaching results.

Joint action was spontaneous on February 12; henceforth it must be organized. That is why our party continues to propose to you:

1. The united front of all organizations of the proletariat in a broad workers' alliance which will coordinate the actions of each of the organizations and unify the struggle against Fascism.
2. The immediate and universal organizations of Committees of the Workers' Alliance grouping the representatives of all the workers' organizations by localities and factories. These committees, basing themselves on all the toiling masses, organized or not, civil and military, will struggle for the dissolution of the Fascist bands. They will also participate in the defense of the

(Continued on page 4)

N.R.A. and Company Unions

Corporations Win in the Fake "Elections"

Last week the Fifth Avenue Coach Company of New York successfully prevented its 1,450 employees from recording themselves whether they wanted to belong to the A. F. of L. Street Carriers' Union or any other union of their own choice. For this purpose an election had been arranged by the Regional Labor Board. This right of choice is supposed to be accorded all workers under Section 7-a of the N.R.A. Yet this is not the first case on record of the employers enforcing their interpretation and compelling the acceptance of their company union. The company union vote successfully staged by the Weirton Steel Co. last December, is one of the crassest among several examples which could be cited. There are sure to be more in the future.

"Protecting Workers' Rights"

On behalf of a goodly number of the New York Coach Co. employees, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees had filed a petition with the Labor Board for the right of these workers to decide in a regular election for a union of their own choice. The Labor Board ordered that such elections be held, set the date and designated several polling places. It stated that the board would "protect every worker, who exercised his right to vote, against any and all

efforts at reprisals." What this pretended protection meant to the workers was quite clearly illustrated by the fact that only one dozen of them ventured inside the polling places to cast their vote.

The company had of course taken its measures of reprisals in advance. In the first place it declined altogether to comply with the order of the Labor Board. Secondly, it sent its spotters to all polling places with pads and pencils ready to take down the names of those workers who would exercise their right to vote. Thirdly, the company had given every worker to understand that the employment would terminate for any worker who would avail himself of this right. In this manner it was very easy for the company to make a farce of the election.

Weirton Steel Case

The case of the Weirton Steel Co. is another instance of "protection" of the right to union organization under the N.R.A. Only, in this instance the bosses proceeded much more crudely and flagrantly to enforce the company union provisions. The workers had gone on strike for the right of union organization and had walked out almost to a man. The strike was a splendid display of militancy. It lasted a good many

(Continued on page 4)

End of the N.Y. Hotel Strike

Left Wing Fights to Rebuild Amalgamated Union

The general strike of the New York hotel workers was formally called off by action of a membership meeting last week on the recommendation of the general strike committee. According to the terms laid down by the Regional Labor Board all strike breakers are to be discharged and all strikers reinstated within two weeks. Strikers not reinstated within that time are to be given preference in future hiring. Since no provision was made for the recognition of shop committees or shop delegates in the supervision of the return to work, the workers were left without any real check on the employers in preventing discrimination. As could only be expected under the circumstances the bosses are discriminating right and left and are making a concentrated drive to break up the union.

Discrimination Against Strike Militants

A so-called "citizens committee" of five, on which the union has only one representative, is obviously without power to protect the workers against discrimination even if it should be so disposed. And when it is considered that this committee was appointed by the notorious Judge Panken, fresh from his exploits in breaking the taxi strike, the idea of it functioning in any way as an aid to the strikers has to be dismissed altogether.

There is no doubt that the hotel bosses aim to interpret the settlement as a basis for the establishment of the infamous "merit system" in hiring and firing workers and that a blacklist of the leading militants among the strikers will be attempted.

Despite the militant struggle of the workers, and the stirring examples of solidarity, courage and sacrifice it called forth from the ranks, the result has to be recorded as a defeat. A reorganization of the union and preparation for new struggles confront the hotel workers as a necessity in their aim to establish union conditions and recognition in the industry.

N.R.A. and the Strike Leadership

The Regional Labor Board played a highly effective part in defeating the aims of the strike; and its designs in this respect, clear to every class conscious militant, were supplemented perfectly by the conservative, belly-crawling policy of the officials of the union—Field, Costas and Kaldia. These unworthy leaders, posing originally as progressives and even as Left wing militants, showed themselves up in action as no better than ordinary routine trade union bureaucrats, fearful of the "public opinion" of the bourgeois world and utterly indifferent to the public opinion of their own rank and file, especially of its militant and class conscious section.

Basing themselves on the most backward and reactionary elements

in the union, these careerists intrigued and conspired against the strike militants, disorganized and disrupted the strike machinery, sabotaged the functioning of the most important committees and demoralized the ranks of the strikers by their general incompetence, bureaucratic methods and conservatism.

The "Food Workers Industrial Union" (Stalinists), which was almost completely isolated at the beginning of the strike, could only thrive on this policy and practice of the leadership and add to the general demoralization. Working from the start to break up the Amalgamated and gain some advantage for their own "18th Street Union"—the disruption of a strike in the process is a small matter to them—the Stalinists were able to exploit the gross mistakes of the leadership in order to add to the general demoralization.

The Left Wing Organizes

It was not until the Left wing, following the line of the *Militant*, made a sharp break with the officials and began to organize the fight against them, that the advances of the Stalinist wrecking crew were checked and a genuinely constructive movement for the preservation of the Amalgamated began to take shape. The election of Hugo Oehler as chairman of the strike committee in a session called over the heads of Field & Co., and the rallying of the best fighters in the union around the picket committee—the center of class struggle policy in the strike under the chairmanship of James Gordon—were two outstanding signs of the rapid gains of the bona-fide Left wing that is fighting for the Amalgamated union and its future.

Rebuild the Amalgamated!

The Left wing brought forward a program for saving the strike by concentrating on relief, picketing and a class struggle policy to the end. Frustrated in this aim by the whole course of the official leadership, the Left wing is now fighting to re-form the ranks of the union, to rebuild the organization, fight the blacklist and keep up the relief to support its victims, and to cleanse the union of its careerist leadership. The motion of James Gordon, at the first meeting of the Executive Board of the Union after the ending of the strike, to reject the report of Field and declare no confidence in the leadership, was carried by a vote of 14 to 2. In this the strength of the revolt against the Field administration is indicated.

The task of the Left wing is now to lead this revolt to the very end without any compromise and to steer it into constructive channels for the rebuilding of the Amalgamated Food Workers, the defeat of the Stalinist disrupters and the preparation of the coming struggles to unionize the hotel industry under the banner of the Amalgamated.

Hard Times Missed Bosses

"Presidents" Increased Salaries and Bonuses

It is one of the well-known characteristics of modern imperialism that the finance capitalists, by their interlocking directorates, by spreading the shares of a company into many hands, and by means of complicated systems of holding companies, are able to control many industries which they themselves own only partly. This enables them to milk these industries to their heart's content, either through financial jugglery of these companies, or by paying themselves fancy salaries and bonuses.

A corner of the curtain screening the latter method was lifted by the publication, by the Federal Trade Commission (New York Times of Feb. 27, 1934), of the "salaries" and "bonuses" which were paid to the officers of various large corporations.

Hill Draws A Mere Million

It will interest the workers in the tobacco industry to know that G. W. Hill, President and Director of the American Tobacco Co. was paid \$605,613 in 1929, and \$1,051,630 in 1931, despite the fact that out of 105,000 workers in the industry in 1929, only 88,000 were employed in 1931 (16.2 per cent unemployed); and that average wages for the employed were cut from \$818 per year in 1929 to \$690 per year in 1931 (15.3% reduction).

It will probably gladden the hearts of the workers in the foundries and machine shops to know that despite the fact that the number of workers in this industry was reduced from 454,000 in 1929 to 285,000 in 1931 (37.2% unemployed) and that average wages for the employed were cut from \$1,535 per year in 1929 to \$1,150 per year in 1931 (a 25% reduction)—in spite of that, B. L. Patterson, President and Director of the American Machine and Foundry Co. received as salary and bonus \$270,980 in 1929 and \$294,211 in 1931.

Schwab Gets A Raise

In the Steel industry, of the 419,000 workers in 1929, 278,000 were employed in 1931 (33.7% unemployed); wages, which averaged \$1,745 in 1929 were cut to \$1,290 in 1931 (a 26.1% reduction). The same steel workers will no doubt rub their hands in glee when they hear that Charles Schwab, director and chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Co. was paid a \$150,000 salary in 1929 and \$250,000 in 1931. Bitter tears will be shed when it is known that El. G. Gration director and President of that company, who received \$1,635,653 in 1929 was forced to accept a paltry \$297,706 in 1931. The cup of joy, however, will once more flow over when it is announced that Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the Finance Commission of the U. S. Steel Corporation who was paid \$209,361 in 1929, was rewarded with \$241,357 in 1931. The Youngstown workers can speak first hand about the unemployment and wage-cutting in that city from 1929 to 1931, will probably be interested

to know that J. A. Campbell, President, Director, and Chairman of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., who was paid \$100,000 in 1929, received \$191,006 in 1931.

Hardship For Some "Captains"

Not all "captains" of industry were able to raise their "salaries and bonuses" during this period. Sad as it may seem, some had to be cut. There is the case of poor Alexander Legge, President and Director of the International Harvester Co., who received \$612,890 in 1929 and a paltry \$83,673 in 1931. (Of the 42,000 workers in that industry in 1929 only 18,000 were working in 1931, 57.1% unemployed, and the average pay of \$1,400 per year in 1929 was cut to \$1,000 per year in 1931, 29.3%.) Then there is poor Jesse J. Strauss, President and Director of R. H. Macy and Co. who was paid \$139,240 in 1929 and had his pay cut in 1931 to—\$137,110.

The list could be continued, but the picture would not vary much. For the workers, in all cases, unemployment and wage cuts. For the magnates of industry, big fat "salaries" and "bonuses", even though in a number of cases they may be getting less than they received in 1929. Out of some 300 names published in the *N. Y. Times*, one has to search with great care in order to find, "salaries and bonuses" as low as \$20,000. The majority are over \$100,000, and what is of importance is that this is only part of the income which these gentlemen "earn" through dividends and other sources.

Millions suffer so that a handful of individuals can live in the lap of luxury.

Such a system can be changed. It must be changed.

(Note: Figures on employment and wages are from the U. S. Census Bureau, which certainly cannot be accused of exaggerating unemployment or wage cutting.)

—W.—R.

NEXT WEEK!

CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This is the subject of an article by comrade Leon Trotsky just received at the office of the *Militant*. It is now in process of translation and will be featured in the next issue of our paper.

OPEN FORUM

BARNEY HERMAN on THE TRADE UNION POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY—OPPOSITION (Lovestone Group).

at International Workers School 126 East 16th Street, New York City SUNDAY, MARCH 11, at 8 P. M.

C. W. A. NEWS

C.W.A. Lay-Offs

85,000 workers have been laid off in New York State from the CWA rolls in the last two weeks. 24,000 more are due for the pink slips this Friday. The role of the capitalist press has been one of misinformation from the very beginning of the CWA, tending with their blarney to give "a happy feeling", by statements of millions and hundreds of millions being spent on the unemployed. Every day different figures are issued. Each day swells the sums of money granted to the CWA. Have the CWA workers actually received these "generous" grants, or has it been a hoax, a stinking piece of capitalism's haggling as to how a worker should starve, either with the aid of their "relief agencies" or minus their pittance.

In the Press, as Feb. 15 was approaching, the scribes of the local papers, howled their sorrowful hearts out, shedding a tremendous amount of glycerine tears over their fears as to what would happen should the CWA fold up and silently steal away. It was a question with them, as to who should pay for the "civil and public works"; since it was the Government at Washington that was doling out the miserable jobs and paying the \$13.44 a week, they felt that the CWA should continue, until the weather was balmy, and when the weather was balmy, jobs would somehow be available.

Everybody learned to use the phrase "seasonal work". In the winter—it is snow, in the summer—it must be sunshine. If the statements of the "liberal" Miss Perkins means anything, it means that jobs in the last month fell off 1%. Where and how is the "slack" to be taken up.

The capitalist press does not say and it cannot say: its role is not that of advising the workers, but of keeping up a sham, to chide Washington for the bad job it is doing for the unemployed. We know its role, and knowing it—we should not be taken in by their jovial and hilarious news from day to day.

From the very beginning, the authorities of the CWA promised us jobs at our trades. First we began to dig ditches 9 days a month, at 40 dollars then when the Government took it over, we were given 12 days a month at 60 dollars, which was cut down two months ago to \$53.76. More workers are losing their jobs, greater unemployment is in sight, but the capitalist press, in line with the CWA authorities and the Washington administration, show themselves in the first line trenches against any of these "ameliorations".

The CWA will not last to May 1, the end is already in sight: through the winter we did all sorts of non-sensical work, having absolutely no social value; today we have pink slips and the home relief again.

We must again raise the slogan of Unemployment Insurance and wage a real fight for it! —C. W. A.

Hillside Park

At Hillside Park, Long Island, a very large crew is at work bringing it to completion. It is a windswept place and on these days bitterly cold, frozen ears, fingers and feet being very common. If it is raining or snowing we are laid off.

immediately and told we can make up the hours on the other shift. The straw bosses here drive the workers unusually hard. Lack of clothing adds greatly to the misery of many. Rackets run rampant all over the park. Workers are given to understand that it wouldn't hurt to buy some tickets of one kind or another. Foreign workers are discriminated against. It is a very long walk to work. Buses should be supplied to connect with other means of transportation. Wages are cut and more are to come. Organization is absolutely necessary in order to stay on jobs and win better working conditions, as other CWA crews have already done. —C.

Inwood Park

The Process of "tapering off" is now in full swing. One half million workers on the CWA all over the country, have already felt the heavy blows of the Roosevelt "tapering" machine. The bludgeons of our "charitable bourgeoisie" are falling. The "fruits" of five years of struggle of the unemployed, struggle for bread, for the mere means of life, is now on the way back to the treasuries and the banks. No more money is destined "to flow" for CWA or any one of their damned alphabetical organizations, unless we tear it from them.

Before the mass of workers are laid off on any project, the usual procedure is first, to find out who is active among the workers, to find the militants: they are the first to go! Without the leaders, without a steering committee, without those who have the experience and the knowledge for fighting back, for leading the CWA workers into the trenches, they feel, then, the job will be easy, the workers will take their pink slips grumble a little and quietly go home. At Inwood Park last Monday a dozen workers, active in organizing the project were handed the pink slips. One of them insisted on being told the reason for his dismissal, and he was told, told that he was a "troublemaker". They are very much concerned: troublemakers mean FIGHT! Organization! They do not want that.

On Friday, March 2, at P. S. 52, Broadway and Academy, near the Inwood Park project, a mass meeting will take place under the auspices of the Association of Civil Works Employees, protesting the firing of these 12 workers, and to take up the further organization against the "tapering off" of the CWA. All CWA must realize that there is little time left to daily around! Now is the time to unify our ranks against the plans of the Roosevelt machine, to counter these layoffs with demonstrations that will make our genial politicians quake: now is the TIME TO ORGANIZE! —ROSS.

C.W.A. "Separations"

How are the CWA workers being laid off? They are given discharge slips and told to stay home, until they send them a post card to appear before some committee. But this is just a farce. The workers never receive a card nor does he meet with any committee. He finds himself out on the street and without a job. The worker then, without the

Letters to the Editor

Another Preparedness Parade in Frisco

Dear Comrade: I wish to record, as best I may, a little of the mingled feelings of various moods surging through mind and body yesterday when I witnessed, after a lapse of almost 18 years, a repetition and duplication of the former attempt to whip the country into line via staging a "Preparedness" parade through the heart of San Francisco.

I stood, watching the march, just about a block distant from the point where I watched the preparedness day parade in 1916, and was, therefore fully able to contrast the two events, calculated to make our patriotic and respectable citizens war-minded.

The Parade of 1916

The parade, its formation and line of march, its general character and purpose, and possibly some of the marchers in its ranks, were about the same as in 1916, but there was a noticeable something different apart from the parade itself—something lacking, something parallel to a tin-type of the former event, a striking absence of enthusiasm, a sort of purely mechanical effort on the part of both marchers and public notwithstanding the effort of a few to throw out their chests here and there.

In 1916 the event found 90% of the public donning their hats as "Old Glory" passed—anyone failing to do so was liable to be engaged in an argument, and possible scrap, or at least, have one's hat knocked off. The percentage seemed to me yesterday to be just reversed, and those within my observation at least, appeared as if ashamed to be seen doing so, acting somewhat similar to the little animal usually found with the organ grinder who, in a somewhat furtive manner, quickly dons his headpiece and as quickly removes it.

The local dignitaries leading the march in a large comfortable automobile were the Mayor (Rossi, Catholic) City Administrator (Cleary, Catholic) and Archbishop Hanna (also Catholic). Followed various Army and Navy sections, then a raft of fraternal organizations, winding up with about 150-200 CWA (on foot) carrying pointed shovels, and said to be receiving 50c per, for marching!

No Bomb This Time

Two circumstances were noticeable. The first: The march was pulled off at 2 P. M. Saturday afternoon; the street (Market St.) appeared not much more populated than on any ordinary Saturday afternoon. The second noticeable comparative event was the absence of any "preparedness day bomb" for which former event an innocent post card, calls on the CWA office, requesting that he be put back on the job. They tell him that he is not fired, but that he no longer works for the CWA. That he has "only been separated". The "separation" is from the miserable wages that he has been existing on, and from this "he has been separated."

At 79th St. and Riverside Drive many have been "separated", all over New York as in the rest of the country, "separation" is the word. We must not allow them to do this: we must fight back. —A. W. C.

man has already served 18 years. As I watched, various thoughts percolated through my mind,—history, Marx, the State, Capitalism, Church, Proletariat, Nazism, Christianity, Barnum—all were unfolding in miniature before me—in this parade, and then: The CWA carrying pointed shovels! I wondered if the significance of this effect reacted on others who were watching the same thing—the proletariat becoming the gravediggers of capitalism!

—GEO. ELLIS.

Aftermath of the Garden Affair

To the Editors of the Militant: Dear Comrades:

I suppose that you are interested in the attitude of the workers to the Communist Party after the Madison Square Garden meeting held in sympathy with the Austrian workers which the Communist party broke up.

The day after the meeting I had a discussion with a group of workers in my shop. Three of the workers were Socialists, and about five were Left wingers who sympathized with the Socialists. During the discussion the Socialists tried to find reasons why the Communists acted as they did. They claimed that the S. P. called the meeting on such short notice that the C. P. was unable to participate in the United Front. The Left wingers railed against the S. P., calling them Fascists and betrayers of the Austrian workers and the working class in general. I took the point of view that if the Party came to the meeting they were to sit at the meeting and listen and be orderly.

A Stalinist Argument One hot-headed Stalinist got excited and asked who I was. Another worker gave her the information that I was a Trotskyite. So she shouted "counterrevolutionary renegade", and with a mouth full of saliva spit me in the face. I was so stunned for a moment that I did not know what to do. By the time I had recovered, the workers had taken her away.

The next day a committee of two of the workers came over to me and asked me to please go down to lunch a few minutes earlier, and to come up not later than 12:30. I went, and when I came back they told me that some of the workers in the shop had held a meeting and that they came to the following decision: that she either apologize to me in the presence of the whole shop, or that she leave the shop. The worker apologized.

Of course this worker lost out by her method of discussion, and so did the influence of the Left wing. I hope that the workers will learn that by calling the Trotskyite names and spitting them in the face they will not bring about the revolution that they are fighting for.

Comradely, A WORKER IN AN I. L. G. W. U. SHOP.

The Daily Worker and The Hotel Strike

Dear Friends: The "Daily Worker" of March 5 contains an article attacking the recent New York hotel workers' strike. In this article I am mentioned as "a member of the Trotsky group." I am glad to save you the embarrassment, should you find it such, of disowning me.

At the same time, I should like to point out that, while undoubtedly the "Daily Worker" would have yelled "sell-out" no matter what the outcome of the strike, many criticisms they make of the Right wing leadership of the strike and of B. J. Field might well have been lifted from my article in a recent issue.

The Cuban Bolshevik-Leninists

We have just received the first issue of *Rayo* (flash, ray), official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, section of the International Communist League. It is an eight page tabloid and contains important material.

The leading article entitled "Beware of Adventures", makes a careful study of the present political situation in the island, warning against the present putschistic attempts of the Stalinists who, in spite of a formidable decline in their influence and prestige since last September, are now calling for the seizure of power. Another analytical article draws the balance sheet of the Grau San Martin regime and of the Communist Party policy which led to the massacre of Sept. 29 when Mella's funeral was supposed to be the signal for an insurrection.

There is an important report on Bolshevik-Leninist Party in Oriente, the organizational activity of the Easternmost province of Cuba. Our comrades have been able to build up an extensive organization with units in most of the important

of the Nation which they condemn so hotly. Of course, I did not charge a sell-out and the whole spirit and purpose of my criticisms was different; I wanted the strike to be won, the "Daily Worker" to be lost so it could denounce somebody. Indeed, they might have been lifted from the *Militant*, and it was because *The Militant* criticized those leaders in a forthright manner (quite different from the slanderous, lying, disruptive attacks peculiar to the *Daily Worker* and the 18th St. "union") that I called it "the clearest voice" of the progressive elements in the strike committee. The jumping together by the *Daily Worker* of J. P. Cannon, *The Militant* and an independent writer, with Field, Caldwell, the Right wingers, Ham Fish, Woll, La Guardia, Herrick, Weasel Duffy, is the good old C. P. habit of seeing everything outside its ranks as one reactionary mass.

I should like to make one point here for which I had no space in the *Nation*. The *Daily Worker* kicks up quite a fuss about the failure of the strike leadership to provide relief. I leave it to *The Militant* to report what the progressive group said on this matter. On my own behalf, however, I wish to state that I carried on a constant agitation vis-a-vis Messrs. Field and Gittow against their negligence on the relief question. I offered to help set up a committee of strike sympathizers to raise relief, but for days I was given the run-around. When a committee was finally set up, I induced friends to give considerable time to help put over the job. They found that the whole approach of the union leaders to this question was such that no effective work could be done. When I complained to Field about this state of affairs he had no time to discuss the matter with me or to listen to my proposals for reorganizing this work.

I am not aware that the *Daily Worker* or the 18th St. union did anything constructive on the question of relief or on any other question. Their howl at this time is entirely one of spurious indignation.

Sincerely, —HERBERT SOLOW. P. S. The *Daily Worker* refers to me as a former editor of *The Menorah Journal*. I do not know whether or not that is supposed to make me blush, but it does not. I recall that my attack on Zionism, which several years ago led the Editor of the *Menorah Journal* to force me out, was reprinted in the *Freiheit*, Yiddish organ of the C. P. as the praiseworthy expression of "an honest intellectual." I also recall that the John Reed Club, quite reluctantly it is true, once adopted a unanimous resolution sustaining me and a dozen other writers who had complained that John Reed Club members had broken our strike against the *Menorah Journal*.

PLEDGE FUND

A number of our members and sympathizers, impatient at the occasional skipping of an issue and interested in helping to overcome the difficulties have expressed a desire to pledge a definite weekly or monthly sum to assure the regular appearance of the *MILITANT*.

Toward this end we are starting a PLEDGE FUND. The Fund will be administered by the business manager of the *MILITANT* separately from the general funds of the organization. In this manner we hope to establish a guarantee of the regular appearance of the *MILITANT*.

Each week the *MILITANT* will carry a list of the pledgers numbered consecutively in the order in which they are received. The first to pledge is comrade Paul King of the Brooklyn Br., New York Local. Next week we hope to be able to print a few more names.

Goldin Clique in Blind Alley

Unscrupulous Policy Endangers Unity in Blockers Union

New York.—The rump elections in the Blockers' Local of the Military Union were finally held on Mon., Feb. 26, according to the wishes of the corrupt Goldin clique in combination with the Stalinist United Front Committee. By this move, this partnership played its last card and revealed its complete bankruptcy.

Genuine Revolt Against Zaritsky The total number of votes cast is reported to be close to one thousand. This proves that the revolt against Zaritsky's machine was genuine and deeply rooted among the blockers. But this revolt was misdirected and led into a blind alley. Goldin and his henchmen elected to office find themselves without any power. The workers who participated in the elections to register their protest against Zaritsky's abuse of their democratic rights, will not follow Goldin in the next logical step: the setting up of a rival union. The blockers have gone through this experience once before, and they have learned the meaning of it. They know, that as

long as their revolt is localized within the confines of one craft in the industry, the attempt to set up a rival union would be a criminal adventure certain to end in catastrophe for the workers.

In the elections the blockers voted for the Goldin clique as an expression of indignation against the Zaritsky machine. But the blockers also remember the kind of democracy they enjoyed under a Goldin administration. They remember well his gangster methods of intimidating militant workers, his use of police to keep them out of meetings, the favoritism he practiced in the distribution of jobs. The workers used the election as a vehicle to express their protest. But they will not follow Goldin any further.

Stalinist Bloc with Goldin Prior to the elections and in the election campaign the "United front committee" was merged with the Goldin clique so completely, that in all its literature it did not have a single word of criticism against this corrupt outfit. The election ticket of the U. F. C. calls for the election of its leader I. Waldman for organizer, but left the posts of the other two organizers for the Goldin clique to fill. Two days after the elections the first signs of disagreement in the partnership became evident. The report of the elections, printed in the Stalinist organ the *Freiheit*, concludes with the following phrase: "...between Zaritsky and Goldin there is no disagreement in principle, they are conducting a struggle for power."

Why this sudden discovery? When we pointed this out long before, we were condemned as "renegades" by these same people. If there is no difference in principle between Goldin and Zaritsky, then on what basis did the Stalinists arrive at their decision to support Goldin? The answer to this sudden discovery will be found in the election results. While the Stalinist "united front" played fair with Goldin, leaving for him two out of three paid jobs on the ballot, Goldin double-crossed them, nominated and elected his own complete state of officers, giving the Stalinists only two out of 15 places on the executive board. Now, after this rough deal they got from Goldin, it suddenly dawned upon the Stalinists that Goldin has no principles, that he is only fighting for power.

Sudden Concern for Principles This sudden concern with principles on the part of Goldin's Stalinist partners of the "United Front Committee" will not be taken seriously by the blockers. The workers have seen how these Stalinist demagogues gave their unqualified support to Goldin at the mass meetings and in the press. At no time in the entire struggle was there a distinction in policy or phraseology between them and Goldin. Zaritsky in the meantime, issued a decree ordering all blockers to register in the reorganized blockers' local and to exchange their membership books for new ones. This means, that all those who fail to comply with the order will be deprived of their jobs, and will no longer be considered members of the International Union.

The Stalinists have been thrown into complete confusion. On the one hand they had a falling out with their partner in misleadership, Goldin. To register in Zaritsky's reorganized local, on the other hand, would mean a complete capitulation; it would mean no admission that their policy proved to be bankrupt. What is more if they come back to the International Union with a demand for democratic election, Zaritsky can always throw it up to them that they had already held their "elections".

The course of the "U. F. C." and Goldin, as we pointed out in the last issue of the *Militant*, weakens the genuine struggle against Zaritsky's machine.

The United Blockers' League The United Blockers League, the only group among the blockers which foresaw this very clearly from the outset and warned the blockers against this splitting course, is the only group remaining in the field, capable of an effective struggle against Zaritsky and for a democratically run class-struggle union. The United Blockers League embraces in its ranks Left wing and progressive workers, who proved in the critical moment to be able to advance a correct program, who did not discredit themselves through shady alliances with any of the cliques, who steered their own clear consistent course of relentless struggle against both, the clique of Goldin and Company and that of Zaritsky and his henchmen.

We urge the blockers to take the only possible way out: To heal the wounds of the breach in their ranks, to reunite the local, to group themselves in the united local around the United Blockers League, demand democratically run elections and spread the fight to the other locals of the International, Zaritsky and his machine will be swept out of power only by the united efforts of all the Left wing Militants.

—A BLOCKER.

Militant Builders 789 Subs!

The Club Plan sub drive took another leap upward since our last report. The list below tells the story. The complete record up to date is as follows:

New York Local	384
Minneapolis Br.	88
Kansas City Br.	48
Pittsburgh Br.	32
L. Brown	20
Boston Br.	16
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
Chicago Br.	12
Youngstown Br.	12
Chicago Friends of Militant Club	8
Davenport Br.	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papeun	8
S. Hardy	8
I. Goodman	8
Q. Parker	6
G. Kotz	6
M. Hurwitz	5
Buffalo Br.	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Philadelphia Br.	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4

TOTAL 789

Only 211 subs to go and we will reach our goal of one thousand new subs through the Club Plan. Can we do it in two weeks? We think so. We are counting on all those Militant Builders in the list above and those who have not yet swung into action to put the drive over the top.

Shachtman Tour

Sun., March 11th—Buffalo N. Y.
Mon., March 12th—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Wed., March 14th—Newcastle Pa.
Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown O.
Fri., March 16th—Youngstown O.
Sat., March 17th—Cleveland Ohio
Sun., March 18th—Chicago, Ill.
Mon., March 19th—Chicago, Ill.
Tues., March 20th—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., March 21st—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago, Ill.

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THE I.L.D. IN THE CAPITALIST COURTS

Boston.—On Feb. 22, David Udell of the Boston branch of the Left Opposition and a member of the Young Communist League (Stalinists) named Cohen, were arrested for distributing leaflets outside a Socialist party meeting held to protest against Austrian Fascism. The course and outcome of the case are a clear revelation of the degenerate character of the International Labor Defense under Stalinist rule.

Comrade Udell had been distributing leaflets advertising the meeting which comrade Max Shachtman of New York was to address; Cohen was distributing bulletins for the Workers' (Stalinist) School. Immediately after the arrest comrade Konikov of the Left Opposition called a bail commissioner by phone from the police station. Before the commissioner arrived, another commissioner, called the I. L. D., came in. Comrade Konikov offered him a check to cover the bail bond for both Udell and Cohen, the Stalinist. The I. L. D. commissioner refused the check, but accepted a bank book provided by another comrade. Konikov then paid the bail for both defendants with cash.

Next morning before court opened, Burke, Boston leader of the I. L. D. offered to defend Udell along with Cohen. Udell accepted, placing his defense in the hands of the I. L. D. Burke also offered to defend four Socialists arrested earlier in the week for distributing leaflets. The Socialists refused. Burke managed to get a postponement until Feb. 26.

The Socialists offered a technical defense, saying they had not distri-

buted leaflets but had merely held them, allowing people to help themselves. One of them added that he is "a good Christian", was born in this country, and that Socialists are peace-lovers. Burke and other Stalinists in the court mocked the Socialists after their trial, accusing them of "belly-crawling and sniveling." Burke invited them to be at the Udell-Cohen trial and witness a "real workers' defense."

Burke took Udell to the I. L. D. office to go over the defense with a lawyer; on the way he told Udell stories of previous trials and the I. L. D.'s record of making "real Communist defenses." Udell waited at the office several hours but no lawyer appeared. He was told to go away and call up the next morning to arrange a meeting with the lawyer, Cohen and another Stalinist arrested on a similar charge. When he called up he was told the I. L. D. would not handle his case. No explanation was offered.

When his case came up Udell took a militant, class-conscious line. Although given little opportunity to talk, he brought out that he was arrested not for distributing leaflets but for distributing leaflets for a workers' organization. He pointed out that capitalist politicians are never molested for distributing leaflets during their political campaigns.

The Cohen case, defended by the I. L. D., came up next. Those who had mocked the Socialists now proceeded to ape them. Cohen argued that he had been on a step, not on the sidewalk, and that therefore the police had no right to ar-

rest him. The I. L. D. lawyer argued that Cohen was not distributing a leaflet but a school catalogue, and wound up by pleading for leniency on the grounds that Cohen is a youth (the youth are so easily misled!). Both defendants were found guilty and fined \$5 each.

Another Stalinist tried the same morning denied that he had distributed leaflets or that he knew anything about the C. P. He said that somebody had rushed by and thrust the leaflets in his hands; he then pocketed them and did not learn their nature until his arrest. He was found guilty, fined \$5 and agreed to pay.

Udell and Cohen decided to appeal. Apparently expecting an acquittal, the I. L. D. was at this point caught by surprise. It had made no agreements for bail. Again comrade Konikov put up bail for comrade Udell and also for Cohen, the Stalinist.

After the trial Cohen, the Stalinist defendant, said that the I. L. D. had fought on technicalities in order to take advantage of the "opportunities" offered by the bourgeois courts. He promised that at the next trial the I. L. D. will make a "Communist defense." Interesting enough, Burke who had boldly invited the Socialists to be present, was himself absent from the trial.

Thus the I. L. D. has again proven itself to be a thoroughly partisan organization, a creature of the C. P. not interested in the fate of workers who dare to criticize the Stalinist regime, and quite willing to compromise principle in order to try to get a man off from a \$5 fine.

ARE THERE LIMITS TO THE FALL?

The plenum of the Executive of the C. I. which met toward the end of December passed a resolution ("Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of the Communist Party"). This resolution resembles nothing so much as an epitaph—"Here lie buried the last remains of what was once the party of the international proletariat." The absence of any general guiding conception whatsoever is attested to in this resolution. But where could such a conception possibly have come from? Scraps of old zigzags have been carelessly pieced together to serve as directives for the working class of the world. The only thing that remains for criticism is to expose the insufficiency of each of the elements separately and their mutual incompatibility as a whole.

"The Policy of the German C. P. Was Correct!"

1. The resolution once again takes a solemn oath—evidently there are a few who do not believe it!—that the policy of the German Communist Party was unconditionally correct before, during, and after the Hitler overturn. We are told, however, in a parenthesis, that Remmele and Neumann belong to the "right opportunists and defeatists in their appraisal of the perspectives of the German Revolution." If this is not a miracle, what is? During the last few years, the leadership of the German Communist Party had been officially entrusted by the Comintern to three persons: Thaelmann, Remmele and Neumann (one can glean this even from the last edition of the German "encyclopaedia"). Now we are informed, in a fleeting remark, that two members of this triumvirate that led the German party "correctly" before and during the overturn accidentally turn out to be "opportunists and defeatists." Only the thick walls of a Fascist jail shield the third member against such an accident. But actually, whom are the leaders of the Comintern making fools of? Are they, perhaps, ridiculing themselves?

The Growth of Fascism

2. According to the resolution, "The growth of Fascism and its assumption of power in Germany, and in a number of other capitalist countries, imply a growth of the revolutionary crisis and increasing indignation of wide masses against the hegemony of capital." Commonly this is called covering up one's tracks. It is an old story by now that the growth of Fascism would be impossible without the growth of the social crisis of capitalism. But Hitler's victory ("the assumption of power by Fascism") did not at all arise from the "indignation of wide masses against the hegemony of capital" but from the impotence of these masses, who have been paralyzed by reformism, and adventurism; by the lack of revolutionary leadership, and by the despicable and criminal policy of the Comintern. "No Stalin—no victory for Hitler." No bureaucratic subterfuges can cover up either the depth of the German defeat or the responsibility of the Comintern.

The Social Democracy

3. "The social democracy—reads the resolution—aims only to fool and disarm the workers by denying the Fascization of bourgeois democracy and by counterposing in principle (1) the democratic countries to the countries with the Fascist dictatorship. By intentionally jumbling together questions of different orders, this muddled formulation serves the same purpose: to justify the 'correct' policy of the German Communist Party which, during the epoch of Braun-Severing, Brüning, and the aspect that Fascism was already victorious, because there is no 'principled' difference between the regime of social democracy and the regime of National Socialism. Apparently these gentlemen do not know themselves what they understand by a 'principled difference.' Let us assist them. Czarism was the state rule of the feudal landowners and of large capital. The Provisional Government of the February Republic remained also the rule of the landowners and large capital. Was there a 'principled' difference between the two? Obviously, no. If so, was it worth while to make the February Revolution? Or to put it differently: Is it permissible to attach any sort of 'principled' significance to the February revolution? Yet, without the February revolution, the October revolution would have been impossible. Large capital ruled in Germany under the vile democracy of Mueller-Severing-Brüning; large capital rules under Hitler. Clearly, there is no 'principled' difference between these two regimes. Yet, after the Fascist overturn, the proletariat found itself deprived of all means of defense and offense.

The Reasoning of Anarchism

The 13th Plenum offers us the classic reasoning of anarchism during the period of its primitive dumbness; Messrs. Kuusinen, Manuilsky and so forth are no anarchists; they place much too great a value upon the aid of the G. P. U. in the struggle against revolutionary Marxists. But by the logic of these mistakes, subterfuges, and denials they have arrived at anarchism.

ist philosophy: changes of political regimes are, if you please, without any "principled" meaning! No doubt, those Communists who are sitting not in Hotel de Luxe but in the concentration camp see these matters differently.

4. The resolution teaches us that the difference between social democracy and Fascism involves only the "forms and methods of Fascization." That's all! In contradiction to Fascists, social democrats "defend the preservation of parliamentary forms while putting through the Fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship." But on account of these "forms and methods," Fascism wages a struggle against the social democracy not for life but to death, murdering its leaders, seizing houses and funds, and committing workers to concentration camps. We know that the social democracy is a party which adapts itself to every political power, and which crawls on its knees even before the crowned representatives of the ruling classes; why is it, may we ask, that this utterly opportunist party which strives for Fascization becomes the victim of Fascism, instead of adapting itself to it? Is it only because of non-principled "forms and methods"? The perspicacious leaders of the Comintern took note of "parliamentary forms" but they forgot about the political and economic organizations of the proletariat. Not by a single word do they recall that the social democracy can neither live nor breathe—that is, it cannot exploit democracy nor betray the workers—without leaning upon the political and trade union organizations of the working class. Concurrently, it is precisely along this line that the irreconcilable contradiction between social democracy and Fascism takes place; precisely along this line does there open up the necessary and unbridgeable stage of the policies of the united front with the social democracy. Its attempt to leap over this stage cost the Comintern its head.

A Provoking Idiocy

g. "The social democracy—in the words of the resolution—continues to play the role of being the chief social (?) support of the bourgeoisie (!) in those countries where an open Fascist dictatorship exists." It is difficult to imagine an idiocy more provoking. The social democracy was driven from all its positions, entirely overwhelmed and trampled underfoot precisely because it had ceased to be of service as a support for the bourgeoisie. The place of the workers' bureaucracy that leaned upon the reformist organizations of the proletariat and received fat bribes from the hands of finance capital has been taken by Fascist thugs who lean upon the unbridled petty bourgeoisie. The essence of the overturn consisted in supplanting one "social support" by another "social support"—if one were to use the terminology of the leaders of the Comintern: in reality what they have in mind is not social but political support.

Evidently, the wise-ones wish to express the idea that what Fascism leans upon is the lack of confidence of the workers in themselves; and that reformism bears the guilt for this abject condition of the proletariat. Historically, this is true. But it is also true that the Comintern was founded in 1919 in order to liquidate the fatal influence of the social democracy. Up to 1923 the Comintern fulfilled this task successfully. Since then, for the last 10 years, it has been systematically sliding downward.* By compromising the revolutionary methods in the consciousness of the toiling masses, the Comintern provided one of the most important conditions for the victory of Fascism. This does not, of course, imply that the Comintern, today, plays the role of being "the chief social support" of Hitler; but this does imply that to overthrow Hitler, it is necessary to finish with the Comintern.

A Phantom Universe

6. "But—the resolution comforts us—it (the social democracy) is already in process of decomposition in the majority of countries." In a brief communication of the 13th Plenum, the British Communist Party is advised to "redouble the struggle for the united front, attracting into it workers who still (1) follow the Labor party and the trade union bureaucracy." The little word "still" completely exposes

* Some of our critics have the following to say on this score: under Lenin, it appears, everything was fine, but after his death, everything went to the dogs; so where does Marxism come in here? The causes for the bureaucratic degeneration of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern have been long since disclosed by us; no one has offered any other explanations; but the objective historical processes are realized through people; and specific personal influences can hasten or retard these processes. It remains an incontrovertible historical fact that Lenin's illness was widely utilized by the bureaucratic reaction and that it prepared a road for itself by means of the rabid struggle against "Trotskyism!"

Summary of the 13th Plenum of the Executive of the C. I. by L. D. Trotsky

the phantom universe that the bureaucrats of the Comintern inhabit. The British Communist party is a sorry myth. And on the other hand, the party of the Laborites, covered with betrayals, is preparing once again to assume power, for new betrayals. In 1926-1927, the Proletarian numbered a "million" workers in the ranks of the Left wing in the trade unions. Nothing was remained today of this movement. We shall not speak of the collapse of the German party which—alas!—will not be saved by the efforts of a few hundred or thousands self-sacrificing workers.

In France the split of the Socialist party did not help the decomposing Communist party a hair's breadth. The Unitary trade unions dropped from half a million to less than 200,000, while the reformist grew from 300,000 to 800,000. In Belgium the Communist party does not exist politically; the party of his Majesty's Minister, Vandervelde, still continues to rule over the workers' movement. In Austria the social democracy is consistently leading the proletariat to complete debacle, while the Communist party never emerged from its state of nonentity. Despite the fact that in Sweden and Denmark the social democracy has been in power for years, the official Communist parties in these countries remain ciphers.

In Norway the perfidious reformist Trauvel, who in 1923 had slightly less than did the orthodox section of the Comintern, received 45% of the votes of the population during the last elections while the Communist party has degenerated into a pitiful sect. In Switzerland the social democracy has been winning one canton after another while the party draws further and further back into obscurity. In Spain where the social democracy has borne the direct responsibility for strangling the revolutionary masses during the last few years, and where it has indubitably become weaker; and where anarcho-syndicalism had exposed its insufficiency on an unheard of scale, the Communist party failed to emerge from its state of nonentity. Everything seems to indicate that by passing over to the opposition side, the Spanish socialist party will regain its lost position once more.

The Polish Communist party, which as late as 1931 represented a major political force, has completely frittered away its influence over the masses. The leadership of the working class has returned back again into the hands of P. S. P. (Polish Socialist Party). The reporter Kuusinen could have described eloquently how the Communist party of Finland passed into the limbo under his leadership. The resolution of the 13th plenum mentions only one country by name where it appears "the majority of the working class solidly follows the Communist party in serious ranks": this country is Bulgaria! But even in Bulgaria the workers did not react at all against the terroristic measures which were legislated against the Communist party. These are the facts.

Figures from the "Yearbooks"

7. The "yearbooks" of the Comintern, a few years ago, gave the following data relating to the numerical strength of the Communist parties:

	Year	Members
Germany	1921	380,000
	1923	400,000
	1926	150,000
England	1921	10,000
	1923	4,000
	1926	5,000
France	1921	90,000
	1923	52,000
	1926	83,000 (?)
Czecho-Slovakia	1921	350,000 (?)
	1923	150,000
	1926	93,000
Norway	1921	97,000
	1923	20,000 (after the split)
	1926	7,000

With 1926, the statistics of the Comintern, as well the publication of the yearbooks come to a dead stop: before an abyss, one had best shut one's eyes. But the real decline, which assumed an irresistible character in the course of the "Third Period," began only in 1925-1926. Outside of the U. S. S. R., where the party has been liquidated

by bureaucratic strangulation, it would be no exaggeration to say that the total number of members of the Comintern is now 1-10 of the number in the period of its apex. As regards the Proletarian, it would be necessary to cite a proportion even more depressing. The "Krestintern" (Peasant International) gave up its ghost long ago, and its very name has dropped out of circulation. The cited figures, however, far from provide a complete picture of the theoretical collapse of the Comintern, and of the decline of its revolutionary prestige.

Explaining the Facts

8. How does the Comintern itself explain these facts? It does not explain them but keeps mum on the subject. It makes a fleeting comment; only in speaking of the tasks of "mass work" of the Communist parties does the 13th Plenum remark that "their weakest side as yet (!)...is their work in enterprises and trade unions, that is, in the proletariat. Where is its strongest side? Evidently in the circus tent of Muenzenberg, and in the Moscow Hotel de Luxe. What do the words 'as yet' signify? The period when the Communist parties were winning over trade unions and shop committees and when the Proletarian was a imposing power lies in the past and not the future. There is no retrieving the past. The policies of Zinoviev-Bucharin-Stalin-Manuilsky-Kuusinen ruined the Comintern.

9. Only a fraudulent, made-to-order optimism has remained of the strength that was frittered away. "It would be a right opportunist error—pronounces oracularly the 13th Plenum—not to see now the objective tendencies of the intensified ripening of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world." And what does "intensified" signify? Is it in comparison with that situation when Hitler had not as yet conquered? And did this catastrophe result from a lack of "the objective tendencies of a revolutionary crisis?"

Stalinism Assisted Hitler

Had the Comintern placed, from 1929, or even from 1930 or 1931, at the foundation of its policies the objective irreconcilability between social democracy and Fascism, or more exactly between Fascism and social democracy; if upon this, it had built a systematic and persistent policy of the united front, Germany, within a few months, would have been covered with a network of mighty committees of proletarian defense, potential workers' Soviets, that is, Had the government of the U. S. S. R. announced in time that it would view Hitler's coming to power as a preparation to strike Eastward; if by utilizing the favorable situation in Europe, it had at the same time taken the necessary preparatory military measures on the Western boundaries of the U. S. S. R., it would have imbued a double assurance into the ranks of German workers, and Germany would have had all the chances of becoming a Soviet republic. Europe and the entire world would have had a different aspect by now. Instead of this, the Stalinist Comintern, as well as the Stalinist diplomacy, assisted Hitler into the saddle from either side. After which Platinitsky put his forefinger to his head and explained: The German workers surrendered to the executioner without a battle because... there was no revolutionary situation. Messrs. Strategists, how many "revolutionary situations" are you prepared to ruin? Fortunately your hands have become considerably shorter.

10. "The revolutionary development—teaches us the 13th Plenum—is at the same time both made difficult and is hastened by the Fascist madness of the bourgeoisie." To this equivocal phrase there is appended the following melancholy postscript "At the given moment the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing in less open (!) forms in Germany." That's it! On the day after the Fascist overturn we had been promised a proletarian insurrection in the next few months, if not weeks, in fact it was postponed that it would coincide with October. Whoever refused to believe it was branded a counter-revolutionary. Subsequently in the plebiscite, Hitler received 43 million votes as against 3 million for

the opposition. "We are not to blame—replied all the Kuusinen-Hitler, you see, is applying terror." How unexpected! Hitler seized power precisely in order to be able to operate by means of terror. But if—as Messrs. Bankrupts originally asserted—the assumption of power by the Fascists acts to "hasten the revolution," then this should have manifested itself first of all in the impossibility to cow the workers by measures of terror—the more so, since not barricades were involved as yet but only the casting of opposition ballots. But it turns out that Fascism after collecting 17 million votes under democracy was able to terrorize 25 million more. If this is an expression of "speeding up" the revolution then there is absolutely no difference between that and the deepening of the counter-revolution. "Pessimism!" "Defeatism!" "Capitulation!" will howl those upstarts, once again, who are paid for their invariable readiness to call counter-revolution, revolution, the moment it is demanded of them by their bosses. Workers, learn to despise this bureaucratic rabble!

Directives Contradict Analysis

11. The directives of the Comintern—which do not rise above the level of its theoretical analysis—contradict the latter, however, at every point. The 13th Plenum prescribes to the Communist parties that they "painstakingly explain what economic and political enslavement the Fascist dictatorship has in store for the toilers." Just now we were "painstakingly" instructed that there is no "principled" difference between democracy and the Fascist dictatorship, and that the social democracy frightens the workers with the Fascist destruction of democracy, only for the sake of fooling the workers. Suddenly without any logical transition, the leaders of the Comintern in chorus with the social democrats proceed "painstakingly" to frighten the workers with that enslavement which the victory of Fascism bears. One reads with revulsion and feeling of shame this political gibberish, which, however, is the lawful progeny of the famous theory of the two twins: social democracy and Fascism.

12. The plenum charges the Communist parties with the task of "arousing the masses for the timely defense of trade unions, of the workers' press, workers' homes, the right to strike, the right to hold workers' meetings... creating militant self-defense squads to repel terroristic bands." Obviously the matter concerns the defense of not only Communist unions, papers and homes but of workers' organizations in general. And since the social democracy is interested no less intimately than the Communist party in defending its own unions, papers, and workers' homes, then there imperiously flows from this the policy of the united front. Is it not, then, obligatory, right now, to turn to the socialist parties and trade unions of those countries where Fascism is just getting ready for the offensive with the proposal of joint defense, of the joint functioning of the workers' squads? But the resolution keeps mum on this point. It dares not mention it, for fear of unwinding the entire chain of the crimes committed by the Comintern.

A Self-Indicting Recommendation

13. The E. C. recommends fighting for the right to strike, and the right to hold workers' meetings, in other words: for the democratic rights of the proletariat. To this must be added the defense of free elections and the inviolability of Communist deputies—and consequently the defense of parliamentarism itself against Fascist and Bynapist assaults. In what a cowardly, confused, circumspect and hem-and-hawing manner do the ill-fated leaders of the Comintern approach the question of defending the democratic positions of the proletariat! These masked demi-concessions are entirely insufficient for a correct policy; but they more than suffice for an indictment against the Comintern.

14. The resolution demands that the Communist parties "put an end to the opportunist and capitulatory disdain (!) of trade union work and, in particular, of work inside the reformist... trade unions." On the fifteenth anniversary of the Comintern, the plenum is obliged to explain to the Communist parties that it is impermissible to cherish "disdain" toward mass working class organizations. The most rabid foes have never uttered anything more annihilating about the Comintern than these few words. "Disdain" toward the proletariat and its mass organizations—that is the result—that is what has entered into the brain and marrow of the entire policies of bureaucratic adventurism.

Perspectives

15. And what of the perspectives? On this score, the resolution refers

us back again to the question whether the victory of Fascism would open the proletarian revolution. One could maintain with equal success that a shipwreck "speeds up" the voyage from Europe to America. The great importance of this question is patent: if Fascism—"speeds up," then it is permissible to repeat in France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, etc., those policies which were applied so successfully in Germany. One can have no doubts as to the happy results. All the more mercilessly must the Bolshevik-Leninists drive the theory and practice of bureaucratic adventurism out of the ranks of the workers' movement!

It is incontestable that the proletariat crushed by Fascism will pass ultimately out of the defeat; but only at the cost of terrific sacrifices, equivalent to the political ruin of an entire generation. The experience of Italy clearly attests this.

As against the Italian example the Plenum advances the following conception: "In contradistinction to the first wave of the Fascization of capitalist states, which occurred during the transition from a revolutionary crisis to a partial stabilization, the capitalist world today is passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to the revolutionary crisis..." The modicum of truth included in these words is lavishly diluted with lies. The victory of Hitler does not coincide at all with the transition from stabilization to crisis, because the unheard of world crisis began in 1929 and Hitler conquered some four years later, at the moment when the general social crisis of capitalism may again be mitigated for a time by a conjunctural revival. In any case, one thing is indubitable, the contradictions of capitalism, internal and international, have sharpened monstrously, and all bourgeois regimes, including the Fascist, are heading toward terrible experiences and tests.

New Revolutionary Situations

On this point the resolution remarks: "At any moment the turn may occur which would signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis." This idea itself is old enough; the Bolshevik-Leninists explained long ago how and why our epoch is the epoch of political turns. But this idea is least of all applicable today precisely in relation to Germany. In every other country in Europe a revolutionary situation may arise sooner than in Germany where the proletariat requires a considerable period to recover from the havoc and the demoralization, to recuperate and to regain confidence in its own forces. Needless to say, the victory of the proletariat in any other country would immeasurably speed up the process of the revolutionary resurrection of Germany.

The center of gravity is not lodged, however, in the revolutionary order of countries. In whatever country it may occur, "the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary one" does not, quite decide the question. In order that the revolutionary crisis be transformed into the proletarian revolution and not into a new Fascist overturn, a correct policy is required and consequently a genuine revolutionary party. A new International is necessary.

16. There is no ground for taking pride in the fact that 15 years after the foundation of the 3rd International it is necessary, in a certain sense, to begin from the beginning. But the guilt for so great a slide backward lies upon the leadership of the Comintern. The past cannot be remedied. One must take his point of departure from things as they actually are in order to consolidate the international revolutionary vanguard on a new historic stage.

This is equally necessary both in the interests of the world revolution and for the salvation of the U. S. S. R. Today nothing threatens the world position of the first workers' state to such a degree as placing faith on the parasitic Comintern. In the moment of danger to the U. S. S. R. one can expect the same aid from Cachin and Jacquemotte as from Leon Blum and Vandervelde.

The New International

17. The plenum did not leave unnoticed the question of the New International either. After posing "the leftward trend of the social democratic workers" and the "dog-fights among the social-Fascist tops" that flow from this, the resolution takes note of the attempt to "concoct a new 2 1/2 International" out of the left splinters. The political thought of the leaders of the Comintern does not rise higher than the level of these cheap words. Yet, before us is the question of a new stage in the world working class movement.

The influx of workers to the social democracy, coupled with the mortal danger of Fascism, knocks the camp of reformism out of its old equilibrium and engenders in it new currents and differentiations. The present growth of the social democracy only prepares a new and much more acute crisis for it. One must go to meet this crisis with a clear strategic plan and not dismiss

it with shallow witticisms upon the theme of "dog fights among the tops."

One must understand that the social democracy was never before caught in such a fearful vise as now. It is no accident that in the last minute before the crash, Staemmer phoned the Soviet consulate seeking assistance against Hitler. The traditional division of labor between Blum and Vandervelde has turned into a split. Blum, who led the venomous struggle against Soviet "imperialism," nuds himself compelled to announce the French social democracy now leads its "struggle for peace" in a united front with the U. S. S. R. The Belgian social democracy advances the recognition of the U. S. S. R. as one of its chief slogans. Among Russian Menshevik tendencies are becoming stronger in favor of recognizing the Soviet state—as a workers' state. At the same time, an interest, partly simulated, partly sincere, is growing in the ranks of the left reformist bureaucracy in the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Even among the Russian Mensheviks, "innovators" appear who discover the progressive sides of... "Trotskyism."

Estimating the Socialist Kitts

One would have to be an infant to accept all this in a lump for sound currency; one would have to see a Kuusinen not to see in it anything more than "dog fights among the social-Fascist tops." It is necessary to catch the squirming reformists at their own words, and to compel the reformist masses to the road of action—beat the enemy with his own weapons.

Least of all does there flow from this perspective the courting of social democratic bureaucrats, the hushing up of their crimes, the exaggerating of their "services" and so forth. Such a policy is worthy of Left-Centrism which feels itself to be only the shadow of reformism and which fears to counterpose itself actually to reformism. He who seeks a road to the masses by courting to reformist leaders will assuredly be cast away by the masses together with the compromised leaders. A consistent struggle against reformism! Not the slightest concession to Centrism!—These are the inscriptions on the banner of the 4th International.

18. Under the present conditions, the left flank of the social democracy would evolve quickly to the side of Communism, if the road were not barred by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Failing to understand the historical dialectic of the degeneration of the Comintern, many "left" groupings halt midway and entertain notions of merging the two Internationals, of creating an intermediate International, and similar reactionary phantasmagorias.

But alongside of these fence-sitting currents for whom there is in store an uneasy evolution with inevitable internal splits, there are being extruded even at this moment more progressive groupings which set as their task the creation of the Fourth International, that is, the re-establishment of the policies of Marx and Lenin on a new and higher historical level.

"Counter-Revolutionary"

The 13th plenum graciously takes note of this tendency also. "The hiring of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, Trotsky, by his pathetic attempts to create a 4th International... seeks without success to bait the transition of the social democratic workers over to the side of Communism." It is quite in character for people who pass off the victory of counter-revolution as the "speeding up" of revolution, to pass off Marxists for counter-revolutionists. It is not worthwhile to dwell on it. There is another side to the matter which is more interesting. It appears that "the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (evidently there exists a revolutionary one also!) which has the social democracy for its chief "social support" and which, at the same time, entrusts to Fascism the blasting of its "chief support" although there is no "principled" difference between the two—this "counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie," it appears, requires over and above this—the 4th International. At any rate, there is consolation in the fact that despite the efforts of counter-revolutionists "the transition of social-democratic workers over to the side of Communism" not only is not being hindered but on the contrary is growing not by the day but by the hour... Only people who spit upon the public opinion of the working class can lie so crudely and idiotically.

The decisions of the 13th plenum are permeated with the spirit of bureaucratic cynicism. The Comintern is dead for the revolutionary cause. Nor will it be revived by the VIth Congress which has been called at last for the "latter part" of the current year. The revolutionary movement will follow another course. The Bolshevik-Leninists have the right to be proud of the fact that history has placed upon them the mission of being the new trail blazers.

—L. TROTSKY.

January 18, 1934.

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Toward the New Party

Internationalism and The A. W. P.

(Continued from page 1)

"national peculiarities" of these parties; it is the expression, rather, of the downfall of the internationalism which they represent. Stalinism and Social Democracy are bankrupt on a world scale. A new party which emerges to challenge them must begin with this principle: condemnation and then translate it into criticism of the concrete activities of these parties here at home. An "American" party, hazy about its own international position, would be obviously incapable of such a struggle.

Without exhausting the question in a single article, the mistakes of the international section of the statement of the A. W. P. may be enumerated as follows:

New Parties and New Internationalism—A Single Task

1. The building of new parties and the new internationalism, which are inseparable bound together in a single task are counterposed as separate tasks, and the building of national parties is put in the first order. The statement speaks of "putting the cart before the horse," and adds: "The primary contribution revolutionary workers in any country can make toward building an effective internationalism is by building an effective revolutionary movement in their country." Also: "Our absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep, building a revolutionary party in the U. S., rooted in the American soil," etc.

All this has a certain "realistic" sound, but it does not at the realities which every new party must confront—the realities of world economy and world politics and the world crisis of the labor movement. (American imperialism lives in the world, not in the 48 states.) It is impossible to build a revolutionary party or to draw up a revolutionary program, that is, a Marxist program, in any single country today without taking the world realities as the point of departure. That means, the new parties must be internationalist from the moment of their inception, and even in the process of their formation, and have a definite international orientation. The international position of any party is today the primary test of its revolutionary character.

Marxism Is Not A Foreign Product

To be sure, the new party must live in America, speak the language of the country, "feel" the moods, psychology and traditions of the masses, etc. In this sense the new party must be "American." It must be a power in the country in order to be a real support of the new internationalism. But that does not mean it should adapt itself to the backwardness, prejudices and national narrow-mindedness of the masses of American workers. Marxism is not a foreign product; it is the theory of the class struggle in every country; it is "native" to every land of capitalist exploitation. The new party will have the task of making the theory of Marxism understandable to the awakening workers of America and of applying this theory in their struggle. Only on this foundation can a genuinely revolutionary party be constructed. Such a party can only be a thorough-going party of internationalism.

Concepts of Internationalism

2. The statement of the A. W. P. tends to limit the concept of internationalism to joint actions of strong national parties. Action, of course, is the highest expression of the international organization of the vanguard and everything leads to that end. But the role of internationalism is no less weighty in the preparation of the actions and in the development and training of the national parties. At the present moment, with the whole international organization of the vanguard in a state of crisis and demoralization, this side of the question acquires an exceptional importance.

International cooperation in the work of charting the new parties and the new internationalism, mutual exchange of experiences and ideas, putting the collective experience and theoretical knowledge of the Marxists of all countries at the disposal of each and every national party or group—it is precisely in these fields that the real spirit of internationalism manifests itself most prominently today in preparation for the actions of tomorrow. Herein lies the great historic significance of the work already in progress for the building of the Fourth International.

Can the National Parties Develop Independently?

Can the new parties each develop independently, work out their own programs, acquire mass proportions and influence and then come together to form the new internationalism? This is the concept that appears to govern the A. W. P. approach to the question. "The A. W. P. stands for one compact revolu-

tionary labor international built up by actually functioning revolutionary parties of various countries..."

This idea, which is very similar to that expressed by Gitlow, takes active internationalism off the agenda for the present, and gives no assurance for the formation of the new international in the future. Just the contrary. The new parties, left to themselves, and replacing international cooperation and assistance would develop on different lines, adopt contradictory programs on many questions, full victim of national isolation, and experience repeated internal convulsions and splits. The program of building the parties first, then the international, is utopian, not to say non-Marxist. The genuine revolutionary internationalists in the whole world today, as in the period of the world war, are not too numerous. It is a life and death matter for them to get together now on an international scale to prepare the program of the new international and to work for the formation of its national sections. The task of building the Fourth International goes hand in hand with the task of forming new national parties in the separate countries. Genuine internationalism today cannot allow any separation of these two aspects of the same problem.

Organization Methods

Is the Fourth International to imitate the methods of the Stalin Comintern, with everything decided in advance for the national parties, with uniform tactics imposed everywhere, etc.? This question is asked in some alarm from two different points of view. Some who have learned to despise the methods of degenerate Stalinism in struggle against it want to establish safeguards; others, it must be said, are inclined to raise the bugaboo of Stalinism as an excuse to avoid any kind of centralized organization, discipline, uniformity of principle and control. We have definite opinions on the subject and will stand up for them in the Fourth International and in the conferences leading to its formation.

The International Left Opposition stands for a world program and for uniformity in fundamental principles. Its concept of the Fourth International is the concept of a World Party. But, along with that, we stand for internal democracy in the parties and in the international. The parties affiliated to the Fourth International must be real parties, standing on their own feet, living their own life and selecting their own leaders. If we consider it impossible to build revolutionary parties without international cooperation, then we assert no less emphatically that the international can become a power only if its component parts—the national parties—are really functioning organizations in the full sense of the word.

Which International?

3. The programmatic statement of the A. W. P. leaves its own international orientation undecided. Or, at any rate, its position is not clearly stated. Four currents are to be recognized in the international field: The Second, the Third, the Two-and-a-half, (Centrist) and the Fourth (Revolutionary Communist). The A. W. P. is against the Second and the Third, but does not mention the other currents. It declares its readiness to "remain in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions with all who are interested in that problem, and especially with those parties which like ourselves cannot accept either the Second or the Third International today."

In the course of discussion, both in the joint committee and in the press, we hope to convince the A. W. P. that it is absolutely necessary to take a precise attitude on this question, to declare what kind of a new international is needed and to agree with us that the new party should place itself on the day of its birth under the banner of the Fourth International.

Such an agreement, which would imply a solidarity on other principle questions, could make the launching of the new party in America, by the joint efforts of the A. W. P. and the Left Opposition, a realistic prospect for the not too distant future. There can be no doubt that such a party would be from the start a powerful magnet of attraction for the revolutionary workers in America.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

NOTICE

A pocketbook was lost at the Cannon-Lovestone debate at Irving Plaza by the undersigned. It contained receipts from the Dressmakers Union No. 48, Union City, New Jersey, and about \$30 in cash. Finder please return to undersigned or to office of the Militant.

—HARRY ZAROFF.
829 Adeo Avenue,
Bronx, N. Y.

Corporations Win the Fake N.R.A. "Elections"

(Continued from page 1)

weeks. Finally the workers returned to the jobs as a result of intervention by the National Labor Board with a "guarantee" that they would be accorded the right to their choice of union organization. The company lost no time, but set a date for election of representatives on the company union plan. The Labor Board ordered a postponement of elections. It was refused by the company. The Labor Board next announced that it would supervise the elections. That sort of assistance was similarly rejected by the company, which went ahead with the elections under its own auspices.

As a result the company could announce a "great victory" for the company union plan. It claimed that over nine thousand workers had participated in the voting. There was, of course, no way of ascertaining the correctness of these figures, but the intimidation methods pursued by the company were quickly established. Hundreds of workers made affidavits that heads of departments had forced them to vote. For several weeks prior to the elections, workers had been entertained royally in the country club quarters almost every night under sponsorship of company union officials. But the most effective intimidation was naturally constituted by the fear of the men of losing their jobs if they failed to vote. This fear had been very much heightened by the shut-down of those mills in the Weirton plant where the union sentiment was strongest. Simultaneously three mills belonging to the same company at its Clarksburg plant were opened, taking in new workers a few days before the elections. All workers had been given clearly to understand that they must vote or lose their jobs.

Enforcing Company Union Plan

It has been reported since that the Labor Board made plans for a contest in the courts. However, the fake election took place in December and nothing has been heard of it since. The Weirton Steel Co. enforced its company union plan, and the orders of the Labor Board remained so many empty boasts. In the first place they constituted only a public pretence of protecting the workers' rights.

The National Labor Board had no better luck in the case of the Budd Manufacturing Co. in Philadelphia. Following its intervention in a strike, it directed the company to reinstate all strikers "promptly, and without discrimina-

Appeal of French Internationalists

(Continued from page 1)

economic demands of all the workers without distinction of race or nationality, in defense of all the foreign workers, especially threatened by the chauvinism and the anti-semitism of the Fascist groupings.

3. The immediate organization of the workers' militia for the defense of your headquarters, your meetings, your demonstrations, your fighters. The least Fascist attack should call forth a thundering reply from your militia.

The workers' defense bodies, the Workers' Alliance Committees, basing themselves on the exploited masses, utilizing the force of the militias, will extend their aims and their rights. Their mobilizing by localities, by districts, in the entire nation, will lay the bases of your power.

Against the Chiappist municipal council, the workers of Paris will oppose the Workers' Committee!

Against the rotten parliament, you will oppose the Workers' Parliament!

WORKERS!

On February 12, you have forced your organizations to come to an agreement in many localities. There are local committees for the Workers' Alliance, for vigilance, initiative, joint action, etc., in the 4th, 18th, 19th districts, in Saint Denis, Puteaux, Suresnes, Corbeil, Poitiers, Strassburg, etc. This has begun a method of struggle of the illustrious leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Our Communist League, struggling in the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, appeals to you to immediately organize for joint action, from top to bottom, of all organizations.

You are strong!... Victory is assured on one condition: Organization, more organization and always organization!

Forward to the Workers' Alliance! Forward to the Workers' Militia! Down with reaction and Fascism! Long live the Workers' Power!

—Executive Committee of the Communist League
Paris, Feb. 14, 1934.

tion". The company pledged its "full support", but added tersely that "the men will be re-engaged as soon as our operation improves". It of course had its way.

It is not necessary to adduce additional examples to show what the role of the Labor Board is and in what direction its power is to be applied. In every labor dispute on record since its creation it has intervened to forestall action by the workers, until the most opportune moment for strike has passed, or else it has injected itself into such situations with a view to demoralizing and dividing the workers ranks in advance. In every instance it has convoked directly with the capitalist agents in labor's ranks holding official union positions. When the workers take matters into their own hands and go on strike the role of the labor board is usually the one of making certain promises or guarantees to the workers which it has neither the power nor the intention to enforce after the workers have returned to the jobs.

Compulsory Arbitration Scheme

There is now before congress a bill providing for the creation of a permanent National Labor Board which, if adopted, will become tantamount to compulsory arbitration. This bill is introduced by Senator Wagner, and it has the backing and support of the officials of the American Federation of Labor. William Green, John L. Lewis of the miners union, and William L. Berry of the Pressmen's Union are members of the present Labor Board and are a party to all its pretences and fraudulent promises.

As far as the A. F. of L. officials are concerned, in practically every labor dispute they have learned almost entirely on the support of such governmental institutions rather than upon the fighting workers' ranks. This is the weakest of needs to lean upon. The employers have shown themselves able in every case to use these governmental agencies to serve their specific purposes. In the first place it is their government and nothing else could be expected. The extent to which that can be counteracted depends entirely upon the power that the labor movement can develop in action.

The questions of collective bargaining, of union organization, and of compelling the employers to accede to the demands of the workers—these are not matters of polite discussions or ordinary business. They are matters of class struggle. The sooner the workers and the trade unions recognize this fact and prepare themselves accordingly, the sooner they will be able to enforce their own rights without relying on the pretended impartiality or support of the Labor Boards.

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Aftermath of the Madison Square Garden Affair

The Intellectuals Revolt Against Stalinist Hooliganism

While Hathaway continues to shout that "the C. P. has nothing to apologize for" with respect to the disruption of the Socialist meeting at Madison Square Garden, some of his Party's supporters are not so sure.

A group of 25 intellectuals last week addressed to the C. P. and the New Masses an open letter on the subject. After condemning the policies of Socialist leadership in Austria and the United States, these intellectuals describe the actions of the C. P. at the Garden meeting and attribute to it "the disruption of working-class action in support of the Austrian workers. They conclude with this paragraph:

"The Daily Worker of February 16th says: 'Anyone who splits the ranks of the workers at this time helps the Fascists, injures the valiant struggle of our heroic brothers in Austria, and is a contemptible enemy of the working class. We who write this letter watch with sympathy the struggles of militant labor and aid such struggles. We agree with the statement of the Daily Worker. And it is with horror that we see the Communist Party play the part against which it itself has warned.'"

This Open Letter, whose contents must be endorsed by every enemy of Fascism, is evidence of a new attitude among the intellectuals who in recent years have gathered on the periphery of the revolutionary movement. While not one of the signers of this letter has, as far as we know, drawn from his criticisms of the C. P. and the S. P. the revolutionary's inevitable conclusion that a new revolutionary party must be founded, their statement has its own importance.

Among the signers are a former secretary (E. E. Cohen) and several of the most active members of the executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; the secretary of the Prisoners' Book Committee (George Novack); the former secretary of the Prisoners' Relief Committee (Diana Rubin). All these organizations are auxiliaries of the C. P.-controlled I. L. D. Here, too, is to be found James Rorty, the secretary of the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, the C. P.'s proudest boast in the 1932 Presidential campaign. And here are intellectuals who, under Party influence and to serve the Party, journeyed to the class battle-front in Kentucky, Alabama, Michigan, Washington, D. C.; members of a National Student League delegation to the U. S. S. R.; agitators and fund raisers for the I. L. D. in the Scottsboro and other cases; authors of articles in the Daily Worker, Fight, the New Masses, etc., and of pamphlets bearing imprints of party organizations.

"Discusión" a la C. P.

Yesterday all these were among "the honest intellectuals who accept the leadership of the C. P. under comrade Stalin." Today? Hell hath no fury like a Stalinist spurred. Today—we take this from the New Masses "reply to the Open Letter—they are Zionistish academicians, butterflies, Lovestones, Trotskyites, Mustelites, generals rearing for armies, lacking in integrity and humility, Hamlets, egotists, Narcissists, etc., etc."

Of them all, the New Masses hopes to save from the ruin only one—John Dos Passos. Him alone—apparently on the hunch that of the 25 he has been least concerned with careful, critical study of C. P. theory and tactics—will it address as a Comrade. One may well differ with the New Masses' view that Dos Passos' novels are "proletarian literature." It is perhaps enough to say that they are incisive exposures of the futility and rottenness of bourgeois civilization, and that there shines through them not a little of the vitality of the class of the future, the proletariat. By these books, by his work as treasurer of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners since its establishment, and in other ways, Dos Passos has served the revolutionary cause.

And what does the New Masses have to say to him? Only this: the Socialist leaders slander us (yes, yes; the Socialist leaders are opposed to revolution); what we did at Madison Square Garden was "an attempt to throw the masses together" (have such attempts ever succeeded?); Socialist leaders on the platform struck St. Clarence Hathaway the Pacific (whom was he "trying" to pacify and who is responsible for their provocation?); you cannot understand our tactic unless you understand our psychology (and how about the psychology of the Socialist rank-and-file and non-Communist trade unionists?); we are in favor of not of the united front but of the united front "from below" (so nothing has been learn-

ed or forgotten since Hitler came to power!)

In other words, although you had heard all this a thousand times before you signed the Open Letter, we tell it to you again—and one word more... a threat. If you Dos Passos, do not remove your name, crawl before us, we will denounce you too! You too will have been suddenly transformed from a comrade into a butterfly, a Trotskyite and, no doubt, even a Zionist!

Obviously this is a cheap political trick. The New Masses hopes, by a mixture of flattery and threats, to bring Dos Passos back and thus to give a shadow of justification to its denunciation of the remaining 24 co-signers. In truth, from a revolutionary standpoint the similarities of origin, record and present attitude among all these intellectuals, including Dos Passos (as he himself would probably be the first to affirm) are more significant than the differences, and the history of their relations with the movement is very much all of a piece.

Intellectuals and the Party

Awakened to the horrors of capitalist civilization, in most cases by the collapse of 1929, they and hundreds like them were drawn close to the class struggle by the sweep of mass movements. Anxious to have some contact with militant labor and the revolutionary movement, anxious to join immediately in some action without too much study of what they were long inclined to call "factional squabbles," they approached the C. P. and its auxiliaries.

All served, some more, some less, but all as sympathizers, fellow-travelers, outsiders. The Stalinists accepted their services, cynically "used" them, flattering them to their faces and sneering at them behind their backs. It made no effort to criticize frankly their errors and weaknesses. It had no thought of drawing them closer to the movement by comradely polemics. In fact, it preferred to keep them at arm's length. Why should intellectuals like Joe Freeman, Moissaye Olgin, Sam Don, V. Jerome, William Patterson, press into the Party new intellectuals with five times their equipment? As long as the new men stay outside, furthermore, they may continue to believe that within the Party all is as it should be; once inside would they remain silent? The Stalinists feared not.

Consequently, they encouraged them to stay out, playing up to all their doubts, fears, prejudices and weaknesses, perpetuating in them the characteristics which their past had stamped upon them. The result has been disastrous for the revolutionary movement and for the intellectuals. The C. P. has developed a whole system of opportunism vis-a-vis its captive intellectuals: it complacently fails to rally masses (election campaign, Scottsboro struggle, anti-war struggle) and instead shoves forward a dozen poets and artists whose names, printed on the front pages of the capitalist press, make good reading in the many intellectuals began to adapt themselves to or even to adopt Stalinist methods; assuming attitudes of condescending superiority to workers (they must be tricked into militancy, "encouraged" by cockles and bull stories about the growth of the German C. P. since Hitler); writing "clearly non-revolutionary pieces for the liberal press ("oh, the workers don't read that stuff anyway"); permitting themselves other forms of juvenile Machiavellianism suitable to the inner politics of a petty-bourgeois newspaper or art circle or university, but having nothing in common with the tactics of the Marxist.

Many a lesson in such attitudes was administered them by Earl Browder, a past master of questionable maneuvers, lies and hypocrisies. Little wonder that in nine cases out of ten the C. P. intellectual sympathizer was one who disbelieved much that Stalin, Browder and the C. P. said, buying himself freedom from casting in his lot with the revolution by pretending to believe in the Stalinist line and the Stalinist lies and by refraining from criticism.

The intellectuals are themselves not without guilt in this matter, nor do we hold any special brief for the 25 who signed the Open Letter. They have no doubt at times and in varying degrees shared the attitudes we condemn. They still carry with them many of the uncertainties which characterize the class of their origin. As we said before, not one seems to have drawn from his critique of the Second and Third Internationals' policies, a really revolutionary conclusion. For all one can tell from their Open Letter, they may still regard the Garden disruption as an exception rather than as a regular feature of

Stalinist policy in "the third period."

United Front from Below

But this much is clear: they have understood that what the C. P. did at Madison Square Garden was a disgrace to the name of Communism, a crime against working-class unity, an objective aid to Fascism. They have done more: they have dared the foul slanders that will be spread by the Freemans, the Passes, the Hutchins, the Colemans, and the whole tribe of Party bell-wethers and boot-lickers on "the intellectual front." They have dared dispense with the Daily Workers' assurance that they are "the honest intellectuals"—and in doing so do they have begun to be the most honest intellectuals of all those who have, during the last few years, turned their faces away from contemplating the rottenness of Stalinism because they would not take the responsibility of carrying criticism into action. This much, at least, is a significant development and a welcome one.

These 25 cannot remain where they are. They must go forward or back. They have left reformism and the Socialist Party behind. They have now dealt their first blow against the theory and practice of the united front "from below" which had such tragic effects in Germany and elsewhere. This, the New Masses admits, is the issue at stake. They must now apologize for that blow and capitulate to the propagators of the united front "from below," the organizers of defeat—or they must move forward to firmer ground.

The first need is a discussion of the question of the united front and the united front "from below." The Left Opposition is interested in such a discussion for its own sake; unless this question is clarified, no militant unity against Fascism is possible. Quite frankly, we also believe that an investigation of the issue will reveal that the errors of the C. P. in this matter are neither a temporary, local nor accidental phenomenon; they have roots which reach deep into the C. I. itself, which arise from the most basic theory of the Stalinist chiefs of the C. I. and of the Soviet State—the theory of socialism in one country.

The Communist League of America invites these and all other intellectuals who stand on the ground of the October Revolution and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the only workers' State, to a comradely discussion of the question of the united front, in its historical, theoretical and immediate practical aspects. Such a discussion may take place either by meeting or in the pages of The Militant. Here these intellectuals will find neither the flattery nor the cynicism, neither the nauseating blandishments nor the nauseating slanders which are the stock-in-trade of the C. P. in dealing with fellow-travelers and sympathizers. They will be asked to take nothing on faith, nor will they have to prove, as the New Masses now demands, that they were born with a silver hammer-and-sickle in their mouths. Where differences of opinion exist, they will be expressed by us in candid and comradely fashion.

Whether these intellectuals remain sympathizers, fellow-travelers, or become an integral part of the revolutionary movement, depends largely upon themselves. But the Left Opposition will do all it can to prevent their disgust with Stalinist tactics from turning into a disgust with Communism, to rearm in the service of the international proletariat these intellectuals who, having experienced their first skirmishes under a bankrupt leadership, might otherwise lose contact with the militant working class and the revolutionary movement.

BANQUET

for the benefit of the

PROTOMAGIA CLUB

on SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1934

8 P. M.

633 Eighth Avenue

Between 41st and 42nd St.

CLASS IN TRADE UNIONISM

Registration is still open for the class, "Survey of American Trade Union Strategy and Tactics," with Arne Swaback, Secretary of the Communist League, as instructor.

This class, one of a series conducted this semester by the International Workers School, is held every Wednesday evening, 8 P. M., at 126 East 16th Street.

In addition to an historical survey of the trade union movement, comrade Swaback will analyze all the present currents in the trade union movement from the most reactionary to the most revolutionary. The students of the course upon its completion will be armed with a theoretical understanding of trade union problems and a better ability to participate fruitfully as revolutionists in the trade unions.



Taxi Strikers Battling For Union Recognition

N.R.A. Labor Board Conspires With Bosses to Break Strike and Impose Company Union

4,500 taxi drivers and mechanics have struck again in New York City. One month after the general strike of taxi workers, the employees of the Parmelee System, one of the largest taxicab fleets in the city, have found it necessary to strike to prevent a company union from being forced upon them. They are fighting for recognition of their union, the Taxicab Drivers Union of Greater New York. They want an end to the black list, reinstatement of all men discharged for union activities, and improvement of their working conditions.

Intolerable Conditions
The intolerable conditions in the industry have impelled the taxi workers on to the road of struggle for the creation of a strong union capable of defending their interests. Despite the splendid fight they put up in the recent general strike, they gained nothing, having been maneuvered back to work through the efforts of La Guardia and Panken. The wages they earn are extremely low and the hours endless. An N.R.A. survey reveals that last year \$3.9 of the drivers received less than \$12 a week. The hours of work averaged 66.7 hours a week on the day shift and 80 hours on the night shift. Such are the conditions which the bosses want to perpetuate.

The company union, against which the men are fighting, the Drivers Brotherhood of New York, is playing the reactionary role of strike-breaker. It insists very loudly that it is not a company union, but its actions are more convincing than its pleas. Its president, a certain Mr. Irving Robbins has declared that "the Parmelee System is the sweetest company in the world. We haven't got a single kick."

Mrs. Herrick Bats for Bosses
The Regional Labor Board of the N.R.A. with Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, chairman, has very graciously consented to conduct a poll of the employees to ascertain which union they wish to represent them. There is however one stipulation. Merely that the drivers go back to work. But the strikers feel that they have already indicated clearly through their action which union they regard as their own. Nor has the recent experience of the Fifth Avenue bus workers, in which intimidation by the bosses eliminated any possibility for a genuine vote by the men, endeared the idea of a N.R.A. "plebiscite" to taxi drivers. The scheme of Mrs. Herrick, who reveals her true colors as a bosses' agent in every situation, could not fool the strikers into surrendering the only effective fighting weapon at their disposal—the strike.

The Strikers' Demands
At the N.R.A. code hearings the bosses have proposed a \$12 a week minimum wage and a 54 hour week. In other words they want to codify more or less the prevailing bad conditions which had driven the taxi workers to strike. Against this the drivers propose a minimum wage of \$23 a week for day work and \$25 a week for night work, a 48 hour week, and three eight hour shifts.

The Taxi Drivers Union has wisely decided to seek the support of the labor movement in its fight. It has called a conference for Sunday, March 18th, at 11 A. M. at the Manhattan Lyceum, and has issued a call inviting all trade unions and workers' organizations to send delegates. But besides that, it is necessary to extend the strike as much as possible and get more garages into it.

Spring Festival and Dance

We are making all preparations for the Spring Festival.
A good band will play for you. Various special features of entertainment are being elaborated, the chief of these being Chief Little-moose in a recital of his native dances.
The fortune teller we promised you in our last notice will also be with us.
We are also making all efforts to get a famous cartoonist to draw caricatures of famous political characters.
Food and drink will be abundant. A good time is promised you all. Be with us this Saturday, March 17th at Irving Plaza.
Buy your tickets in advance and save money, and help us at the same time. Tickets 35c. At door 40c.

THE PARIS COMMUNE

With the recent struggle of the heroic Austrian workers, and the militant demonstrations of the French masses before our eyes, the historical significance of the Paris Commune of 1871 takes on increased importance. When on March 18th we commemorate the seventy-one days of workers' rule in Paris we at the same time pledge ourselves to carry on the innumerable struggles of the revolutionary toilers for class emancipation. We gain inspiration for our battle from the Communards of '71, the Russian Revolution of 1905, the glorious Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the heroic January days of the German Spartacus in 1918, the courageous battles of the Bavarian and Hungarian workers of 1920, the self-sacrificing struggle of the Austrian workers in 1933.

Through all these events, and countless others, we learn the brutal and murderous character of capitalist rule. To defend the profits of the few, to keep the workers in subjection, to perpetuate capitalism, the modern slave-holding class resorts to the most violent means at its disposal. Those who dare threaten its power are met by the armed forces which exist for its defense.

The Rise of the Commune
The Paris Commune of 1871 arose as a reply to the provocation of the

Cannon to Speak 500 Unorganized Printers in Mass 4th International Meeting in N. Y.

The deep interest in all aspects of the question of the Fourth International, manifested again by the overflow crowd at the Cannon-Lovestone debate, has prompted the New York Local of the Communist League to arrange a special lecture by James P. Cannon on the subject "The Program of the Fourth International".

This lecture will be given at Irving Plaza, Sunday, March 25th at 8 P. M. Questions and discussion will follow the lecture. Admission will be 15c. An overflow crowd is expected, and those who wish to attend are urged to secure tickets in advance from the local office of the League, at 126 East 16th St.

The lecture of comrade Cannon will deal with the fundamental questions of principle and revolutionary strategy of the present epoch and outline the program of the revolutionary Marxists for the reconstruction of the world movement. Among the questions discussed will be: Further perspectives of the Imperialist epoch; the balance sheet of the post-Lenin period; the impending war and the concrete struggle against it; the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy; the attitude of the American revolutionists in the events of a Soviet-American alliance in the impending war; Fascism and the labor movement in Europe and the Marxist conclusions from the German and the Austrian experiences; the incipient Fascist movement in America and the unique problem it presents.

The New York organization of the Communist League is devoting special efforts to make this discussion of the program of the Fourth International an outstanding event and to bring out the largest crowd of the lecture season.

854 New Subs!

With the addition of sixty-five new subs the drive registered a new high record: 854. The complete record up to date follows:

New York Local	384	G. Kotz	6
Minneapolis Br.	108	Los Angeles Br.	5
Kansas City Br.	48	M. Hurwitz	5
Pittsburgh Br.	32	Buffalo Br.	4
New Castle Br.	24	G. Ellis	4
L. Brown	20	D. Fogel	4
Boston Br.	16	M. Gendelman	4
J. Hamilton	12	C. Hoffman	4
A. Teacher	12	T. Mill	4
Chicago Br.	12	Salt Lake City Br.	4
Youngstown Br.	12	W. Toupin	4
F. Simington	12	H. Sukut	4
Philadelphia Br.	8	D. O'Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	8	M. McLeod	4
Chicago Friends of Militant Club	8	St. Louis Br.	4
Davenport Br.	8	L. Murphy	4
D. Marcus	8	M. Koehler	4
D. L.	8	C. Genfan	4
J. Ruby	8	R. Carlson	4
G. Papcan	8		
S. Hardy	8		
L. Goodman	8		
Q. Parker	8		
		TOTAL	854

That leaves us only 146 subs to go to reach our goal of 1,000 new subs on the special Club Plan of four prepaid six-months sub cards for a dollar. Can we do it within the next two weeks? We think it can be done. What do our Militant Builders say?

Wholesale Layoffs on All C.W.A. Projects Begin

«Paupers Oath» Forced on Government Employees

Government Inquisition for The Workers

Questionnaire Pries Into Private Affairs

In an effort to break the spirit of the unemployed, the Roosevelt administration through the local offices of the C.W.A. is forcing a Pauper's Oath on all C.W.A. workers under the threat of immediate discharge. A questionnaire which must be sworn to before a notary public asks information on relatives, past employers, others living in household, union affiliations, etc., etc.

An army of snoopers from the City Welfare Dept. is also being mobilized to follow up the questionnaire by delving their snouts into the intimate affairs of all C.W.A. workers, wives and families, other relatives, fellow roomers and friends. The form drawn up by the past masters of snooping, the City Welfare Dept., as an application for relief, has been "improved" upon by these supporters of the "New Deal."

The "forgotten man" is being remembered and with a vengeance. Not only the forgotten man but his uncles and his aunts, his fellow roomers, any one that ever loaned him a dollar—or for whom he worked a day—all are to be remembered and investigated.

The questionnaire states "any poor person that shall sell or exchange supplies or articles furnished him for relief....or dispose of them in any other way than as directed shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." "Poor persons", it seems, are in a different category under the law from democratic politicians.

Have you a car? Have you an insurance policy? Does any member of your family work? What is the address of your local union? License plate of car? Evidently they are in search of the car which Hoover placed in every garage. The road of the unemployed to the boasted Roosevelt prosperity at \$13.44 a week is through the pauper's oath. Need more be said to characterize the New Deal and the Capitalist system which spawned it.

Mobilized by their organizations the indignation of the C.W.A. workers is crystallizing in demonstrations, mass meetings and organizational campaigns. The Association of Civil Works Employees and the Unemployed Workers' Union, among the first to react to this new threat, are pushing a campaign of organization while carrying on the strongest protest against the questionnaire and the mass layoffs.

11,000 Get the Gate
Beginning Monday, March 12, before the questionnaires had even been turned in for examination.

Big May Day Edition of the Militant

Extensive plans are being made by the editorial board of the Militant to get out a special May Day issue this year and to ensure its distribution on a far wider scale than we have ever achieved before with a single issue. To make this possible the cooperation of all the branches of the League and all Militant Builders is necessary. Next week we will report in detail some of the plans for the May Day issue. Here we want to emphasize two essential points:

1. May Day greetings to the new party of the Fourth International and its banner-bearer, the Militant. All branches, sympathizing organizations and individual supporters who wish to testify to their struggle can aid us materially in producing a big May Day issue by sending greetings to the Militant for publication in the special issue. The cost of the space for the greetings will be one dollar per inch. Every supporter of the Militant should make it a point of honor to have his greeting in the May Day issue.

2. Order extra bundles of the May Day issue and send cash with the order. We are so close to the cloth in finances that we will be able to buy paper and print only as many extra papers of the special issue as are paid for in advance. The rate for this special issue is one cent per copy. We urge all branches to put in big orders for this important special issue and to get the orders in early. Next week we will begin to report the orders.

In addition to branches, however, individual subscribers should take it upon themselves to spread the message of the Militant this May Day. For one dollar you can secure a hundred May Day Militants. Why not order a hundred for free distribution in your shop or neighborhood or at workers' meetings? Address all bundle orders and greetings to:

The Militant,
126 East 16th Street,

Col. Walter Delamater, Local C. W. A. administrator, announced an immediate layoff involving 54,000 men, the project along Riverside Drive has been reduced to a skeleton force, and the order is under way to knock off every big park project outside of Central Park. This specifically concerns the thousands working in Highbridge and Inwood.

This move had been carefully prepared for. The mechanism was simple. On paper, all C.W.A. workers have been given the right to organize. In effect, organization on the job was forbidden. The first step employed in breaking any spirit of "agitation" was the use of a transfer slip. All suspected workers were transferred, mainly to Riverside. This can partly explain the militant spirit of this Riverside outfit which, a short time ago, knocked off work and marched down in mass protest against wage-cuts because of cold weather.

The "Pink" Discharge Slip

However, this move was ineffective and the bosses resorted to firing. Every foreman on the job was given the right to fire anybody he cared to. All he had to do was to present the worker with a pink discharge slip. With that, a constant stream of "drops", prefaced by the simple word—insubordination—poured into the main office. The insubordinates were carefully picked and then the axe descended.

The present mass lay-off slips bore the words: Discharge due to excess quota; orders from Washington (which means Roosevelt, who has been hammering away night and day to have all C.W.A. men fired). Washington says that it cannot afford to pay the wages of C.W.A. workers, and Mayor La Guardia in Tuesday's papers announces that the city cannot afford to pay them any relief. Between them both they wash their hands of any responsibility for the unemployed millions, and, with gallons of crocodile tears, send them off to starve.

—G. G.

Tough Luck for Bright Boy

Five years ago Thomas Edison named a committee to select the "brightest boy in America" to be educated at Edison's expense in the hope that he might follow in the great inventor's footsteps. The boy selected, Wilbur B. Huston, 16, Seattle, Wash., received a scholarship in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and specialized in chemistry, his favorite study, graduating with high honors last June. Returning home, he was unable to find employment in his chosen line so took the first job he found open, ordinary hand labor. "And I'm lucky to have that kind of a job," young Huston says philosophically. He has plenty of time yet to justify the faith Thomas Edison put in him.

—Exchange.

Oh yeah!

CUT WAGE OF PATERSON TEXTILE WORKERS

The silk workers of Paterson have been given a wage-cut.

The sorriest feature of the wage-cut is that it actually came about through the votes of the workers' representatives themselves who were maneuvered by the bosses on the Industrial Relations Board to vote for it "in order not to break the contract." A great ferment has developed among the workers because of this. All along they have been expecting wage increases as the bosses promised when the strike was settled. A so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was made at the time of the strike's conclusion. In view of the union's promise to organize the rest of the industry the bosses agreed to increase wages within 90 days after the strike and put clocks on every loom. Putting clocks on every loom means that every pick woven would be automatically recorded and so insure complete payment for the work done. The settlement was made on the basis of \$2 for 100,000 picks. Still no move has been made by the bosses to introduce the clock system. The silk cloth is still measured by the boss in his private office and the chiseling on yardage still continues. It goes without saying that there is still no pay for such dead

work as fixing a smash caused by faulty looms and bad silk. The contract, however, calls for the payment of fifty cents an hour for fixing a smash. Very few shops pay this.

Against a solid, militant resistance, the tactics of the bosses would prove fruitless. But the union must first be consolidated. To this day there are rat shops in Paterson running 7 or more looms per man like the Maxwell. Why? (With a militant union leadership not a loom would run in any scab shop. But there's been pussy-footing and as a result Pennsylvania and other silk sections have not been organized.)

So long as these disastrous policies are continued the workers will remain at the mercy of the bosses. The present cut will not only be followed in the future by other cuts in Paterson itself but will result in a drive against living conditions in underpaid and unorganized sections elsewhere. These in turn will be used as a club to beat down the standards in Paterson in particular and the industry in general. There is only one way out of this vicious circle, a strong, militant union in Paterson, which would be the bulwark of a strong national federa-

tion of silk workers along industrial lines. Such a union will not come into existence until a militant left wing is formed in the Paterson local to drive and fight for the silk workers. Such a Left wing would vitalize the A. F. S. W.

The wage cut must be fought; the bosses must be made to understand that any attempt to drive the wages below the standards already set will be met and defeated. Again it should be repeated there is only one way to do this, consolidate the union, turn it into a militant and powerful weapon not only of defense, not only to prevent wage-cuts but to improve the conditions in the industry as a whole. The union must demand the immediate institution of the clocks, payment for smashes and bad warps. Every shop in Paterson must be a union shop. The American Federation of Silk Workers must take the initiative to organize all the other silk centers, especially Pennsylvania.

—A SILK WORKER.

GRamercy 5-9524 - - -
This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers School.

Letters to the Editor

New York Furriers Situation

To the Editor of the Militant:

I will begin my letter with a short summary of the conditions in our trade.

The great majority of the fur workers have been unemployed for many months. Only about 3,000 are working, most of them part time. The unemployed have no prospects for work before the month of May. In the meantime, they and their families suffer hunger and starvation, such they have not known before at any time. Only those who know the poor reasons the furriers had in the past few years, can realize the sufferings of the fur workers. At the last hearing in Washington it was brought out by all sides concerned, that in recent years the furriers worked an average of no more than seven or eight weeks in the year.

Chaos in Shops

A great number of furriers live on the relief handed out by the authorities. When a furrier gets a job he finds himself compelled to work below the scale and long hours because of the chaotic conditions in the shops. Neither of the two unions is in a position to regulate the conditions. They are engaged instead in a bitter struggle among themselves, blaming each other for the existing conditions.

Another problem that we have to contend with is that of contracting. The contractors take most of the work out of the shops, work for cheap prices, and help undermine conditions. For years the union has been struggling against this evil without success. On the contrary the contracting evil has been growing. The sweat shops have been growing at the expense of the bigger ones, which find it more profitable to contract out their work. In this manner the manufacturers have been liberated from the responsibility for the conditions of the workers, and do not have to deal with the union directly.

Both Unions Impotent

I mentioned already that neither of the two unions can meet the problem. They are both powerless. The International, although having an agreement with the manufacturers, does not have the confidence of the majority of the workers because of its traditional treacherous policy and the gangster methods it employed in controlling or in combating oppositions. The Industrial Union, on the other hand, having the great majority of the organized workers in its ranks, cannot meet the united opposition of the bosses and the International.

Prior to the NRA the Industrial Union had the upper hand in the trade. The International could not succeed in shaking the hold of the Industrial Union despite the support it was getting from the other needle trade International. For a while we thought that the problem was settled and that nothing would bring the International to life anymore. The NRA, however, changed the situation and we are now confronted with a repetition of the year 1927, when the International, with the aid of the bosses, police and courts, forced the workers to register in its union.

Shady Role of Lovestonites

The Lovestonites have joined with the International in the present struggle. As a matter of fact they are in the vanguard in this struggle on the side of the International. The Industrial Union, with its lack of democracy and forcible suppression of any oppositional viewpoint, plays into the hands of the International.

The International is so far on the defensive. There is no work in the

industry, and the bosses, despite the paper agreement, cannot supply it with members. Its own forces are very insignificant. It is reported that it has no more than two or three hundred members, including the Lovestonites who are playing so prominent a role in its ranks.

Preparing Strike for June

The Industrial Union is preparing for a strike in June. The fur market is flooded with police. The atmosphere is tense with the expectation of bloody warfare.

It is difficult to predict what the response to the strike will be. Opinions on the matter vary. Some think that the furriers will not respond to this strike as they have in the past. Most of them have been disgusted in the factional butchery in recent years. Most of them want peace. They want a breathing space. These sentiments will not shake the Industrial Union in its determination to call the strike. It will undoubtedly go through with it, relying upon the two to three hundred active workers in its ranks. Even now in the two shop strike that the Industrial Union is conducting it is evident that the workers do not care to participate in the picket lines and demonstrations that are being arranged daily.

I am stating to you the situation as it is. I hope that you will react to this problem through the columns of the Militant and express your opinion.

Fraternally yours,

KAMENETSKY.

(Ed. Note.—Next week's Militant will contain a special editorial on the Furriers' situation.)

Strike of New York Dental Mechanics

On Wednesday, March 7, the Dental Technicians Equity of New York City called its 800 members out of the Laboratories on a general strike. The call applied to the entire Metropolitan area, including New Jersey.

Thursday morning found the great majority of the labs in this region without men to carry on with the work.

Facts about the Strike

The demands: For recognition of the union; the forty hour week; \$15 minimum salary (apprentices) to \$55 top (skilled mechanics), with a sliding scale for classifications in between.

The industry: a handicraft with hardly any machinery or mechanical devices. Approximately 1100 men employed. About 250 men working in shops employing five men or more. The rest working in one, two, and three men laboratories, in close contact with the bosses.

The bosses' associations: "The Associated Dental Laboratories", the organization of the big bosses, that is, the "big" laboratories. The force which broke the strikes of 1923 and 1929. Up until now a merciless opponent of the closed shop.... "The Metropolitan Laboratory Owners' Association": Organized some nine months ago, and led by one Stodell, with a shady record as organizer of the mechanics union of 1928. The reason for the formation of the association being the dirty deal handed to the small lab owners by the Associated. It controls number of men employed in the industry. Fighting the Associated tooth and nail in this strike.

The Mechanics' Union

The union: Organized some eight or nine months ago by a handful and witnessing a steady growth to about 700 members on the eve of the strike. A mixed membership, containing many members who were in previous strikes, as well as many inexperienced in any struggle. De-

termined on the whole that this strike was to be one in which we were not to become the tail end to any bosses' associations, that we would settle with individual shops. This appeared to be the approach of the leadership to the question at the beginning of the strike.

The Leadership: The Executive Board dominated and practically controlled by fellow-worker Posner, the leader of the strike. The majority of the Executive Board and officials of the union are "independent" who have allowed Posner to conduct all of the negotiations practically alone. Independents of the type of Goldsweig, Berman, "Serchy" and others. A minority of one (Pickson) on the Board, supported by a fraction in the union, and on the strike committee.

Policy of the Leadership

The policies of the leadership: Posner is very individualistic, acting in many instances without informing the strike committee or the membership. A fighter, but using a method that has gotten him in hot water with the membership, and following a policy that should be carefully analyzed and watched. Under his influence, the original generally accepted demand of 35 hours a week was changed to 40 hours by the Executive Board, without asking either the advice of the strike committee or the membership.

We must recognize the fact that all members of the Associated immediately signed up, writing their names in on the agreement as follows: I.....(name of lab)....., designate the Associated Dental Laboratories and Dental Committees as my representative". This amounts to practically recognizing the Associated, for any argument hereafter with an individual lab must be taken up with their representative, the Associated Dental Laboratories.

When the deadline of April 2 comes around, the date on which the new wage scale is to go into effect, the men will find themselves up against an organized force of the bosses. The Executive Board and our lawyer made a concession to the Associated which may prove to be a heavy one. The bosses now have over half the men back at work for the more paper recognition of the union, while they have been given a leeway of three weeks in which to consolidate themselves as an organization. In this whole business the Executive Board has not dealt frankly with the membership, claiming, "we can't tell everything to the membership."

The Bosses' Organizations

There are rumors to the effect that the whole strike was arranged and prearranged on Wednesday night between Posner and other members of the Executive Board and the Associated. They met with Sternberg (owner of the Zelinsky-Sternberg Laboratory and the man who "runs" the Associated) on Wednesday night the eve of the strike. Added weight is given to this by the fact, we repeat, that the Associated Dental Laboratories were the first to sign. The Metropolitan Association of the small labs has called all the labs under its control not to sign up!

Posner, and the Members on the Board who supported him or kept quiet, thereby fell victim to a legal trick. A trick of the Associated in having their labs sign and designate the Associated as their representative which has caused a crisis in the strike. The strike will now have to remain in force until the Metropolitan labs are forced to sign. Had the Executive Board at least brought these facts to the membership, we would today be clear. As it is Posner has caused, by this individualistic method of doing things, a discontent which might be harmful to the strike and the union. We must not be used as a tool by the Associated against the Metropolitan!

Fight for the Union

MEN! WE WON'T WEAKEN NOW. THE EQUITY IS THE STRIKE WE ARE FIGHTING FOR! Those of us who have gone back to work are going to stand in back of you, as we promised. Our word on that! We must keep the strike machinery well oiled and running like a clock. Because the battle is not over yet. BUT IT WILL BE WON BECAUSE WE WILL STICK SOLID!

The bosses have signed an agreement. But if we do not enforce it, it will remain only a scrap of paper. They want higher prices, and we have no guarantee that they will grant the higher wages on April 2. Our worry should not be about price adjustments. We demand that the contracts go into force on April 2 as per contract. Be prepared! Too many mistakes have been made by our leadership in this strike already.... It is perfectly just and equitable that we demand full information before things happen—not that we have to ratify a thing after it has been done. Boys, the strike and the union come first. We've started this thing, and we're going to finish it! WITHOUT A UNION, WE'RE SUNK! The bosses can do anything they want to with us if we are not organized. That's why every man must remain at his post, more determined than ever. The dispute within our ranks we ourselves can settle. Don't let them split us. There is too much at stake!

—HERBERT CAPLIN.

Organization Notes

Among the latest additions to the League are the branches organized in Winnipeg and Salt Lake City. The former starts out with a membership of 41, the latter made a more modest beginning. Yet the Winnipeg comrades inform us that their numbers do not give a real picture of their strength, since they have amongst them several members of many years standing in the revolutionary movement. They add that they have from the very outset many good contacts in the city.

The Canadian branches are now taking the initial steps toward establishing themselves as an autonomous section, continuing, however, their close relations to the League. In Canada our movement, the same as in the United States, has experienced steady growth. This is especially the case in Toronto, where our membership has taken a leading position in several important local working class activities. Their mass meetings bring turnouts of up to a thousand.

Due to increased membership and activities, the Toronto branch was some time ago reorganized on a territorial basis within the city and divided into several now actively functioning branches. With Toronto as the main basis, the Canadian comrades are in a position to maintain their own organizers and to plan their own permanent publications. Later we shall report in detail on the further developments of the Canadian section.

The Salt Lake City branch arose out of the expulsion of several comrades from the official party because of their Left Opposition views. Some of them had formerly come into contact with League publica-

tions and had made a study of the position we take. All of them had been very active within the official party, where a couple of these comrades held important positions. Their activities had been centered with the party units, within the I. L. D., in securing support for the striking Utah miners and on the university campus. At the latter place they succeeded in organizing a broad student movement which is now functioning very actively.

Our comrades, when accused of "Trotskyist" tendencies, were given the monumental task by the official party bureaucracy of making a thorough study of some of its most rabid anti-Trotskyist literature. They did, and that itself became a help in their own development. They formulated their replies to all the distortions and slanders and false political concepts contained in that material. The inevitable expulsion followed, and at that same moment the comrades constituted themselves a branch of the League. They are now making active preparations for mass meetings to be held in connection with the national tour of comrade Shachtman. The formation of the Salt Lake City branch together with the development of our movement on the Pacific coast were the important factors which helped make possible such an extended tour.

THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

We have previously informed the League branches that the International Bulletin is now appearing in a new series. The English edition will be published in printed form,

and it will be available also for close sympathizers of our movement who are especially interested. By the time this Militant issue reaches the readers, No. 1 of the new series of the International Bulletin will be off the press. League branches and others interested should forward their regular orders. It is ten cents a copy and will be forwarded only by cash payments made in advance.

NEW YORK REORGANIZATION

Until about 6 months ago the Communist League in greater New York functioned as one branch. This was obviously not the best way for a Communist organization to function. It limited our activities within the confines of the downtown section in Manhattan, to the neglect of the working class residential sections in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

When we grew sufficiently in numbers we proceeded to divide the one New York Branch into three—one for each Borough, Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. This was unquestionably a step forward, and increased our recruiting power. Today, six months after the first reorganization on the basis of Borough branches, we are in a position to take the next step in making our organization a more effective weapon in the class struggle. As a result of activities we developed in the various sections in Brooklyn, we have been able to set up branches, aside from the one in Brownsville, where the Brooklyn Branch had its headquarters, also in Bay Ridge and Williamsburg. We are also in the process of organizing a new branch in Harlem. This will give us a total of six territorial branches in New York. In the forthcoming issues of the Militant we will report the functioning of the branches and the activities they are developing.

MARCH OF EVENTS

AFTER THE CWA WHAT?

The CWA was Roosevelt's creation for the ostensible purpose of warding off "degradation" and "degeneration" of starving workers by the granting of outright doles. The independent spirit of the workers was to be upheld by the payment of wages for "honest" toil, just as in the private system of wage slavery. In actuality the CWA was coldly calculated to scotch the struggle for unemployment insurance that threatened to establish the workers' right to live, their right to a lien on government funds obtained from the bourgeoisie for the purpose. Roosevelt is now unloading the burden of relief. Nor do the states and local communities show any sympathetic desire to shoulder the burden dropped by the federal government.

The U. S. government has taken its cue from English and European experience. Only those who can prove "need" are to be continued on relief. The entire sham and pretense of the "liberal" program of Roosevelt is contained in the "pauper's oath", as the questionnaire to be filled out by all CWA workers has been rightly dubbed. This outrageous document leaves nothing to be desired in the way of capitalist preying and snooping for the purpose of avoiding relief and involving the unemployed worker in the reddest of red tape. The widespread protest that has ensued must be organized to reopen in a most powerful manner and on a new plane the fight for immediate relief, unemployment insurance or the providing of jobs for those willing to work.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

M. Olgin has shown his usual haste in coming to the defense of reactionary Stalinist Communism. As American correspondent for Pravda he hastened to wire Moscow on the occurrence of Feb. 17th at Madison Square Garden. His story appears in the Pravda of Feb. 18th in a statement that betrays the utter inability of the official Party to explain away its anti-working class disruption of the socialist meeting. Olgin states that the socialists began a vicious attack, in their speeches, on the Party, whereupon Hathaway marched to the platform to "refute the socialist charges". Come, come! Olgin will have to work in better agreement with the "leaders" on the line.

ENGLAND

The workers of London, fearful of the organized assault of Fascism on their democratic rights and on their working class organizations, have turned to the one party they "trust", the Labor Party. The London municipal government is now controlled by a Labor Party majority. Knowing its own record, the Labor Party was itself taken by surprise by this vote of confidence. As though the gaping holes in the Vienna workers' apartments had no meaning, the leader of the Labor Party in London, M. Morrison, proceeded to outline the reforms, particularly in housing, that would soon be inaugurated.

Without question this vote has great national significance for England. It is one answer to Lord Rothermere's hallyboo for Fascist dictatorship. The first reaction of the workers in their struggle against the open dictatorship of the club, is to rally to the defense of democratic institutions and to place them in the hands of a working class party. Nor can the internationalist Communists afford to ignore this fact. They must know how to lead the workers in this progressive struggle so as to show up the utter inadequacy and betrayal of reformist leadership. In the open struggle that is bound to develop, the workers must be led, by utilizing their immediate aims, step by step along the revolutionary road to power, a road that is clearly visible on the historic scale only to the Communist. The vote indicates that the workers have been aroused to the need for resistance against reaction. This mood of struggle must be encouraged by proper internationalist-Communist leadership.

—J. WEBER.

OAKLAND BOOKSHOP AND FORUM

Efforts of workers in Oakland to establish a forum where the various currents in the labor movement may be presented by their respective organization, have been successful. The address is 1020 Broadway, Room 20-21.

Everyone Welcome Bring A Friend

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Class: "The History of the Three Internationals."

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THE MADISON SQUARE BOOMERANG

When the Communist Party marched into Madison Square Garden a few weeks ago and disrupted a Socialist protest meeting against Austrian Fascism, it stirred up a nest of hornets who are daily raising new bumps on its skull.

Within the S. P. the reaction to the Garden disruption has been sweeping. The rank-and-file, many of whom had been growing increasingly discontented with the old guard leadership, has been swept off its feet by bitterness against the C. P. disrupters. The old guard is more firmly in the saddle today than ever before in recent years. These S. P. members who have been agitating for united front action with the C. P. have been discredited. Such Socialists as J. B. Matthews and Mary Fox of the I. L. D., who have been sitting on united front committees with C. P. leaders, are today isolated inside the S. P.

Fake United Fronts Crack Up

One immediate result has been the cracking up of the various fake C. P. united front bodies. The League against War and Fascism was never a real united front of the masses. It was a committee set up by the C. P. and a handful of liberals including Roger Baldwin, Anne E. Gray, a female pacifist, and a few Socialists. Now Matthews and Fox have pulled out and, despite a touching appeal by Browder, Baldwin and Gray, that body is headed for decomposition. Similarly, there is a wide-open rift in the American branch of the Lord Marley Committee. All over the country, too, the S. P., with the enthusiastic support of its rank-and-file, is adopting resolutions against united front action with the C. P.

The workers in the trade unions which participated in organizing the Garden meeting have been similarly affected. A number of meetings called in the garment trades by New York C. P. groups have had to be abandoned because of the threats of non-Party workers to break them up in revenge for the Garden disruption. Last week the Militant printed a letter from a worker showing how the mood has altered: when a C. P. member insulted a member of the Left Opposition in a New York shop, the workers forced an apology from the Stalinist.

Sympathizers Alienated

Among C. P. sympathizers the effect of the Garden tactics has been profound. In addition to the Open Letter to the C. P., signed by 25 intellectuals hitherto friendly to the Stalinist party, there have been a whole series of private letters by smaller groups and individuals. Apparently the Daily Worker has no intention of printing these letters, although few of them are as frank in condemnation as the Open Letter. The effect of this suppression has been a further rise of discontent.

The Daily Worker, incidentally, has not yet commented on the Open Letter. The New Masses did and, last week, tried to "defend" the Garden boogymen of the C. P. by insulting the authors of the Open Letter. The Freiheit has since published its own comment. Although the New Masses poured imprecations over the questioners of the C. P.'s behavior, the Jewish organ of the C. P. calls them "well-meaning". It defends the behavior of the C. P. chiefly with the argument that the

Austrian Socialist leaders are "worse".

Inside the C. P.

Inside the C. P. things are lively these days. In public, of course, exonerating the C. P. and making everyone repeat the official phrases a martyr of Hathaway. Some C. P. members go even further: they are circulating a fairy tale that the S. P. leaders, fearing to address the meeting they had called, had themselves arranged for its disruption and that the C. P. was laboring to calm the meeting. But in private all this pretense is dropped. All but the most fanatical realize that the C. P. disrupted the Garden meeting and all are depressed or disgusted. Even those who at first fell for some of the Daily Worker's guilt are beginning to have their doubts now that they see the looks of S. P. workers and trade unionists. "We made a mistake", is the universal private formula of C. P. members.

Some are even openly rebellious. We are informed that a Party unit on Tenth St., New York, has sent a resolution to the Central Committee.

International Workers School Notes

The Class of comrade Abern on the Communist Manifesto has been changed to Monday nights. His next lecture will be on the Four Social Systems.

Comrade Swaback will lecture next Wednesday, March 21st, on the Knights of Labor, the A. F. of L., and the I. W. W.

On Sunday, March 18th, comrade Carter will speak on the Foundation of the Young Communist International. This class will begin promptly at 2 P. M. All other classes start promptly at 8 P. M.

We are glad to announce that we are able to add to our courses for this term a class in elementary Russian which will begin Sunday, March 25th, at 4 P. M.

Registrations are accepted at school headquarters, 126 East 16th St., New York City.

Comrade Wright's class on the "History of the Bolshevik Party" is given every Friday night at 8 P. M.

The first three lectures dealt with: (1) the pre-Marxist currents (2) the First Congress of the R. S. D. L. P. and (3) the Iskra Period.

The March 16 and 23 lectures will treat of the 2nd Congress (the Congress of the split) and 1905 respectively.

The instructor, due to his knowledge of Russian, has had access to many hitherto untranslated documents. To understand the period of the gestation of Bolshevism is to have a truer insight into the present era. They reveal a fundamental similarity, though on different historical planes. Both are periods of intense polemic and ideological confusion. Many of the problems now agitating the workers' movement were victoriously fought out by the Bolsheviks in conflict with the other tendencies on both the ideological and historical arena. The same conclusion is the Marxists' task now.

tee complaining about the Garden affair.

That the C. P. officials are badly scared by the results of their exploit is evident. Beginning with the St. Nicholas Arena meeting several weeks ago, they have been working day and night to "explain" the Garden affair to C. P. members and friends. Hathaway has done more exhorting in the last few weeks than ever before in his life. The "united front from below" applied at the Garden was such a huge success that he has not yet stopped trying to explain to everybody that it is not a disgrace.

How successful these meetings are may be indicated by one fact. Because of the rebellion among the intellectual sympathizers, the C. P. decided to call a meeting of the National Committee for the defense of Political Prisoners at which Hathaway could once again explain what a glorious deed had been done at the Garden. This committee is simply a vest-pocket C. P. affair. But so scared is the Party, that instead of calling the whole Committee together, it is picking out the "safe" elements and calling them together secretly to hear Hathaway.

Mood of the Workers

Clearly the C. P. is still reeling from the blow it delivered itself at the Garden. To the revolutionist, however, this is not enough. The mood of the intellectuals may rapidly degenerate into disillusion and disgust with the workers' movement unless they are brought on to firmer ground. But of primary import is the mood of the workers. Driven back into the arms of reactionary leaders, they are today antagonistic not only to the C. P. but to the very idea of a united front with any militant group. They gladly listen to Left Opposition criticisms of the C. P. and are learning to distinguish between our comrades and Stalinist hooligans. But they are fearful of taking any action that may involve them in a repetition of the Garden affair. The latter has cost the C. P. a great deal; only hard work will change that into a gain for the revolutionary movement.

MILITANT PLEDGE FUND

Last week we reported the first pledger, Paul King, a member of the Brooklyn Branch. Today we are able to report nine other names. All of them are members of the Manhattan branch of Local New York. Each has pledged for a period of three months.

The following are the pledgers:

1. Paul King 25c weekly
2. M. Kling 50c monthly
3. S. Bleeker 50c monthly
4. G. Wright 50c weekly
5. E. Konikow 25c weekly
6. M. Beardslee 1.00 weekly
7. T. Smith 1.00 weekly
8. M. Sterling 25c weekly
9. F. Victor 25c weekly
10. J. Weber 50c weekly

We hope that next week we can list a good many more names, and that some of them will be our sympathizers and readers of the Militant who, we know, are just as anxious as our own members to sustain the paper.

Expulsion of B.J. Field and A.Kaldis

The New York local of the Communist League, at a joint membership meeting of all the branches held on Sunday, February 18, expelled B. J. Field and A. Kaldis from membership in the organization. This action was taken after a protracted discussion of the Hotel strike, and the conduct of Field and Kaldis as officials of the union, to which three membership meetings were devoted, with almost the entire membership participating in the discussion.

Ever since Field and Kaldis became officials of the union their conservative policy, bureaucratic attitude toward the union membership and clique practices brought them into conflict with the worker-Communists who were members of the union and the League. The leading committees of the League, both the New York City Committee and the National Committee, attempted by every Communist means to adjust the disputes on a Communist basis and to correct the false position of Field and Kaldis. Numerous meetings were devoted to these endeavors, but without success. Field and Kaldis tried to use their strategic positions in the union as a club over the League and to set themselves above the League and to break point and its discipline. Relations with them

whole matter was up for discussion and action by a membership meeting when the strike began.

With the commencement of the strike the petty bourgeois careerist characteristics of Field and Kaldis came out in full bloom. Turning their backs on the League members and all other class conscious workers in the union, and paying no heed to the demands of the League for a militant class struggle policy in the conduct of the strike, they chose as allies and counselors the most conservative elements and carried out a corresponding policy—kow-towing to the NRA and bourgeois public opinion on the one hand, and engaging in treacherous intrigues and open attacks on the class conscious militants in the union, including League members, on the other. Their conduct throughout was detrimental to the union and the strike and discrediting to the League. The League as a bona-fide workers' organization had no choice but to throw them out of its ranks.

That this action was taken in the midst of the strike by a general membership meeting, with full unanimity, is testimony to the Communist character of the organization and to the obvious fact that Field and Kaldis were completely alien elements who had wandered into the League by mistake.

Centrism and the 4th International

Realignments in the International Labor Movement

1. The events in Austria, coming after the events in Germany, placed a final cross over "classic" reformism. Henceforth only the dullest leaders of British and American trade-unions and their French followers, Jouhaux, the president of the Second International, Vandervelde, and similar political jellyfishes will dare to speak openly of the perspectives of peaceful development, democratic reforms, etc. The overwhelming majority of reformists consciously take on new colors now. Reformism yields to the numerous shadings of centrism which now dominate the field of the workers' movement in the majority of countries. This creates an entirely new, in a sense unprecedented, situation for work in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism (Bolshevism). The New International can develop principally at the expense of the now prevailing tendencies and organizations. At the same time the revolutionary International cannot form itself otherwise than in a consistent struggle against centrism. Under these conditions ideological irreconcilability and the flexible policy of the united front serve as two weapons for the attainment of one and the same end.

Characteristics of Centrism

2. One must understand first of all the most characteristic traits of modern centrism. That is not easy: first, because centrism due to its organic amorphousness yields with difficulty to a positive definition; it is characterized to a much greater extent by what it lacks than by what it embraces, secondly, never has centrism yet played to such an extent as now with all the colors of the rainbow, because never yet have the ranks of the working class been in such ferment as at the present time. Political ferment, by the very essence of the term, means a realignment, a shift between two poles, Marxism and reformism; that is, the passing through various stages of centrism.

3. No matter how difficult a general definition of centrism, which of necessity always has a "conjunctural" character, nevertheless, we can and must bring out the outstanding characteristics and peculiarities of the centrist groupings originating from the break-down of the Second and the Third Internationals.

(a) Theoretically, centrism is amorphous and eclectic; so far as possible it evades theoretical obligations and inclines (in words) to give preference to "revolutionary practice" over theory, without understanding that only Marxist theory can impart revolutionary direction to practice.

Centrist Ideology

(b) In the sphere of ideology centrism leads a parasitic existence; it repeats against revolutionary Marxists the old Menshevik arguments (Martov, Axelrod, Plechanov) usually without suspecting this; on the other hand, its main arguments against the rights it borrows from the Marxists, that is first of all from the Bolshevik-Leninists, dulling however, the sharp edge of criticisms avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless.

(c) A centrist readily proclaims his hostility to reformism; but he does not mention centrism; moreover, he considers the very definition of centrism as "unclear", "arbitrary", etc.; in other words centrism does not like to be called by its name.

(d) A centrist, always uncertain of his position and his methods, views with hatred the revolutionary principle: to state what is; he is inclined to substitute for a principled policy personal maneuvering and petty organizational diplomacy.

(e) A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunistic sins and to color their actions before the workers.

(f) His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of "sectarianism", by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness.

(g) A centrist occupies a position between an opportunist and a Marxist somewhat analogous to that which a petty bourgeois occupies between a capitalist and a proletarian: he kowtows before the first and has contempt for the second.

On the International Arena

(h) On the international arena the centrist distinguishes himself if not by blindness then by shortsightedness; he does not understand that in the present epoch a national revolutionary party can be built only as part of an international party; in the choice of his international allies the centrist is even less discriminating than in his own country.

(i) A centrist sees in the policy of the Comintern only "ultra-Left" deviations, adventurism, putschism, ignoring completely the right-oppor-

tunist zig-zags (Kuo Min Tang, Anglo-Russian Committee, pacifist foreign policy, anti-Fascist bloc, etc.).

(j) A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, playing it off of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle.

(k) A centrist readily resorts to pathetic moralizing to cover up his ideological emptiness; he does not understand that revolutionary morality can be formed only on the basis of revolutionary doctrine and revolutionary policy.

Words and Deeds

1. Under the pressure of circumstance the eclectic-centrist may accept even the most extreme conclusions only to retreat from them afterwards in practice. Having accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat he will leave a wide margin for opportunist interpretations; having proclaimed the necessity of a Fourth International he will work for the building of a Two-and-a-half International, etc.

4. The most malignant example of centrism is, if you wish, the German group "Begin Anew" (Neu Beginn). Superficially repeating the Marxian criticism of reformism, it comes to the conclusion that all the misfortunes of the proletariat follow from splits and that salvation lies in the safeguarding of the unity of the social-democratic parties. These gentlemen place the organizational discipline of Wels and Co. higher than the historic interests of the proletariat. And since Wels & Co. subordinate the party to the discipline of the bourgeoisie, the group "Begin Anew" is really a harmful agency of the bourgeoisie order, even though an agency of second degree.

The London Bureau

5. The so-called London (now Amsterdam) Bureau represents an attempt at creating an international focal point for centrist eclecticism, under the banner of which the right and the left opportunist groupings, which dare not choose finally a direction and a banner, try to unite. In this as in other cases the centrist tries to direct the movement obliquely along a diagonal course. The elements composing the bloc pull in opposite directions; the N. A. P. (Norwegian Workers Party) cautiously moves towards the Second International; the I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party)—partly toward the Third, partly toward the Fourth; the S. A. P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) and the O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)—veering and vacillating—toward the Fourth. Exploiting and preserving the ideological amorphousness of all its participants and trying to compete in the work for the creation of a new International, the bloc of the "London Bureau" plays a reactionary role. The failure of this grouping is absolutely inevitable.

Bureaucratic Centrism

6. The defining of the policy of the Comintern as that of bureaucratic centrism retains its full force now too. As a matter of fact, only centrism is capable of constant leaps from opportunist betrayals to ultra-Left adventurism; only the power of Soviet bureaucracy could for ten years assure a stable base for the ruinous policy of zig-zags.

Bureaucratic centrism, in distinction from centrist groupings which crystallized out of the social democracy, is the product of the degeneration of Bolshevism; it retains—in caricature form—some of its traits, still leads a considerable number of revolutionary workers, disposes of extraordinary material and technical means, but by its political influence is now the crassest, most disorganizing and harmful variety of centrism. The political break-down of the Comintern, clear to the whole world, signifies of necessity the further decomposition of bureaucratic centrism. In this sphere our task is to save the best elements for the cause of the proletarian revolution. Side by side with tireless principled criticism, our main weapon for influencing the workers still remaining under the banner of the Comintern is the further penetration of our ideas and methods into those wide masses, who stand now in overwhelming majority outside the influence of the Comintern.

7. Precisely now, when reformism is forced to renounce itself, transforming or dyeing itself into centrism, some groupings of Left centrism, on the contrary, stop short in their development and even move backwards. It seems to them that the reformists have already grasped almost everything, that it is only necessary not to play with exorbitant demands, criticism, extreme phraseology, and that then with one blow one can create a mass "revolutionary" party.

In reality, reformism, having no events to disavow itself, forced by clear program, no revolutionary tactics, is capable only of lulling the

advanced workers to sleep by inculcating in them the idea that the revolutionary regeneration of their party is already achieved.

New Forms of Struggle

8. For a revolutionary Marxist the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism. The mere bare counter-posing of legal struggle to illegal, of peaceful means to violence, of democracy to dictatorship now goes beside the mark in the majority of cases because the frightened reformist, disavowing himself, is ready to accept the most "revolutionary" formulas if only they do not obligate him today to a decisive break with his own irresolution, indecision and expectant waiting. The struggle with hidden or masked opportunists must therefore be transferred chiefly to the sphere of practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites.

Before seriously accepting centrism, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" we must demand a serious defense against Fascism, a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a systematic building of a workers' militia, its training in military spirit, the creation of inter-party defense centers, anti-Fascist staffs, the banishment from their ranks of parliamentary, trade-unionist and other traitors, bourgeois lackeys, careerists, too. Precisely on this plane the main fight against centrism must now be fought. To carry on this struggle with success it is necessary to have free hands, that is, not only to retain full organizational independence, but also critical intransigence with regard to the most "left" offshoots of centrism.

Events Force Realignment

9. Bolshevik-Leninists in all countries must realize clearly the peculiarities of the new stage in the struggle for the Fourth International. The events in Austria and France give a powerful impetus to the realignment of the forces of the proletariat in the revolutionary direction. But precisely this universal supplanting of open reformism by centrism develops a powerful attractive force with regard to left centrist groupings (S. A. P., O. S. P.) which only yesterday were about to unite with the Bolshevik-Leninists. This dialectic process may produce the impression on the surface that the Marxian wing is again "isolated" from the masses. A flagrant delusion! The veerings of centrism to the right and to the Left follow its very nature. There will yet be tens and hundreds of such episodes on our road. It would be the most wretched faint-heartedness to fear to go forward just because the road is strewn with obstacles or because not all the fellow travelers will arrive at the very end.

The Fourth International

Whether the new opportunist vacillations of our centrist allies ment the influence which it already had. Following the general trend of the masses, the leadership of the other organization, either because of opportunism or lack of self confidence, inclined towards the Socialist party whose revolutionary tones during the electoral campaign created the most naive hopes and expectations. The Socialist party will do something—this is the sentiment of the majority—including the most class conscious sections of the proletariat. The consequence of all this is that, the whole working classes is at a standstill, awaiting whatever the Socialist party may do.

Meanwhile, the latter continues to make vague threats for the near future, at the same time that it does not offer the least resistance to the blows that the government deals every day against the conquests of the workers. The last anarchist insurrection naturally could not do more than accentuate this state of affairs.

will prove conjunctural or final (in reality they will be of both kinds), the general conditions for the formation of the Fourth International on the basis of genuine Bolshevism because more and more favorable. The chase of the "extreme left" centrists after the simply lefts, of the lefts after the moderates, of the moderates after the rights, like the chase of a man after his own shadow, can not create any stable mass organization: the miserable experience of the German Independent Party (U. S. P.) retains now also its full force. Under the pressure of events, with the aid of our criticism and our slogans, the advanced workers will step over the vacillations of the most left centrist leaders, and, if it should become necessary, also over these very leaders. On the road to a new International the proletarian vanguard will find no other answers than those which have been elaborated and are being elaborated by the Bolshevik-Leninists on the basis of international experience during ten years of uninterrupted theoretical and practical struggle.

Conditions for Success

10. During the past year our political influence has greatly grown in a number of countries. We will be able to develop and broaden these successes in a comparatively short time under the following conditions:

(a) Not to outsmart the historic process, not to play hide and seek but to state what is;

(b) to give ourselves a theoretic accounting of the changes in the general situation which in the present epoch frequently take on the nature of sharp turns;

(c) to heed carefully the mood of the masses, without prejudices, without illusions, without self-deception in order on the basis of a correct estimate of the relationship of forces within the proletariat, to avoid opportunism as well as adventurism and to lead the masses forward, not to throw them back;

(d) every day, every hour to answer clearly to ourselves what our next practical step must be, tirelessly to prepare this step and on the basis of living experience explain to the workers the principled difference of Bolshevism from all other parties and currents;

The Basic Historic Task

(e) not to confuse tactical tasks of a united front with the basic historic task; the creation of new parties and a new International;

(f) not to neglect even the weakest ally, for the sake of practical action.

(g) to watch critically the most "left" ally as a possible adversary. (h) to treat with the greatest attention those groupings which actually gravitate to us; patiently and carefully to listen to their criticism, doubts and vacillations; to help them develop toward Marxism; not be frightened by their caprices, threats, intimations (centrists are always capricious and touchy); not to make any concessions to them in principle;

(i) and once more: not to fear to state what is.

February 23, 1934 —L. TROTSKY

Communism and the Intellectuals

1. Toward an Alliance of the Workers and Intellectuals

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of two discussion articles by one of the signers of the Open Letter to the Communist Party on the Madison Square Garden affair.)

1. Toward An Alliance of Intellectuals and Workers

As the immediate repercussions of the Madison Square Garden affair die down, it has become increasingly clear that at least on the intellectual front the landscape has been tremendously and permanently changed. Last week's Militant was right in appraising the Open Letter of 27 C. P. sympathizers, including John Dos Passos, Edmund Wilson, Theodore Dreiser, Elliot Cohen and Quincy Howe, protesting the actions of the C. P. in the Garden, as an important revolt against the disruptive policies of the C. P. leadership. But to one who has himself shared both the activities and the dilemmas of this group of intellectuals, and who helped draft and signed the protest, it is more than that. To him it is a milestone in the progress of the American intellectual toward the Revolution.

The fact is that the letter is by no means the first sprouting of serious political thinking on the part of intellectuals close to the movement. It is rather the first overt product of a ferment that goes wide and deep in their ranks. In the minds of many, the Garden affair, ended a period of private probation of the C. P., marked not only by serious discussion, but by considerable inner struggle and revolt. The high significance of the letter is that it was a public challenge to the Party to defend its policy, as exemplified by the insane Garden tactic, and to drastically reform it, if it means to keep its influence on intellectuals seriously concerned with their own fate and with that of the working-class, two fates which they have learned to think of as one.

A Year of Probation

It was, of course, the German events that first crystallized into a serious current of political criticism dissent among Party sympathizers. All were deeply shaken by the tragedy of Hitler's victory, and the impotence of the German C. P. and the C. I. in the face of counter-revolution. Most intellectuals felt many out of a humility not altogether reprehensible, that they had no right to draw final conclusions as to the character and causes of Communist defeat in Germany. Others felt that they had reason to hope that, under the impact of the horrible events in Germany, Communist policies would improve. Political insight had progressed to a point where it was recognized that the united-front tactic was the crux of the whole problem. A move was made as long ago as February 1933, in the League of Professional Groups (an organization which was

the outgrowth of the intellectuals' campaign committee for Foster and Ford) to call upon the Party to permit the League to build an "organizational united-front" with social-cultural-defense organizations of different political tendencies and affiliations for effective action against Fascism. This proposal, which no member of the League could oppose, was defeated by appeals to Party loyalty made by the Party fraction, and by private intimations that the Party policy itself was soon to be changed in the direction of the "organizational united-front".

This the Party considered a victory over intellectual dissent. Of course it was no such thing: what the Party won was not approval of Party policy, but a short-term extension of suffering and toleration. This the Party has been able to maintain during the intervening months only by the dissolution of the League, and the enforcement of a policy of no-discussion, no-criticism-of-the-Party within the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, the League against War and Fascism, and in the Party's intellectual organ (or rather, organ for Party intellectuals), the New Masses.

That this meant the withdrawal from activity in mass organizations of a large section of the best blood attracted to the movement in the past few years, and a corresponding anemia, has not seemed to the Party leadership too great a price to pay for maintaining the public fiction of support by intellectuals of policies which, it knew, it could not defend in discussion. The success of the Party fraction in the intellectual organizations is apparently measured not by its achievements in winning support and leading constructive activity for working-class ends, but by its success in upholding the public prestige of C. P. leadership. More and more during the past months the intellectual front has become a mere facade, behind which inaction and stagnation reigned, galvanized on rare occasions into bursts of febrile, ineffective "shattering".

Shattering the Intellectual Facade

Worn thin and torn in places by the strain of the past year, under the impact of the Garden affair the facade binding the intellectuals to the Party was rent asunder. This most flagrant example of C. P. failure and persistent error, ended a year of probation of the Party. The Party's account under the heading "United-Front 1933-1934" was immediately called for audit, the balance was struck, and the verdict was unanimous: insolvency.

Not merely among the twenty-seven signers of the Open Letter, was it unanimous. The writer has heard, or had reliable reports of the reactions of perhaps thirty other intellectuals, some members of the Party. In no instance was the reaction other than violent disgust with the Party's behavior in the Garden. Such words as "sickening", "revolting", "horrible", "nauseating" recur again and again. Privately, and in confidence, not a single intellectual would defend or extenuate the disruptive action.

Moreover, a large majority has drawn political conclusions from the year's brooding over C. P. tactics. Almost without exception they recognize that there is something seriously rotten in the tactic of "united front" from below; they have given up defending a tactic which has to its credit no victories, and an unbroken record of catastrophic defeats. At least one-half, largely through acquaintance with Trotsky's analyses of the "united-front" and the testing of his contentions by their own organizational experience, have attained a clarity on this problem which contrasts amazingly with their ignorance and confusion a few short months ago. They know now that the "united-front from below" never has worked, and never will work, and they know why.

On the level of overt action, there has been, as could be expected, a parting of the ways. Twenty-seven intellectuals took an open stand. Almost as large a group, agreeing with the others in sentiment, would not openly criticize the Party.

What does this mean? In terms of action, the present development may be described as the moving of two groups of intellectuals one step each to a higher political level. The first group, individuals who during the past year have engaged in deeper and deeper private criticisms of the Party, and found themselves in consequence more and more isolated from Party activity, have now graduated into open public criticism, and the freedom from special obligation to or toleration of the Party. In its struggles with the class enemy, they will defend it, or cooperate with it, if it permits them, but they will not defend its fratricidal course within the ranks of the working-class.

The second group in turn moves to occupy the position just vacated by the first: inner criticism and opposition within C. P. mass organ-

izations and in private talks, with the perspective of loss of Party confidence growing ineffectiveness, and passivity. Why do they not go further at this time? The "Party Terror"—the phrase is general among intellectuals—keeps some in line. Perhaps it is the intellectual's deplorable sensitiveness, or his cowardice, but one must appreciate the hesitancy to run afoul of the Party. It is only too well remembered that an editor of the New Masses had a political disagreement with the Party and woke up one morning to find himself publicly and officially accused by the Party in the Daily Worker of having driven his wife to suicide. And, alas, there are still some who have not exhausted the delights of acting that noble double-role on the revolutionary stage: red swash-buckler in the parlor and the committee room; silent good little underground mouse in some bourgeois editorial sanctum or academic grove, restraining himself—under Party discipline—from taking even a little proletarian guano.

But most in this group stay in line, as their predecessors did long before them, because they believe in the possibility of reform within the Party. Some have faith in this or that member of the C. C.; or in the "middle-leadership in the field" (uh, those mythical "healthy" D. O.'s in Denver and Dubuque!); some look forward to the regenerative impact of worsening objective conditions, or a cleansing flood of spontaneous rank-and-file revolt lashing in the provinces and washing away the Ninth-Floor Swamp; some think they will be able to strike a blow for the "right policy" if only they keep in the good graces of the leadership until the Propitious Moment comes; a few cherish notions of ignoring broad questions of policy, and doing a good honest practical job, in some restricted field behind the back of the Party while the C. C. is not looking....

Yes, some are not very bright, and all are slow. But a better thing to say is that they have come a long way, and are likely to come farther. Nor are they likely to take so long to come into the open as their predecessors. The tempo of events is too fast. Yesterday, Germany. Today, Austria. Tomorrow, Italy. On the wall they see the shadow of the bayonet and the Fascist axe. The ferment among them is too great. Moreover, many of them are bound to the signers of the letter by the closest ties of friendship, intellectual and artistic respect, and common labors in the past on the working-class front. Try as the Party will to isolate them from the men who have taken an open stand, they will not succeed.

The Challenge of the Intellectuals

In the meantime, the twenty-seven stand firm. The fact that the Daily Worker has not dared to print the Open Letter for workers to read, confirms their judgment.

Far from wavering, they have found their action an impetus to further action. They have discovered to their amazement that their indecision, vacillation, confusion, self-questionings of the past months—what the Party sneers at as Hamletism—has been somehow exorcized, once they found the courage to strike a simple, honest, forthright blow for a cause they believe in: the unity of the workers against Fascism. Hamletism, many of them see, breeds in the Party atmosphere, is indeed carefully nursed along by Party functionaries for their own ends. "For the first time in months," one writer expressed it, "I feel like I can really get down to some useful writing. And I think I could hit a few good licks for the Revolution—if I knew a good place where to hit them."

The dilemma expressed here is of the utmost seriousness. The intellectual is in a mood for action, means to act. But how? Where? What next?

A SIGNER OF THE OPEN LETTER

(In next week's Militant the same writer will continue the discussion in an article entitled "A Program for Intellectuals.")

PARIS COMMUNE MASS MEETING

March 18, 1871 The Parisian workers seized power. 63 years later the Austrian workers rose in battle against reaction. What are the lessons of these historic working class uprisings?

Speaker: ALBERT GLOTZER

Just Returned From Europe American Delegate to the International Youth Conference scheduled to be held in Amsterdam, raided by police and held in Brussels, Belgium. Visited L. D. Trotsky in France

SUNDAY, March 18, 1934 at 8 p. m. BROWNVILLE LABOR LYCEUM 219 Sackman Street Admission 10c

Auspices: Communist League of America, Brownville Branch Spart's Youth Club of Brownville

The Political Situation in Spain

Since the November elections the Spanish political situation has undergone great changes. The Left Republican parties have been practically eliminated from parliament, and the socialists reduced to less than half of their former representation. The government has in fact passed into the hands of the Monarchists.

The present Lerroux government depends on the Monarchical forces just as the previous governments depended on the socialists who then constituted the largest group in parliament. In the former Cortes no Left Republican government could exist without the socialist support, just as at present Lerroux could not govern without depending on the Monarchical parties. The parliamentary situation then has made a turn of 180 degrees. The miserable petty advances made by the Republicans and Socialists during the period of their domination are now being gradually liquidated, while they object and protest ineffectually in order to keep up appearances and cover up their own impotence as a parliamentary force.

Workers Prepare For Struggle

Conscious of the danger of bourgeois reaction the proletariat, now as in other instances previous to the establishment of the Republic, prepares itself for a struggle. But—although this may seem strange at first sight—this preparation for revolutionary action is accompanied by a momentary inactivity. This phenomenon is due principally to the preponderance which the Socialist party has acquired in the last months.

As a consequence of the unfortunate policies of the revolutionary wing (principally the C. N. T., as the Communist party has not managed to play an important role) the Socialist party strengthened itself during its period in power. Its fall, at a time in which the revolutionary wing is broken and branded by failure, has contributed to aug-

ment the influence which it already had.

Following the general trend of the masses, the leadership of the other organization, either because of opportunism or lack of self confidence, inclined towards the Socialist party whose revolutionary tones during the electoral campaign created the most naive hopes and expectations. The Socialist party will do something—this is the sentiment of the majority—including the most class conscious sections of the proletariat. The consequence of all this is that, the whole working classes is at a standstill, awaiting whatever the Socialist party may do.

Meanwhile, the latter continues to make vague threats for the near future, at the same time that it does not offer the least resistance to the blows that the government deals every day against the conquests of the workers. The last anarchist insurrection naturally could not do more than accentuate this state of affairs.

United Front in Catalonia

The most important fact, and one which opens the greatest of possibilities in the midst of the already outlined unfavorable situation, is that the tendency towards the united front, always present among the workers, has at last been made a reality in Catalonia, giving a powerful situation in the same direction to the workers of the whole country. The initiative for the united front was taken by the syndicalist group of Pestana, (the most influential trade union group in the region) which is now outside of the C. N. T.

It would have been difficult if not impossible to constitute this united front if it were not for the fact that the most influential current in the movement supported the slogan. The remainder of the organizations responded favorably, either because they really desired the united front or because of the

importance of the call. The "Labor Alliance" was established including Pestana's **Federacion Sindicalista** and the unions affiliated to it, the **Catalonian organization of the Socialist Party**, with its unions, the **Unio Socialista** (Autonomous party), **Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc**, the **Union de Rabassaires** (very important peasant organization) and the **Communist Left**.

The organizations remained outside of the united front: the official section of the C. N. T. and the **Communist Party**. The Socialists answered the call with the expressed purpose of "unmasking" the rest of the organizations. Once the united front was constituted, the party realized that its mission had been fulfilled and it withdrew in order to unmask the "Alliance" from within. The official absence of the C. N. T. means nothing in view of the sectarianism of the anarchists, but the decomposition of the C. N. T. in the region, converts the **Alianza Obrera** into a more important and influential force in the Catalonian labor movement, than the official C. N. T. leadership.

For National Alliance

The first step of the **Alianza Obrera**, has been to propose that a united front be organized nationally. This proposal met with the opposition of the Socialist Party, which "for the moment" accepts the united front only on a regional and local scale. The Socialist party wants to flirt with the united front without carrying it to its final consequences, so as to give to both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat the impression that the Socialist Party is disposed to adopt a revolutionary attitude. But the current in favor of the united front is so strong that, in spite of the inevitable obstacles, it can be reasonably hoped that its organization will continue and that it can assume an effective intervention of the proletariat in the situation.

—L. FERSEN.
Prison Cellular, Madrid.
January 26, 1934.

Organizing the CWA White Collar Workers

At the most critical moment in the struggle against the ending of the CWA, the Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, the "white collar" CWA workers' union in New York City, has been deliberately split two ways by the Stalinists and the Lovestonites, each faction now claiming to be the A. O. P. E. E.—but neither is able to do anything in the interests of the workers. Each held a meeting claiming to be the Council of Delegates. Despite efforts for unity made by a progressive group with four delegates, both factions refused to come together. Each blamed the other for the split, and both declared they were glad the split had occurred. The Lovestonites further declared that they would "never again let Stalinists into the organization."

The A. O. P. E. E. was organized six months ago and won recognition from the state officials in a successful fight to prevent the State from putting the emergency workers on a budget instead of wages. Several minor victories were won and a demonstration on January 24th of 2,000 white collar and professional men—one of the first in the country—against a 23% hour-wage cut, led to the growth of membership to 2,000, the high point of the organization. This was, however, nothing compared with its possibilities. There are 40,000 CWA "white collar" workers in New York City and eagerness for organization is evident everywhere. The failure of the organization to grow is due to bureaucratic control and factionalism, and the consequent incapacity to activate the membership.

The Lovestonites captured the first tentative apparatus and, in order to cling to it, kept the membership out of organization activity and responsibility. Control was kept in the hands of the Lovestonites and a few Socialists and "non-politicals" allied with them. No organizing committee was established. Organizing was left on a free-lance basis, without plan. The Council of project delegates was not activated, and was manipulated by the Lovestonites. For the most part, the membership merely paid dues and came to an occasional (and even rarer) project or membership meeting.

This state of bureaucratic control, with the membership inactive and ill-informed, made it possible for the Stalinists to disrupt the A. O. P. E. E. Having failed to get workers into the "Red" Relief Workers League, the Stalinists moved into the A. O. P. E. E. determined to amalgamate it with the R. W. L. or to split it. They proceeded as usual: Stalinist delegates were produced on phony membership lists, or without having been elected by members, membership meetings were packed with outside Stalinists, and slanders were circulated against the Lovestonites (stealing of funds, making themselves paid jobs, etc.). Such outrageous tactics could never have worked had the organization been previously healthy. But the bureaucratic control of the Lovestonites gave the Stalinists an opportunity to disrupt under the slogans of democracy, militancy, and spreading the organization.

The cure for the Stalinist attack, at this point, as earlier, was activation of the membership for a vigorous campaign of organization on the basis of a militant, class struggle policy. But the Lovestonites declared the union could not be built until the Stalinists were driven out. An offer by some militants to form a progressive bloc was refused. Instead the Lovestonites formed a bloc solely on the issue of fighting the Communist Party, recruiting for their bloc all the Right wing and reactionary elements. The Stalinist disruptions evoked red-baiting tendencies on the part of the most backward and reactionary elements, but not only did the Lovestonites not fight the red-baiting, but members of their bloc came from caucuses to meetings and made anti-red and flag-waving speeches. Thus they interpreted the policy of the Lovestonite leadership.

Backed by this Right wing bloc, the Lovestonites forced through a Committee of Eleven to run the organization until the adoption of a constitution. The Stalinists claimed that this election by the Council was packed by the Lovestonites; the fact is both had fraudulent delegates. The Lovestonites also put through a resolution against "one-sided" united fronts, i. e., against any united front with Communist organizations.

On February 20th a membership meeting was called to ratify the Committee of Eleven and the "united front" resolution. Both sides proceeded to pack it. While workers cried out they were being freed, and what should they do, and why didn't the organization take some militant action, Lovestonites and Stalinists debated the united front.

The meeting broke up with no plans for organizing or action agreed upon. From that day, February 20th, until March 11th—three critical weeks—the Lovestonites absolutely refused to call Council meetings or membership meetings, or in any way move the masses into action. Why? They sent out a referendum on the resolution and the Committee by mail—putting the issues in most misleading terms, not even giving the names of those on the Committee, so that members thought they were voting for the idea of a Committee of Eleven. Until the phony referendum came through, the Lovestonites refused to make any move.

March 3, the Stalinists called a rump Council meeting. The Stalinists, determined to split, constituted themselves the Council at a Wednesday meeting, deposed all officers and committees and elected their own. This was just what the Lovestonites wanted; they convoked the Committee of Eleven and, though the Committee was created by the Council and limited to executing Council decisions, it expelled the rump Council. Sunday night the rump members came to the meeting called by the secretary, and found only themselves present; the Lovestonites had meanwhile convoked the rest of the Council elsewhere.

A few progressives got together to try to save the unity of the organization, but without success. The mistake of all progressive and militant elements lay in their failure to organize sooner. Some progressives came together only in the last stages of the split, too late to prevent it. This organization is now proceeding rapidly and, since the split is now an accomplished fact, will concentrate its efforts in the "official" organization. The Stalinists will quickly reveal themselves, as in scores of other splits, as incapable of leading the split-off group to any healthy development. The Lovestonites in the official organization must be forced to break their bloc with Socialist and reactionary elements or confront the solid opposition of all the class-conscious elements in the organization.

The secretary of the progressive group is Herbert Abel, 1525 Madison Avenue.

Marine Park

Two weeks ago a general shifting of CWA workers in Marine Park occurred. Groups of men were transported by truck to various other parks. This was a maneuver to first separate and then weed out certain workers whose militancy had made them obnoxious to the browbeating straw-bosses. Most of these groups were told to report back to Marine Park the next day, but each group reports that many workers are missing, never came back, were fired during this shifting back and forth.

Since then workers have been fired daily. The reason, according to the foremen, is "loafing" and "agitating". Any worker expressing his disgust with the conditions is labeled an "agitator". The bosses find the "Red-scare" one of the best in their bag of tricks.

Gang B is rife with spies. A worker, complaining of the meagre pay (\$11.20), said he had seen checks made out for \$15.00 distributed to various individuals, and demanded an explanation.

"Those checks are for the rats", was the admission of Ruggiero, the Assistant Supervisor.

Government agents (Federal check-up men) prowled around the park the entire day.

A radio police car is often stationed in front of the supervisor's office, and one or more cops are in the office all day.

The discontent of the workers has created a favorable opportunity for organization. The workers talk of the need to organize, but there is not yet an organization active on the field.

The Militant is distributed by me to a few workers, is passed from hand to hand and the articles are discussed. They are also tacked upon the walls of the shacks and toilets.

There is a crying need for an organization of all C. W. A. workers. Only the mobilization of all workers in one strong organization, the Association of Civil Works Employees, can prevent the wage-cut, firing and mass lay-offs, the program of Hunger proposed by Roosevelt throughout the demobilization of the CWA.

WHITHER ENGLAND?

Pioneer Publishers have just received a supply of the English edition of "Whither England?" by L. D. Trotsky. Price 95 cents per copy postpaid.

The "League Against War and Fascism" in Action at Newark

The "American League Against War and Fascism," like all the similar counterfeit "united front" formations under Stalinist party domination, has been cracking up badly since the famous affair at Madison Square Garden. Large numbers have been rushing to leave the fraudulent body and join the still larger numbers who stayed away in the first place. Among these who have been departing in a hurry were quite a few "prominent" people and professional non-partisans who originally served as "decorations" on the National Bureau to cover up the C. P. control.

Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union and all-around reconciler of irreconcilables, has, however, thus far stuck to his place on the National Bureau. He has issued a public statement, jointly with Earl Browder, to the effect that everything is on the square in the organization and that there is no danger of domination by "one political party". This statement was issued on March 10.

The next day, the Newark Committee of the League, at the direct instigation of Norman Tallentyre, a professional Stalinist utility functionary, at present "representing the National Bureau" of the League Against War and Fascism, chucked out the delegates of the Communist League. It was interesting to see what Baldwin would do about the following letter, addressed to him by a group of delegates to the Newark Conference of the League:

OPEN LETTER TO BALDWIN
Newark, N. J.
March 13, 1934.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:
On Sunday, March 11th, the Newark Branch of the League Against War and Fascism called a Conference of all political, social, religious, youth, etc., organizations and all individuals interested in the fight against war and Fascism. The Communist League of America was among those organizations handing in its credentials.

The Credentials Committee, composed of all Communist Party or youth members brought in the following report:

That the Conference should not seat the representatives of the Communist League because "they were not a bona-fide organization, its membership consisting of expelled or followers of expelled leaders from other organizations: were anti-Soviet, slandered and scurrilously vilified the Soviet Union and its peace policy, and therefore could not support point five in the League's manifesto."

This astounding report was brought in with no attempt to prove in any way that the Communist League of America for valid reasons should be excluded. John Perry of the Essex Peace Society pointed out that if they excluded organizations which criticized certain aspects of Soviet policy and economy, his organization would also have to be excluded. The League's program, he continued, did not demand complete agreement with Soviet policies. Sam Silver, representing the International Labor Defense stated that exclusion on that basis would also apply to A. F. of L. locals.

I. Rosenberg of the Retail Shoe Clerks Association, Local 708, A. F. of L. stated that his organization was anxious to cooperate in a genuine united front, but was definitely opposed to bureaucratic domination by one organization. He insisted that the Conference censure the Credentials Committee for bringing in an unjustifiably discriminatory report against the Communist League. He went on to state that it was such actions on the part of the Communist Party that resulted in fascists such as Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Tallentyre, representing the National Bureau of the League Against War and Fascism rose and asserted that "he did not see the sense of including organizations with whom you have fundamental differences, which cannot, because of its nature contribute anything to the League." At this point Mr. Rosenberg insisted that Tallentyre be seated, and declared, "That it was a disgraceful display of prejudice on the part of Tallentyre, inasmuch as his assertions were directly contrary to the following statement signed by Annie E. Gray, Earl Browder, Roger M. Baldwin, for the National Bureau of the League:

"The League has used its efforts in the past, and will continue in the future to avoid conflict and disruption among the forces fighting against war and Fascism, whether members of the League or not. Agreements have been sought and will be sought to promote the greatest possible unity and to prevent disunity. The League is not and will not be dominated by one political party. No majority on any committee now does or will represent any political party."

The vote followed and recorded the exclusion of the delegates of the Communist League. The thirteen dissenting votes represented practically all the non-C. P. organizations present, with the exception of some who had left the hall prior to the introduction of the Committee's report. A point to bear in mind is the twenty-eight votes of the Communist League of America had received after nomination to the Resolutions Committee.

Some eight or nine members of the Executive Committee of the League Against War and Fascism pledged themselves to demand at the next Executive Committee meeting the inclusion of the Communist League of America. They will fight against bureaucratic domination.

We, the undersigned, protest this exclusion policy and urge that you take a definite stand on this matter.

Fraternally yours,
Irving Rosenberg, Retail Shoe Clerks Association, Local 708, A. F. of L.
Sam Silvers, International Labor Defense
Esther Sellers, American Workers Party
Leo Roberts, American Workers Party
Louis Nagy, Hungarian Workers Home

(All the above are duly accredited delegates)

Shachtman Tour

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh
Wed., March 14th—New Castle
Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown
Fri., March 16th—Youngstown
Sat., March 17th—Cleveland
Sun., March 18th—Chicago
Mon., March 19th—Chicago
Tues., March 20th—Chicago
Wed., March 21st—Chicago
Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago
Fri., March 23rd—
Sat., March 24th—Minneapolis & St. Paul Minn.

Sun., March 25th—Minneapolis
Mon., March 26th—Minneapolis
Tues., March 27th—Minneapolis
Wed., March 28th—Duluth, Minn.
Thurs., March 29th—
Fri., March 30th—Winnipeg, Can.
Sat., March 31st—Winnipeg, Can.
Sun., April 1st—Winnipeg, Can.
Mon., April 2nd—
Tues., April 3rd—Winnipeg, N. D.
Wed., April 4th—
Thurs., April 5th—Portland Ore.
Fri., April 6th—Portland, Ore.
Sat., April 7th—
Sun., April 8th—San Francisco
Mon., April 9th—San Francisco
Tues., April 10th—San Francisco
Wed., April 11th—
Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles
Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles
Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles
Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles

"THE COLLAPSE OF AUSTRO-MARXISM"
A Lecture by Max Shachtman
National Socialist Institute, Chicago
3222 Douglas Building
Tuesday Eve., March 26th at 8 p.m.
Audience:
Friends of the Militant Club
Questions Discussion
Admission 15 Cents

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«Reforming» the C.I.

"Already there are signs, not as many as we would wish but nevertheless some signs, that our criticism is having an effect in reforming the C. I."—J. Lovestone at Cannon-Lovestone Debate.

"The world-shaking events in the interval, the terrible blows suffered by the Communist Parties, and the long deliberation of the C. I., resulted in not the slightest sign of improvement in understanding or policy compared with the thesis of the 10th, 11th and 12th Plenums. The 13th Plenum accomplishes the feat of out-diving all other Plenums of the Comintern, and establishing a record for low theoretical level."—B. Herman in the Workers Age, March 1st, 1934.

Take your choice.

Shachtman Tour Minneapolis
MASS MEETING

"Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America?"

PYTHIAN HALL—431 So. 4th St.
SUNDAY, MARCH 25th—8 P. M.

Admission 15c in advance,
20c at the Door

Auspices: Minneapolis Br. C. L. A.
Tickets on Sale at Zack's Book Store, 506 Hennepin Ave.

OPEN FORUM

"The Lessons of the Austrian Events"

at
Labor Lyceum—1426 6th Ave. No.

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, March 25th 10 A. M.

Auspices: Labor Lyceum Open For.

Shachtman Tour Minneapolis
HOUSE PARTY & Entertainment

at
4648 West Lake Harriet Boulevard

SATURDAY, MARCH 24th at 8 p.m.
All Militant readers are urged to attend.

The Question of the Hour!

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

a Lecture by

JAMES P. CANNON

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th Street and Irving Place

SUNDAY, MARCH 25th, 8 P.M.

Admission 15c Questions and Discussion

GALA PARIS COMMUNE AFFAIR CELEBRATION

SOCIAL AND DANCE
at 126 East 16th Street

SATURDAY, MARCH 17th
Dance Contests : : Prizes
Waltz and Lindy Contests

Entertainments and Refreshments :
Hot Jazz Band :
Door opens at 8 P. M.

Speaker :
AL GLOTZER who has recently arrived from Europe with a full report of the International Youth Conference and of a visit to L. D. Trotsky.

ADMISSION 20 CENTS

WILLIAMSBURG MASS MEETING
Friday, March 23rd, 1934

WHY A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL? Prominent Speaker

Auspices: Communist League of Am.
Williamsburgh Branch

58 Manhattan Ave.
ADMISSION 15c

SPECIAL NOTICE

The full page article by comrade Trotsky in last week's Militant, with its devastating summary of the 13th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., has evoked a demand for its republication in cheap pamphlet form. One sympathizer has offered to contribute \$10 for this purpose. If \$15 more can be secured we will proceed immediately with the publication of this brilliant article as a small pamphlet. Send contributions to PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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"THE LESSON OF THE AUSTRIAN EVENTS"

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Monday, March 26th—8 P. M.

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Roosevelt's '12 Points' Against the Workers

Speaking before the NRA Code Authorities, President Roosevelt said: "The real truth of the matter is that for a number of years in our country the machinery of democracy had failed to function." It is no accident that the President and the NRA officials do not report to Congress but instead present the 12 point program of the NRA at the "Public Hearing" while Roosevelt and Johnson deliver their speeches on policies and aims of the NRA to the meeting of the Code Authorities.

Speak to the "Captains of Industry"

"They speak to the 'captains' of our economic system, lining up support that can bring the necessary pressure on the Senate and House for any rubber stamp legislation required for speedy action in the whirl of deepening international antagonisms and conflicts of world capitalism."

Under the NRA the further centralization of government and industry is rapidly proceeding. The order of the day does not present us with the alternative of Communism or Fascism. This is a problem of the not too distant future. The task of the rulers of today and their NRA office boys is to answer the immediate problems of the capitalist mode of production in order to canalize the class relations. The latest moves of the Roosevelt administration are designed to serve this purpose.

The '12 Points' Ballyhoo

The NRA ballyhoo about the 12 points means nothing more or less, when boiled down, than an increased offensive against the small producers and the working class. It is an old trick to speak of peace when preparing for war. And, likewise, it is an old trick to speak about the workers' needs and the small producers' interests when the dominating exploiters are going to take another pound of flesh.

One of the most effective ways to drive out the small producer is to place restrictions on free competition. When the large producer, operating with modern machinery and a high rate of exploitation of his labor power, is placed on an equal basis with the small producer, with a lesser degree of exploitation—with hours and wages the same—the small producer will be driven to the wall faster than if the process is left to unbridled competition.

Reducing the Hours

A permanent army of millions of

unemployed American workers calls for a reorganization of labor power in relation to machine production. This can only be expressed by the reduction of the hours. As far as the ruling exploiters are concerned, the workers' interests have nothing to do with it. They are making a forced retreat to safeguard their own rule. At the present juncture this forced retreat, as we have pointed out before in the Militant on the question of the Six Hour Day with no reduction in pay, has also resulted in a political defeat of the working class. There is a world of difference between "concessions" put through by the capitalists and those forced by the workers.

The reduction of hours under the NRA calls for wage increases. Up to the present this has resulted in a reduction of the real wages of the workers. Concealed under the talk of a money wage increase a leveling off process for the American workers has taken place. There has been a reduction in real wages, and a little bribery here and there whenever the rulers had to turn a sharp corner.

Senator Wagner's Admissions

Senator Wagner admits this. He says: "Real earnings of the individuals working full time are slightly less than they were last March." Further: "Some of the minimum wage provisions under the codes are lower than the standards actually prevailing in the industry". And the skilled have had hours reduced but no pay increase.

Right now the capitalists are turning another sharp corner. That is the reason for the 12 point program and the special talks on policy by the President and the General. Industry under the NRA is not solving the crisis. Johnston let the cat out of the bag in the speech before the NRA Code Authorities when he said: "We know something about what is toward in this country—the worst epidemic of strikes in our history. Why suffer it. There is a way out. Play the game. Submit to the law and get it over quickly."

Johnson warns the exploiters to go easy with their Company Unions and tells them to deal with Green, Lewis, and Company. The thought is unsaid but understood—that the agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the workers are far better to deal with "in the worst epidemic of strikes in our history" than leaders of strikes who represent the working class. —HUGO OEHLER.

THE PARIS COMMUNE

(Continued from page 1)

work of journeymen bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and fishes the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work." (Karl Marx). The church was separated from the state, the pawn shops were abolished, plans were made for cooperative production for the benefit of the real producers, the workers.

Mistakes of the Commune

Under the conditions these plans were never executed. The Versailles government launched a military attack on the Commune and the foremost task was that of revolutionary defense. Mistakes were made by the Communards, such as the failure to commence a military offensive against Versailles, the failure to take over the national bank and the hurried transfer of power from the Central Committee of the National Guard to an elected Commune. These mistakes, while directly the consequences of the practices of the parties in the Commune, the followers of Proudhon and the Blanquists, were fundamentally, a reflection of the backwardness of the conditions of capitalism for successful working class revolution. The Parisian workers of 1871 were artisans, journeymen, and employees in small factories. A sound revolutionary party, the indispensable weapon for victorious working class revolution, could only develop on the basis of mass production, large scale industry and through varied experiences of class struggles.

Courageously the Parisian workers fought for the defense of their Commune. The forces against them were too great. Thousands were killed on the field of battle. Other thousands, men, women and children were captured, tortured and murdered in the most brutal fashion.

Heirs of the Communards

The militant working class in

herits the revolutionary traditions of the Communards. The Russian workers absorbing the lessons of this struggle forged the Bolshevik party, organized Soviets, established the Russian Commune, the dictatorship of the working class. The spokesmen for capitalism openly inherit the traditions of the bloody assassinations of the Communards. They do not attempt to hide the murderous character of the suppression of the Paris Commune. They defend the use of all means which perpetuate capitalism.

It is not through peaceful methods that these bloody oppressors will be overthrown. The American master class will undoubtedly employ the most violent means to continue their bankrupt robber system. American labor history is replete with instances of the use of the armed forces against strikers and workers' demonstrations.

The Party—the Instrument of Struggle

We must reply by forging our own instrument of struggle, a revolutionary party which through the battles of today can lead the workers to the decisive class conflict. In the present epoch, when all the material conditions are ripe for a socialist transformation of society, it is the revolutionary party, uniting the most advanced and experienced militants, bound by a common program and steered in a common struggle which is the decisive factor.

The absence of such a party in Germany resulted in the victory of Fascism; in Austria, the bloody slaughter of the militant workers preparatory to a full Fascist regime. Fascism, the most violent weapon of capitalism, is growing in all capitalist countries. At the same time imperialist war looms as an imminent threat to the entire world. Workers' Russia, the inheritor of the Paris Commune, is in danger of military attack.

The true continuators of the heroic traditions of the Paris Commune have one and only one course to follow: to take their place in the great movement now being carried on for the construction of a world party of revolution—the Fourth International—which can inspire the workers in struggle, give them guidance and leadership, insure the final emancipation of the working class, and with it the whole of humanity.

—JOSEPH CARTER.



Toward the Fourth International

Revolutionary Youth Meet In International Conference

Another Step on the Road to the New International

(Ed. Note.—Albert Glotzer, the author of the following article, has just returned from the International Youth Conference held at Luxemburg, Belgium which he attended as the representative of the Spartacus Youth organizations of the United States.)

The international youth conference, called by the youth section of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland for the purpose of discussing the international situation and the tasks of the youth, was dispersed two hours after convening by the Dutch police, acting under the instructions of the Minister of Justice.

On February 24th, noon, delegates representing independent socialist and communist youth organizations from over fifteen countries of Europe and America, gathered at Amsterdam, and in a body proceeded to the town of Laren, one hour away. The police entered the conference while it was in the stage of organizing itself, arrested the 19 foreign delegates and drove them away by bus to the Laren jail. There the delegates were divided into two groups, one being at the Laren jail and the bulk of the delegates transferred to the investigating prison at Amsterdam.

German Delegates Landed over to Hitler Police

Four German comrades who remained in the Laren jail were summarily handed over to the Hitler police by the mayor of the town, despite the active intervention of comrade Sneevliet of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and a member of the Dutch Parliament. The delegates transferred under heavy guard to Amsterdam (three Germans, two Norwegians, two Americans, one Frenchman, two Belgians, one Swiss and one Pole), were deported to Belgium, after remaining for two days in prison where they were severely cross-examined, photographed and fingerprinted.

If the "democratic" Dutch regime thought that by this dastardly act they had thereby prevented the actually convening of the conference they were to be rudely disappointed. While in prison the confined comrades prepared for the reassembling of the deported delegates and the holding of a conference. Luxemburg was chosen as its meeting place. On Monday, February 26th, the deportations were effected and on Tuesday evening a plenary session was held by the deported delegates under illegal conditions at Luxemburg.

Conference Reorganized

The original conference was initiated by the Independent Socialist Party Youth of Holland. With the events in Holland, it became clear that the conference would have to be completely reorganized. The plenary session decided that the conference, while having its origin in Holland was actually a new conference, and resolved to hold it in

the name of the Internationalist Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. The plenum agreed upon an agenda for the conference and decided to issue a manifesto to the international working class movement denouncing the actions of the reactionary Dutch regime and calling upon all organizations to voice their protests.

On Wednesday, February 28th, the conference convened. The following organizations were represented by delegates:

1. The Youth Secretariat of the Internationalist Communist League, representing the youth sections of

(Continued on page 4)

Dutch Police Deport Youth Delegates to Germany!

The international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, for the purpose of discussing the present international situation and the tasks of the youth, was called for Saturday, February 24th, at Laren, Holland, to last for three days. Many delegates from Europe and America were present. At 10.00 p. m. on Saturday, this conference was raided by city and state police. The orders for this disruption came from the chief prosecutor in Amsterdam, acting under the direction of the minister of justice. Passports were inspected. About twenty foreign comrades were arrested, allegedly because they had no residence permit. After being questioned at the Laren prison, a majority of the young comrades were taken to the police headquarters at Amsterdam and deported to Belgium two days later. Four German comrades were held in the Laren police station. The four comrades, Kurt Lieberman, Frank Bobzien, Hans Goldstein, members of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, and Heinz Hase, a member of the Internationalist Communist League of Germany, were handed over directly by the Dutch police to the Hitler police.

Democratic Holland has been guilty of the same crime which once earned for imperial Germany the contempt of the masses of the world. Just as Bismarck and Bulow turned Russian revolutionaries over to the Czarist Ochrana, so the Dutch government has delivered young German revolutionaries into Hitler's hands. That means they have delivered these revolutionaries up to jail, concentration camp, the terror dungeons of the Nazis—perhaps to death.

This is not the first case. Only a short time ago an anti-Fascist who had escaped from a concentration camp was driven back over the German border by the Dutch police.

It is not alone the Internationalist Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party which are affected by this shameful persecution. Every German enemy of Fascism, every exile, whatever his political position is also menaced. This atrocious act, should be a warning to the international working class. Taking place in "democratic" Holland, it is a signal begin at once, without delay, to resist this march of reaction.

Workers of all countries, all anti-Fascist parties and organizations must raise their voices in protest against this accomplice's service to the bloody Hitler regime. There must be brought upon those responsible a pressure so powerful that such crimes must not and cannot be repeated.

Lining Up For Big May Day Edition Of the Militant

The issue of April 28th will be a special May Day issue. It will contain special material appropriate for the general significance of May 1st, and for its special significance this year in view of our efforts to build the Fourth International and a new Communist Party in the United States.

We want to feature a long list of revolutionary greetings to the New Communist Party of the Fourth International and its banner bearer, *The Militant*. We expect that all the branches in the League will send such greetings in their own name and that the organizations sympathetic to the League will do likewise.

Individual comrades, sympathizers, and friends may also wish to send such greetings. The comrades who solicit greetings should carefully explain that where a comrade does not wish to have his name appear in print his request will be complied with. In such cases we suggest that the greeter use another name or initials or simply some signature such as "a friend."

The greeting rate are as follows: One inch, one column—One Dollar; Two inches, one column—\$1.50; Five inches—\$3.00; For two column greetings the rates are double. Individual names—\$.25.

May 1st, as always, will be the occasion for demonstrations, parades, mass meetings, lectures, forums, and social affairs. The opportunity for the distribution and sale of *The Militant* will be exceptionally great. From the political point of view it is a first class opportunity to strike a blow for the New Party. The machinery required

The New Strike Wave

The Automobile Workers Revolt

THE automobile workers, poised for a mighty struggle for the rights and demands which the "New Deal" promised but did not give, are heralding the advent of the new strike wave which will most likely swing hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of rebellious workers into aggressive action. "The worst epidemic of strikes in our history," which General Johnson foretold and tried to head off, is knocking at the door.

The new strike movement will be deeper than last year's, more militant and more difficult to pacify with empty promises and patriotic demagoguery. It will encounter fierce resistance from the industrial overlords and their mercenaries, and this, in turn, will call forth great resources of working class courage, endurance and sacrifice. The impending class battles will mark an important step on the road to the class awakening of the American workers and, consequently, to their political organization.

The emergence of the automobile workers as the vanguard of the impending struggles invests the entire labor movement with a new force of incalculable energy and power. The machine proletariat, the most powerful and dynamic section of the class, hitherto unorganized and quiescent, is bestirring itself and organizing for action. No wonder the politicians and the conservative labor leaders scurry like rabbits in fear of the strike! Once the machine proletariat gets into mass action the relations of capital and labor, as well as the internal situation of the labor movement, will undergo a pronounced change. A trade union movement dominated by the factory proletariat would be too wild a horse for Green & Co. to ride.

The NRA machinery, as such, failed to satisfy the auto workers or to hold them back. It required the direct intervention of President Roosevelt to effect a postponement of the general strike scheduled for Wednesday. The breakdown of the NRA in the situation is a powerful blow to its prestige. The express determination of the automobile workers to strike for the enforcement of their demands signalizes a profound change in their attitude toward the NRA.

Last year they believed a promise—now they proceed to independent action. The greatest danger to the strike movement now comes from Roosevelt directly. His strategy of delay is the strategy of the bosses. Now is the time to strike. The workers will make a great error if they allow the action to be delayed while the bosses continue their preparations and the edge is taken off the strike spirit in endless negotiations at Washington.

The forces are lining up along the whole front for the greatest labor struggle since the post-war days; possibly, as General Johnson predicted, "the worst epidemic of strikes in our history". In this impending struggle the masses will confront a different attitude on the part of the Roosevelt administration, the NRA and all the rest of the governmental machinery. Once the strike wave takes on real scope and militancy, once it becomes clear that the old game of ballyhoo and promises does not suffice to stop the strikes, the iron hand will come out of the velvet glove. The Government will demonstrate very quickly whose side it takes.

All the forces of the capitalist order will be lined up against the workers. These include not only the Government from top to bottom, but also the entire upper stratum of the official labor leaders. In breaking through the net of the NRA and coming directly to grips with the capitalist masters, the revolting workers will also collide at every turn with the constricting barriers of the A. F. of L. structure and the treacherous policy of its leaders. At the crucial moment these leaders will fight the strikes openly. Many of the strikes will be branded as "outlaw" movements and will have to proceed independently.

In this prospect of stormy struggle of the masses, with enemies assailing them from every side, with the government taking off the mask and the labor leaders showing their true colors—in this stormy movement the working class of America will find itself, clarify its aims and march with seven league boots on the path toward revolutionary action. The formation of a revolutionary party which could aid and guide this process is the most important task of the hour.

New York Taxi Drivers Continue Militant Fight For Union

The taxi drivers of New York City are striking back at the growing menace of company unions. The Panken-Ernest "settlement" of the February strike left the men without recognition of their union and constituted an encouragement to the fleet owners to proceed with the organization of company unions. One of the largest, Parmelee, presented the men with an ultimatum: Either sign up in the company union, or get out. The men struck.

Demands of the Union

After eight days of an indecisive struggle, the union called a general strike. The estimates of the response vary from 27 to 45 thousand. The main demand is recognition of the union and abolition of the blacklist. Economic demands have been put forward and are substantially the same as those advanced in the last strike, providing for a minimum wage of \$22 a week on the day shift, and \$25 on the night; maximum hours, no discrimination against negro drivers who are allowed to drive only cabs which by their distinctive markings are recognizable as having negro drivers.

Picketing has been organized at the garages and squads are out on the street to prevent scab cabs from trying to break the strike. The spirit of the men is militant and they are clear on the central issue involved; a working class organization controlled by them, or a company union.

A complicating factor is the independent owner-driver, for whom a strike against the fleet owners is an opportunity to reap a golden harvest. There are enough independent cabs in New York City to break a strike. In the former strike the union attempted to prevent the independents from working. In the present strike they're trying to work out a sort of compromise arrangement. The union is trying to organize the independents into the union and has come to an agreement with them by which the independents pay three dollars a day each into the treasury of the union.

There is yet no sign of an attempt on the part of the union to spread the strike to other sectors of transportation. In our opinion this is a necessary step which should be carried out without delay. The workers of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company are smarting under the tyranny of the company which has imposed a company union on them and through the use of spies prevented them from voting for an independent union in the recent NRA elections. The issue for which the taxi drivers are fighting is the same one for which the Fifth Avenue Coach Company will struggle tomorrow.

An appeal to them must find a warm response. Serious and energetic efforts to pull them out on the same issue have more than a fair chance of success. A common fight would

increase the chances of both to win against the bosses.

Hostile to NRA

The general strike of the taxi drivers occurs during the preparation of a local code for the industry. The code provides a twelve dollar minimum, and its other provisions are of a similar generous nature. The attitude of the taxi drivers toward the NRA is one of hostility. The Regional Labor Board, which functioned so well against the hotel strike, is trying to intervene by arranging conferences to settle the strike. The union has expressed its willingness to attend the conferences, but the fleet owners have not. The men should be on guard against any attempt on the part of Herrick and Golden to play the same tricks on them which they played on the hotel strikers and other workers.

The impending strike of the auto workers is of the utmost importance to the taxi drivers. Not only is the issue of the right of workers to organize in their own organizations the same, but both have exactly the same enemies in the most direct and immediate sense. The Parmelee Company is owned or controlled by Cord Motors, makers of the Auburn and Cord cars. General Motors owns outright the Terminal cabs and controls, through a weighted mortgage coverage system, the Radio cabs.

The strike of the auto workers will shake the auto industry to the ground and increase the chances for a successful outcome of the taxi strike. The two struggles are really one. The workers should be united in fraternal bonds of solidarity.

The Strange Adventures of Insull

The doings and goings of Samuel Insull, formerly of Chicago, more recently resident of Athens, Greece, and decidedly well known to certain United States utility stockholders, has flared excitedly on the headlines of newspapers these past few days. It seems that on Wednesday afternoon, March 14th, 1934, the 74 year old gentleman surreptitiously slipped out of his Grecian home. Although reported sick in bed suffering from heart attacks, the indomitable Insull was not the man to be kept down.

With the police guarding the building, how he managed to make his getaway is subject to various versions. One story has it that he escaped through the back door, while another states he left by the front door in disguise. One can have his choice or develop his own hypothesis. We are inclined to think that the two versions are credible. Back in Chicago, Samuel had learned that a front door disguise plus a back door method could accomplish something, and why not in Greece?

Insull was to have been deported from Greece under the Undesirable Aliens Act. There had been several postponements due to his alleged sickness. Instead of waiting to be properly and legally deported in accordance with all the Greek regulations, the ungrateful Insull

secretly departs by himself, charters the freighter *Malotis*, and away he sails.

Such flaunting of Greek regulations could not be tolerated by the Greek government. When the ex-millionaire's disappearance was discovered a wireless was dispatched to the captain of the ship ordering his immediate return. An airplane with machine guns was placed in readiness in case the captain should prove stubborn. The cables from Athens failed to mention whether the navy war vessels were mobilized, but we assume as much. Anyway the ship returned.

Now, it was believed, Insull's recall would mean that the agents of the United States Department of Justice would at last get him. But alas! The *Malotis* had been recalled not for that purpose. The ship returned, Insull's papers properly stamped, the prestige of the Greek government saved, the regulations duly observed, and Insull sailed away again.

For what port is Insull sailing? It is rumored he wishes to go to Abyssinia. There it is said they want him as an advisor in the building of power interests in Africa. The spirit of emulation has seized some of the Abyssinian officials. If it can be done in Chicago, why not in Abyssinia? —G. E.

The Stalinist-controlled "United Action on CWA" responded to the Washington call by going into competition with it. At a mass meeting March 18th at Stuyvesant Casino, the previous "face" for the Stalinists, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, receded into the background and the Unemployed Councils came forward. The Stalinists shoved through a motion to boycott the Washington delegation. Instead, the Unemployed Councils decided to send its own "United Action" to Washington a week later! This is a typical continuation of the disruptive activity of the Stalinists in the unemployed movement during the years of the crisis.

The answer of all militant workers is to support the Joint Committee's "On to Washington" drive and join the delegation on Saturday, March 24. Any time up to Friday night, arrangements can be made to go, at the headquarters of the Joint Committee, 22 East 22nd St. —EMERGENCY EMPLOYEE.

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The Question of the Hour!

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

a Lecture by

JAMES P. CANNON

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th Street and Irving Place

SUNDAY, MARCH 25th, 8 P.M.

Admission 15c

Questions and Discussion

Court Hits At Substitute Teachers

About 700 New York City high school teachers, fully licensed, and compelled by an "economy"-seeking Board of Education to work as substitute at a lower rate of pay than the regularly appointed teachers, were turned back in their fight for permanent jobs by a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on March 16th.

Several months ago the teachers went to court to compel the Board to make appointments in conformity with the law. Supreme Court Justice, Wasservogel handed down a decision in favor of the teachers. The Board of Education appealed the decision and won its case. The teachers are now making preparations to carry the fight further.

There are some lessons which the teachers can draw from the fight which they made. One of the most important is the fact that they conducted a divided struggle. The proceedings were instituted, both by organizations of unemployed teachers, the High School Eligible Association influenced by the Lovestonettes, and the Unemployed Teachers Association which follows a Stalinist policy.

The Eligibles Association conducted a strictly legal fight placing its faith in the "processes of justice".

In this struggle it was assisted by the conservative administration of the Teachers Union which contributed funds and sent a speaker to a mass meeting. The administration of the union, saw in the factional division of the unemployed an opportunity to strike at the U. T. A. which is hostile to it and to which it is hostile. While it supported the fight of the Eligibles Association it refused to have anything to do with the case of the U. T. A.

The Unemployed Teachers Association tried to rally mass pressure behind its legal fight. It held a number of mass meetings, organized protests at the sessions of the Board of Education, and was instrumental in getting a number of organizations to send protest telegrams to the judges who heard the case. Like its prototypes, the Unemployed Councils it succeeded, more than anything else, in demonstrating its impotence in face of the serious issue and its sectarian isolation from the main stream of the teachers movement.

Of these facts the teachers should take careful note. The first prerequisite for a successful struggle to secure relief is unity, unity among the unemployed, and unity of the employed and unemployed. —E. L.

Organized Labor Under the NRA

Company Unions Gain Under the NRA

A survey of collective bargaining under the NRA was made by the Industrial Conference Board. The survey showed that Company Unions made bigger gains since the inauguration of the NRA than the unions of the workers, and that individual bargaining still hold the dominating place in the American scheme of class relations.

A canvas of 3,314 companies, employing 2,585,740 wage earners, estimated as 27% of the total number employed in manufacturing and mining, showed the following percentages:

Individual bargaining	1,181,000	45.7%
Employee representation		
Collective bargaining	1,164,000	45.0
Labor union agreements made	241,000	9.3

Their report says, "the most striking result of this survey is the relatively small proportion of employees found to be dealing with the employers through an organized labor union." "Employee representation (company unions) appears to have made considerable progress in the large companies." "It is clear that individual bargaining has not in any way been eliminated by Section 7-a of the Recovery Act." "In the contest for popularity between the two methods of collective bargaining, the employee representative plan appears to have won the initial advantage."

Green Admits the NRA Cannot Help Real Wages

The March issue of the American Federationist admits that the NRA cannot help the workers obtain an increase in real wages and that the trend of real wages is downward. Of course the Federationist does not admit that one of the many things the NRA was designed to accomplish, is a real wage reduction of the workers with as little resistance and as few strikes as possible. Green and Company, as agents of the capitalists in our ranks, carry out this task through the NRA class collaboration machinery.

The Federationist says: "In general there has been no increase in real wages....The codes will not safeguard real wages....The government monetary policy points toward diminishing real wages." Green and Company do not howl because the wages of the workers will be reduced. They howl because they are afraid, if the capitalists do not give them a greater share of collaboration in the Code Authority bodies and the Industrial Relations Board, they will not be able to keep in check the rising discontent and strike struggles in the making.

International Workers School Notes

Two New Courses Are Being Started This Week

1. **Elementary Russian:** This is a course for beginners to be given by comrade S. Weber. The first session will commence at 4 P. M. next Sunday, March 25th.

2. **Public Speaking:** This course is exclusively for Left Oppositionists and members of the Spartacus Youth Club. It is intended to train speakers for our SPEAKERS' BUREAU. The thirty members who have been assigned are requested to be on time next Sunday, March 25th at 1 P. M. The course will be conducted by comrade J. Weber.

All other classes are well under way but each lecture is self-contained, thus permitting those interested to attend individual sessions.

Trade Union Strategy and Tactics Comrade Swaback will present interesting material in his next two lectures:

1. The revolutionary struggle in the labor movement.
2. The movement for the eight hour day.

Wednesdays 8 P. M.—March 28th and April 4th.

History of the Russian Bolshevik Party

Comrade Wright will deal with events that every class-conscious worker should understand thoroughly:

1. 1905—the Dress Rehearsal for the October Revolution.
2. The Years of Revolution (1905-1907).

Fridays 8 P. M.—March 23rd and March 31st.

Fundamentals and Communism

Comrade Aborn continues his course with lectures on:

1. The Bourgeois Revolution and the Working Class
2. The Marxian Analysis of Capitalist Development.

Mondays 8 P. M.—March 26th and April 2nd.

Grammar 5-9524

This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers School.

Organizing the Home Relief Workers

About three months ago a group of workers in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau, under the pressure of intolerable working conditions and miserable wages, called an open meeting of Home Relief workers for the purpose of laying the basis for organization.

As a result of this meeting an Initiative Committee was elected and the E. H. R. B. Employees Association was formed. For two years prior to the formation of the Association, the C. P. members working in the Home Relief Bureau, although constituted as a UNIT, never called any open meetings of Home Relief Workers. The extent of their activities constituted in issuing wild, ultra-Left leaflets distributed by the Unemployed Councils, calling for a general strike, etc. No address was given where workers could communicate with them. Everything was done in a very secretive and underhand manner. Later they began signing the leaflets with the name of PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE, giving the address of the Office Workers Union. Needless to say these tactics had a very disastrous effect on the workers who became very wary and suspicious when later approached by the Association.

Seeing the tremendous response

919 New Subs!

Sixty-five more new subs came in last week bringing the total up to 919 and bringing us within 81 subs of our goal of one thousand.

The subs received last week:	
Boston Br.	16
Oakland Br.	12
F. Berensmeier	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
Q. Parker	5
W. Sukut	4
New York Local	4
Philadelphia Br.	4
Davenport Br.	4

TOTAL 65
The complete record up to date follows:

New York Local	388
Minneapolis Br.	106
Kansas City Br.	48
Boston Br.	32
Pittsburgh Br.	32
New Castle Br.	24
L. Brown	20
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	16
Oakland Br.	12
Philadelphia Br.	12
Davenport Br.	12
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
Chicago Br.	12
Youngstown Br.	12
Q. Parker	11
F. Berensmeier	8
F. Stinson	8
M. Steinbach	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papayan	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Gendelman	8
G. Kots	6
Los Angeles Br.	6
M. Hurwitz	6
Buffalo Br.	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
W. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4

TOTAL 919

Can we reach the goal of 1000 new subs on the Club Plan this week? We are counting on it. What do you say?

WHITHER ENGLAND?

Pioneer Publishers have just received a supply of the English edition of "Whither England?" by L. D. Trotsky. Price 50 cents per copy postpaid.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The full page article by comrade Trotsky in a recent Militant, with its devastating summary of the 18th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., has evoked a demand for its re-publication in cheap pamphlet form. One sympathizer has offered to contribute \$10 for this purpose. If \$15 more can be secured we will proceed immediately with the publication of this brilliant article as a small pamphlet. Send contributions to PIONEER PUBLISHERS 54 East 10th Street New York.

Greek Workers' Club "Protomagia"

The Greek Workers' Club "Protomagia" now has its own headquarters and reading room at 633 Eighth Avenue, Manhattan (between 10th and 41st Streets).

The headquarters are open from noon to midnight every day. Food and refreshments are served all day at the counter. All comrades are invited to drop in any time.

Next Sunday night, March 25th at 8 P. M., Arne Swaback will lecture at the Headquarters on "The Lessons of the Austrian Events". Admission free. Questions and discussion.

The Club intends to hold regular lectures every Sunday night and to conduct an agitation among the Greek workers to enroll them for active participation in the class struggle.

Announcements of other activities will appear in subsequent issues of The Militant under this heading. Watch for them.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule
The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

Sat., March 24th—Minneapolis & St. Paul Minn.
Sun., March 25th—Minneapolis.
Mon., March 26th—Minneapolis.
Tues., March 27th—Minneapolis.
Wed., March 28th—Duluth, Minn.
Thurs., March 29th—
Fri., March 30th—Winnipeg, Can.
Sat., March 31st—Winnipeg, Can.
Sun., April 1st—Winnipeg, Can.
Mon., April 2nd—
Tues., April 3rd—Williston, N. D.
Wed., April 4th—
Thurs., April 5th—Portland Ore.
Fri., April 6th—Portland Ore.
Sat., April 7th—
Sun., April 8th—San Francisco.
Mon., April 9th—San Francisco.
Tues., April 10th—San Francisco.
Wed., April 11th—
Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles.
Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles.
Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles.
Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles.

Shachtman Tour San Francisco

MASS MEETING

"TOWARDS A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE U. S." TUESDAY Evening, April 10, 1934

at LABOR COLLEGE HALL 1254 Market Street

Questions Discussion

ADMISSION FREE

TROYANOVSKY -- 1916 AND 1934

In 1916, when Lenin and Trotsky were struggling to reorganize the collapsed international labor movement, Alexander Troyanovsky, now Soviet ambassador to the U. S. A., published in Zurich, Switzerland, a pamphlet entitled *Do We Need An International?* There he vigorously assailed Karl Radek and his "dis-ciple," Lenin for their theory that only a socialist revolution could defeat imperialism, called them "extremists" and deserters of the class struggle, criticized the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences for being insufficiently internationalist, and offered instead a program, formulated, according to Troyanovsky's statement, by Kautsky.

There is no need to go into all that old dispute. History has refuted Troyanovsky if nothing else has, and now he takes off his hat every time Lenin's name is mentioned. There is space, however, to quote a few important passages from Troyanovsky's pamphlet. According to our author, Lenin's theory of imperialism led to an attitude of offering "no resistance to imperialism, to the exploitation of one country by another, or even to the domestic reaction growing out of imperialism." He continued thus:

Troyanovsky Accuses Lenin

"This abandonment of resistance to imperialism not only does away with the necessity of the international as an organization of international proletarian action. In principle, it leads to an estimate of socialism as a national task to be carried out within the confines of existing states by the working class forces of such states. The social revolution thus ceases to be an international matter, the result of a unified international struggle of the proletariat of the entire world, and becomes a goal to be reached by the separate efforts of the proletariats of separate countries, independent of the nature of existing international conditions. (p. 7.)

5-day week and 6-hour day for all Home Relief Employees.

80-day sick leave through the working year—with full pay.

A month's vacation to all employees with one year's service—and those with less than a year on, per diem basis, with pay in advance.

Two weeks pay on dismissal. The organization to have to right to review all cases of dismissal. These demands can only be won by a leadership whose interest is the welfare of the Home Relief Workers and not the sectarian interests of "13th Street". Toward this end a progressive group is being formed to fight for a class-struggle policy, and against the disruptive activities of the Stalinist leadership in the organization.

"If the highest goal of all our work, socialism, can and must be achieved by the workers of each

Australian Youth Organizations

Despite the existing conditions, which are favorable for organizing the youth, we find that the majority of the young Australian workers are unorganized.

The small section of the youth which is organized, is chiefly centered in the bourgeois sports organizations or other sporting bodies which pretend to remain neutral, such as the Y. M. C. A. and factory teams.

Even the Australian Labour Party, which has the support of the majority of the workers in Australia, has only recently established A. L. P. Younger Sets. However, these Younger Sets are essentially social clubs, which occasionally pass resolutions of confidence in "Jack Lang" the leader of the A. L. P., and sell buttons during election campaigns. They are neither more nor less than sporting and electioneering outfits.

Vain attempts have been made by the Young Communist League—Australian section of the Young Communist International—to organize the youth at various times, and it is these attempts that we shall endeavor to deal with in this article. Since the Y. C. L. claims to be the political vanguard of the youth section of the working class, and maintains that it is based on Marxism-Leninism, it is necessarily an expression of internationalism, and only by comparing its Australian section with other sections can we arrive at a correct estimation of its work.

MEMBERSHIP

From what we know, there is no country in the world, except the Soviet Union, in which the Y. C. L. is in any way strong numerically, or near the size of the Party. Its membership is continually fluctuating and has no ideological level.

In Australia, numerous young workers have been attracted to the League, but it has never managed to retain any but the careerist elements and a few sincere comrades. This is mainly due to the fact that the Y. C. L. has established itself as the "Communist Party of Youth", which drives out elements who, though class-conscious, are not yet prepared to be so active, or to accept discipline, as a party member would be. The sincere young revolutionaries, who are prepared to make sacrifices, soon become disgusted with the political passivity of the Y. C. L. and want to join the party.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE Y. C. L.
The League reflects all the internal diseases of the party. Bureaucracy is rampant. We find that individuals possessing no political ability, are elevated to the leadership because they are willing to carry out the instructions of the C.

On the question of a new Y. C. L. we are of the opinion that the work of the Y. C. L. could well be managed by a Youth Bureau within the Fourth International.

We hope that you will print this as a discussion article in the Militant or the youth paper Young Spartacus.

(Submitted by Australian comrades of the International Communist League.)

TROYANOVSKY -- 1916 AND 1934

country independently then they can have no strong motives for standing by the workers of other countries in their socialist struggles. An international built on such principles must fall apart at the first transition from words about international solidarity to deeds. (p. 8.)

"If the workers of the various countries are to reach the socialist order through different doorways, without being forced into joint socialist struggles to break down barriers constituted by existing international conditions, then, strictly speaking, there can be no talk of workers' solidarity and of a common goal of the workers' movement in the various countries (p. 8.)

"An International Scientific Society"

"Under such conditions, the international would inevitably be transformed into an international scientific society dealing with questions of the labor movement, maintaining information bureaus, and, finally, calling occasional congresses with solemn proclamations of the principles of socialism and omissions to veterans of the socialist parties of the various countries. Such an international cannot be the international of a unified will, a real common struggle, and a consolidation of the proletarians of all countries for joint intervention in international affairs. In a time of international conflicts no sign of life can be expected from such an international. Just where theory ends and practice begins, this international will be impotent. Should some energetic, decisive international action be needed, then the true nature of this scientific society will be shown.... (p. 11.)

"An international labor organization with such ideas will and cannot educate the workers in the spirit of international solidarity, and cultivate them into members of the future socialist society, which must be built on the basis of the fraternity and unity of nations.... The horizon of the work of who has accepted the dogma of the possibility of a social revolution limited to the arena of his own state, will be cramped by the interests of the labor movement of his own country, and he will lose all interest in the International and internationalism. (The italics are Troyanovsky's.)

"International solidarity would then remain at best an ideal for the remote future. For the uniting of proletarians of all countries we would have to await the socialist revolution, after which there will be no more proletarians and the international itself will no longer be needed.... (p. 12)

"Deny Necessity of International"

"If we visualize the social revolution as the individual task of individual national parties and regard as impossible a class struggle against imperialism waged in the spirit of international solidarity, then we must deny the necessity of an international and advocate the division of socialism into a series of national socialist movements disconnected from each other." (p. 32.)

Clearly Troyanovsky did some pretty lavish "interpreting" of Lenin. The national-reformist attitude Troyanovsky attacked—"socialism in one country", perfunctory internationalism, separation of workers along national lines, etc., etc.—was, as has been plentifully demonstrated, not Lenin's. Troyanovsky's attack was beside the mark. Now all that is history. The USSR, having made terms with the U. S. A., sends as Ambassador Troyanovsky, the old "internationalist", who, arm-in-arm with Kautsky, attacked Lenin "from the Left."

Well, Ambassador Troyanovsky, what about socialism in one country now? Are you still as bitter as ever against it? What about an international whose congresses are merely perfunctory—or never held at all? What about breaking up socialism into a series of national movements, limiting the horizon of the worker, postponing solidarity until after the revolution, and all the rest of it? And finally, your question of 1916, do we need an international?

—HARRY STRANGE.

MARCH OF EVENTS

MANHATTAN HOUSING.

East side, West side, the firetraps of Manhattan have taken their toll of sixteen lives of women and children in recent weeks. Horrified working class mothers and children, aroused to realization of their awful plight, have demonstrated against these conditions brought about by the landlords' greed and have demanded enforcement of the law. And in good old muck-raking style, so effective in capitalizing misery to build up circulation, the New York Evening Post investigates and exposes the landlords' responsibility, none other, of course, than the elite of society, the wealthiest families, the Stuyvesants and Astors and Wendels.

These old tenement houses "paid for themselves" many times over with the exorbitant rents squeezed out of the poor. But the landlords have never an eye for the main chance, in this case the unloading of an investment that no longer pays on the city. So Vincent Astor, "liberal" host during Roosevelt's vacations, comes forward magnanimously to offer his many tinder-boxes to LaGuardia at any price at all—say, "to be fair", two-thirds or three-quarters of assessed value, immediately fifty other landlords follow suit. To understand this overwhelming burst of generosity one need only remember that assessed values are far higher than present real values; that the high land values in Manhattan act as an insurmountable barrier to the rehousing of families in the slum districts; that whereas dwellings have increased in all the other boroughs, they have decreased by more than five thousand in Manhattan in the past five years; that "recruiting" for the slums has decreased with the lowering of immigration. The mouths of the landlords water for the cash to be handed out by the I. F. C. for slum clearance. On top of this the City offer to tear down free for the landlord, with the aid of GWA workers, all firetrap tenements which should have been razed years ago by the landlords. Yes, charity does begin at home!

CUBA.—The situation of the organizations of the Cuban workers, the trade unions in particular, has become desperate. Mendieta, the "strong" man, the puppet speaking with the voice of Wall Street is attempting to carry out the mandate granted him by U. S. imperialism. He aims to break the backbone of the Cuban working class by first smashing its organs of struggle on the economic front, the trade unions.

The Cuban Revolution, the achievement of the Cuban masses, is at stake in the present struggle. Only the working class, leading the peasants and the oppressed masses, can save the Revolution by carrying it forward. A strong united front of the workers of town and plantation must be cemented by the building of Soviets, the weapon of defense of the workers. The united front of the oppressed has the immediate aim of defending the democratic rights won by the downfall of Machado, in particular the right to organize and strike. The workers are now on the defensive but, despite the Caffery-Mendieta machinations, the struggle has not yet terminated. Mendieta can still be prevented from consolidating power completely if the masses can be rallied in the struggle for democratic rights. But this struggle must be directed along the road to Soviets.

THE JAPANESE-ENGLISH TEXTILE NEGOTIATIONS

In the war of currency depreciation for the purpose of extending foreign market, Japan started the earliest and gained the most. She gained the most because her foreign trade forms so large a percentage of her economy and since inflation made her goods dirt-cheap in world markets, she was able to drive all competitors out of the market. The bulk of Japan's exports are textile goods, cotton and to a less extent silk. The cheapness of Japanese cotton goods has resulted in an amazing loss of business for the British textile mills. The largest Empire market, India, was flooded with Japanese textiles until the outcry of the English capitalists brought the threat to close this market completely to Japan. Japan retaliated by declaring a boycott on Indian raw cotton.

The negotiations for a "truce" on a world scale continued in London but the Japanese, in the superior position, wanted to limit the truce to British Empire markets only. The result was the breakdown of the conference and the problem has now been taken from the hands of the capitalists into those of the diplomats. Unquestionably the Japanese will lay down political conditions for concessions in trade that will involve the stand of England in the imminent war. If Japan can obtain England's promise to checkmate the U. S. in the matter of ally with the Soviet Union against Japan, the latter may hesitate no longer in her planned attack.

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—JACK WEBER.

One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

The Technique of Serving the Exploiters and Fooling the Masses.

The Demagogy of Roosevelt Program
On the first anniversary of the New Deal four thousand gentlemen in control of industry and finance gathered in Washington to be harangued and cajoled. "We must consider immediate cooperation to secure increase in wages and shortening of hours," said President Roosevelt. Verily, that must have been spoken entirely in defense of the forgotten man—at least so it appeared.

Before the same gathering General Johnson argued against the company union. But he made his reasons perfectly clear. "We know," he said, "something about what is toward in this country—the worst epidemic of strikes in our history.... I would rather deal with Bill Green, John Lewis, Ed McGrady, Mike MacDonough, George Berry, and a host of others I could name, than with any Frankenstein that you may build up under the guise of a company union."

"In fact—take it from me and a wealth of experience—their interests are your interests and under the law and in this modern day, it is the best and quickest way to economic peace."

Fear Collapse of System

That is the rub. Essentially these statements are all motivated by the fear of decay and collapse of the capitalist system. They mean to convey the idea that it is time to do some serious patching of the kind which will reinforce its basis, consolidate its most essential parts and strengthen its whole structure. This, at times, can be accomplished most effectively by means of apparent concessions, presented in the terms of glamorous demagogy. Keep the workers at a level where they can endure exploitation without too convulsive revolts. Work closely hand in hand with your agents in labor ranks, the respectable labor leaders, and discard your company unions lest you actually pave the way for new and more serious strikes and for militant unions. Such was the real character of these admonishments.

To say bluntly that these statements are motivated by fear of the decay and collapse of the capitalist system may seem entirely unsubstantiated. Are not the authors of the New Deal enjoying the confidence of the vast majority of people from all walks of life? Is not the President still extremely popular even in the humblest of working class homes? Does he not seem to represent their fears and their desperate hopes? Undoubtedly this must all be answered in the affirmative. But it does not in the least settle the question of what the New Deal is, for whose benefit it operates, and the motivation behind it.

The Ballyhoo Technique

One of its brilliant critics has said that it is suggestive of an adventure on a rocking horse, that it is unreal, and that it does not remove the causes of "social injustice." Standing alone, that is of course not sufficient as a characterization. The New Deal is not intended to remove the causes of "social injustice." Only the successful conclusion of the class struggle can remove this. And here is the important question: What does the New Deal mean to the workers? To understand this it must be examined in its economic aspect, from the point of view of its function in social and class relationships, as well as from the point of view of its ballyhoo and demagogy, expressed both in words and action, which is intended to maintain illusions in the workers' minds. Each one of these aspects requires separate treatment. In this article we confine ourselves to the demagogic aspect, leaving the others to subsequent articles.

While the New Deal machinery creaks and groans as it is put into motion, there is a certain revolutionary flare attached to its basic philosophy. It is acclaimed by some as "a new social order," by others as "disciplined democracy," President Roosevelt calls it "an economic constitutional order." It has even elevated to a basis of respectability the method of abbreviation of names by initials, formerly considered to belong only to the Bolsheviks. We have now the NRA, the AAA, the PWA, etc. An ingenious middle-class mind has suggested the addition of a tax-payer's SOS.

Not a "Revolution"

Donald Ritchberg, the counsel for the New Deal, says that it is "a revolution in its purpose but in method." Such statements are intended to catch the gullible worker, discontented with things as they are. The New Deal could, of course, not be a revolution in purpose, a revolution which does away with capitalist property rights and the power of exploitation. This is the only revolution which means something to the workers. Such a revolution is not engineered by the capitalist rulers themselves. They are its bitter opponents. Nor do revolutions come about peacefully. Those in possession of the capitalist property rights and the powers of

exploitation do not yield them without a struggle.

President Roosevelt declares that social conditions had previously been permitted which allowed vast sections of the population to exist in an un-American way, which allowed a mal-distribution of wealth and of power. In his book "Looking Forward," he says: "I believe that the government, without becoming a prying bureaucracy, can act as a check or counter-balance of this oligarchy (the few hundred corporations and fewer than three dozen banks which control our economic life) so as to secure initiative, life, a chance to work, and the safety of savings to men and women, rather than the safety of exploitation to the exploiter, safety of manipulation to the manipulator, safety of unlicensed power to those who would speculate to the bitter end with the welfare and property of other people."

Wall Street Not Really Disturbed
And so we have the New Deal, supposed to check and counter-balance the oligarchy. Moreover, has not Wall Street been investigated? Was not a whole section of this crew of capitalist pirates headed by J. P. Morgan summoned to appear before a senate investigation committee and tell why they had evaded tax payments to the government? That is perfectly true. But it is one thing to investigate Wall Street and dress the investigations up in radical sounding demagogy in order to catch the uninitiated. It would be quite another thing to attempt to dislodge Wall Street from its economic power.

This, of course, is not at all intended by the investigations. On the contrary, we shall be able to prove that in every respect Wall Street has been strengthened, and its power and all it stands for has been consolidated, by the advent of the New Deal. President Roosevelt said in his anniversary address: "No one is opposed to sensible and reasonable profits." This means that profits are to be rationalized. In other words, the right of exploitation is to be stabilized on a basis which will insure it against too violent disturbances and shocks.

The Big Interests and the Codes

We are not unmindful of the fact that the big fellows, the steel trust, the automobile corporations, and others like them, resisted the industrial codes of the New Deal. But they resisted them in order to obtain the modifications they desired, to insert their company union clauses and merit system clauses, by which they could more securely maintain their power of exploitation and prevent counter-action by the workers. Even now the apparent pressure put upon them to give up their company unions presents the substitute of reliance upon their own agents in labor's ranks—the Greens, the Lewises, and the Berrys—as a more effective means of keeping the masses in subjection.

On the whole the demagogy woven around the New Deal policy has a distinct purpose. It is under its cover that the real measures to salvage the badly dislocated capitalist system of production are being put over. In the make-up of this policy and amongst its executors, including the "brain-trust," there is very likely a mixture of various currents. One of them is made up by the traditional radical liberalism which becomes so indignant at the effects of "social injustice" when they fear that this may bring retaliation from the workers, but fight might and main against the abolition of its causes. They believe in the soundness of capitalist economy, but want to save it from the few "bad" and "greedy" men who have brought it out of gear. But another, and far more important one, is the hard-headed current of aggressive capitalism, of ruthless capitalist expansion ready to crush all opposition which stands in the way of a greater capitalist empire. That is the current which, in the final analysis, determines the policies of the New Deal. In this sense its main features are of a permanent character and will count in the shaping of the future economic developments. But as the realities of life remove its demagogic smoke-screen, the working masses will become entirely disillusioned. That process began already during the first year of the New Deal.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Discussion Article

On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee

The thesis of the National Youth Committee contains the formulation: "It is essential in the education and propaganda of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young Spartacus, American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working-class, play a predominant role."

It is my opinion that this formulation is confusing right from the start, and serves only as a hindrance to the education of the youth. My reference is particularly to the phrase, "bourgeois revolutionary traditions."

One encounters these days many references to these "bourgeois revolutionary traditions." Demagogues and reformists of all shades exhort the misery-stricken workers and farmers to find salvation by following the footsteps of their "revolutionary forefathers," the Madisons, Adamsons, Jeffersons and Company. They lay claim to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the American flag itself. "All this," they say, "belongs to the American people. This is what they understand." Away with the imported Marxism of the Reds. There is a rich experience of late with this sort of stuff, what with the latest "Continental Congress," and the flag waving at unemployment and trade union conferences. Because of this, it seems to me, our thesis should strive more than ever to explode, with the weapons of Marxism, this spurious Americanism for the American working class.

Liberal Phraseology

The liberal phraseology of the Jeffersons and Madisons is essentially the same as the liberal phraseology of the Roosevelts. Just as Roosevelt, in the interests of bourgeois private property, deludes the masses with words, and tries to cover up the class struggle, so the Madisons and Jeffersons, in their time, acted in a similar manner, the difference being that at the time of the Madisons and Jeffersons, these demagogues had a progressive role to perform. The fight for independence from England was a progressive fight. But what is even more important for the proletariat of today to remember is that it was the artisan and farmer who in the main formed the fighting forces of the Revolution, and tried to make of it a social revolution. The aim of even the most extreme bourgeois revolutionists were linked up with the institution of private property, which institution, of course, it is the aim of the proletarian revolutionary to overthrow.

The establishment of capitalist

private property was a progressive step historically as compared with feudal private property. But when the bourgeoisie try to put the word, "liberalism," on human history, now that their aims are realized; when the bourgeoisie calls the proletariat who try to go one step further and totally abolish private property "the coarse rabble," it is the Marxists who beg to remind these gentlemen that force has always been the midwife of history; that the bourgeoisie accomplished their aims, as had the feudal lords before them, by forcible means; and that they could not have done otherwise. And that we "reserve the same right" to accomplish our greater aims. Does that justify our including in the thesis a call to study "bourgeois revolutionary traditions"? No, that only helps to confuse the matter. For what we emphasize, above all, is that they utilized revolutionary means to accomplish their aims, with which the proletariat can have nothing in common, just as they utilized the extravagant rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence when they needed to mobilize the masses for the revolution but that once the masses accomplished the revolution, they sought to consolidate their power and foisted the adoption of the Constitution upon the masses with all the fraudulent means we now designate as Tammany and at which our "revolutionary forefathers" were masters indeed.

What we emphasize is what Marx emphasized in 1849, when the National Assembly passed the Faucher bill against the right of association, although the constitution guaranteed all Frenchmen the right to organize:

"What the constitution, first of all, was to have constituted was the rule of the bourgeoisie. Evidently, the constitution could therefore mean by the right of association only such associations as were in harmony with the rule of the bourgeoisie; i. e., with the bourgeoisie order. If, for reasons of rhetorical decorum, it expressed itself in general terms, was not the government and the National Assembly there to interpret it in specific cases? And the Constituent Assembly decreed that the violation of the text was the only adequate realization of its literal sense."

Lenin on the Jacobins

There are comrades who think that because Lenin said the Bolsheviks were proletarian Jacobins that justifies our calling the Mad-

isons and Jeffersons consistent revolutionaries whom we have to save from the "misinterpretation" of the bourgeois professors. Space does not permit me to go into an explanation of the Great French Revolution, its similarities and dissimilarities with the American Revolution. Suffice it here to state the following facts: there were really two revolutions within the scope of what is known as the Great French Revolution: that of 1789 led by the bourgeois Girondins and that of 1793 led by the petty-bourgeois Jacobins. Our Revolution of 1776 was not followed by a revolutionary Jacobin wave, but by reaction, for the Constitution was, broadly speaking, the document of the counter-revolution. The Jacobins, though they cleared the ground for the bourgeois order, were trying to represent the sansculotte. It was exactly this contradiction in internal make-up plus, of course, the fact that there were not the material requisites for such a transfer of power that caused the downfall of the Jacobins.

Long ago Plekhanov correctly estimated the Jacobins:

"Private property and the petty bourgeois purposes closely connected therewith, forced themselves into the programs of even the most extreme revolutionaries of that time.... The Party of the Mountain failed just because of that innermost contradiction between its petty bourgeois conceptions and its endeavor to be a representative of the proletarian interests.... To the present-day representatives of the working-class, these contradictions are foreign, because modern, scientific socialism is nothing but the theoretic expression of the unbridgeable antagonism of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

Exactly. And Lenin was very careful in explaining what he interpreted Jacobinism to be; he defined it "as the transfer of power to the revolutionary oppressed class, for that is the essence of Jacobinism."

The Struggle of the Masses

Our predecessors, the artisan and poor farmer, though weak in organization and not constituting as clear a class as the proletariat of today, accomplished the revolution, and tried to make of it a social revolution; it was through their pressure that even such democracy as we now have was established. They accomplished this in bitter struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is this heritage of the struggle of the masses (the people) that we accept. Once more I refer to the French Revolution and how Marxists interpreted bourgeois achievement.

Listen to Trotsky:

"In general the bourgeoisie, in the proper sense of the term, opposed the peasant revolution with all the power it had.... Throughout the five years (1789-1794) the peasantry rose at every critical moment of the revolution, preventing a deal between the feudal and bourgeois property holders.... The Parisian sansculotte, pouring out their blood for the republic liberated the peasant from his feudal chains."

I repeat: it is this heritage of struggle of the masses everywhere that we accept. And this heritage will find its realization when the now full-grown proletariat will sweep aside the now impotent and reactionary bourgeoisie from the historical scene. It is this message that we bring to the American working-class youth. When we Americanize Marxism, we bring to the American working class the message of Marxism, of proletarian revolutionary internationalism, not a vulgar flag-waving speech. We do not make the confusion of the youth that is trying to free itself from the bourgeois point of view foisted upon him more confounded by speaking of "American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and proletarian." At best, this is a misleading phrase, an unfortunate wording, and ought to be stricken out from the thesis, which should be a guide to action, not confusion.

—RAE SPIEGEL.

WILLIAMSBURG MASS MEETING

Friday, March 23rd, 1934
WHY A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL?
Prominent Speaker
Auspices: Communist League of Am.
Williamsburg Branch
58 Manhattan Ave.
ADMISSION 15c

THE MILITANT

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Communism and the Intellectuals

2. A Program for the Intellectuals

(Ed. Note.—This is the second of two discussion articles by one of the signers of the Open Letter to the Communist Party on the Madison Square Garden affair.)

It is the credit of the Left Opposition that it sees the problem of the intellectuals who are in a state of open or suppressed rebellion against the Communist Party as a serious challenge to all working-class groups who believe they hold the keys to the revolutionary future. The article in the Militant offers the aid of the Left Opposition in rearming "in the service of the proletariat these intellectuals who.... might otherwise lose contact with the militant working-class."

The Militant offers a concrete proposal which not only constitutes an excellent first article for a revolutionary program for intellectuals, but can serve as an essential basis for future activities. The Garden incident, the Militant asserts, has deeper roots and consequences than the signers of the Open Letter seem to recognize. A proper understanding of its full implications, it maintains, must lead to such revolutionary conclusions as the fundamental responsibility of the "doctrine of socialism in one country" for the disastrous "united-front from below" tactic, and the immediate necessity of building a new Party and a new International. It invites intellectuals to meet with members of its group in free discussion on this and on other topics, and it offers its columns to intellectuals for the publication of their opinions, and for mutual criticism. No doubt numbers of writers will avail themselves of the guest, or should we say fellow-traveler privileges of the Militant columns, as this writer has hastened to do.

The Militant article, with its often severe but always comradely criticism, sets the seal of a good example on the promise. (No doubt you will permit us a criticism. Perhaps we are a little shell-shocked on the subject, but we think you might indulge a little less in mere routine invective. We dislike the title of your article, "The Intellectuals Revolt against Stalinist Hoof."

Indeed, this is an important reason for having an organized program of activities for intellectuals. The revolutionary movement needs their work above all, but secondarily it needs them, the best of them. And no other training and testing

ground has been discovered than concrete activities within class-struggle organizations. Does that mean that we must organize intellectuals into private, separate intellectual organizations? A thousand times no! No sincere revolutionary party will repeat the completely impermissible practice of the Party in organizing intellectuals' committees, leagues, etc., as permanent political bodies. These clubs of the revolutionary demagogue have served only to infect intellectuals with a host of diseases: snobbish condescension; political sophistry, cynicism, and ignorance; isolation from workers; self-distraction; "juvenile Machiavellianism"; toxicism. This does not mean that intellectuals should not be encouraged to join economic struggle organizations in their separate professions. Unions for teachers, writers, etc., yes. But no more intellectual clubs.

Discussion Not Enough

But the major part of the problem still remains. Discussion is not enough. The bedrock of any program for intellectuals must be practical, concrete work with and for workers on the class-struggle front. Concurrently there must be discussion of the Marxian theory and its application: free discussion, criticism and democratic decision upon proposals and plans are an essential part of sound action. But activities for working class ends are both the core and goal of any revolutionary program.

And the fact is, though the Party sneer who shouldn't, that the intellectuals want to work. The chief challenge of the intellectuals to the Left Opposition and similar groups is that they offer organizational channels for this impulse.

The Left Opposition is too intelligent to make the easy answer, "Join our group," although no doubt it looks forward to including within ranks of the new party qualified intellectual elements. To join a revolutionary party one must feel himself a full-time, professional revolutionary, and we believe that the great majority of the intellectuals would agree that they are fellow-travelers, sympathizers, intellectual allies of the revolution, not full-fledged revolutionaries. Indeed, they have never claimed to be professional revolutionaries. That some will grow in time to Party calibre we firmly believe; there is material here that time and experience could temper into useful theoreticians and cadres.

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THE BRITISH HUNGER MARCH

On Saturday, February 24th, 2,000 hunger marchers from all over the country moved into London and at the same time 1,400 delegates from trade unions, political parties, co-operatives, etc., assembled in Bermondsey for the Congress of Action. From North, South, East, and West, the unemployed marchers brought greetings from their fellow-victims of capitalism and despite a bitter yellow press campaign, the local trade unionists and co-operatives had rallied to the aid of the marchers all along the road.

"Congress of Action"

On the same day, the Congress of Action passed a resolution calling for work or maintenance and the delegates pledged themselves to use every means in their power, including strike action, to smash the new unemployed insurance bill. The marchers stayed in London for a week and a deputation headed by Maxton, MacGovern, and Hannington called at 10 Downing Street in order to interview the Prime Minister. But Ramsey MacDonald was enjoying himself at the British Industries Fair and so the unemployed were denied the opportunity of seeing the Premier.

The I. L. P. representatives then raised the question in the House of Commons and they obtained the support of the Labour Party and a section of the Liberal Party. They desired the approval of the members of Parliament for a deputation of the hunger-marchers to address the House and also that the Prime Minister shall receive the marchers in Downing Street. Both proposals were turned down by the Tory majority and when Buchanan, Maxton, and MacGovern taunted MacDonald with episodes from his past career as the alleged champion of the underdog he replied by pointing to the Labour Party Conference and Trade Union Congress—those two bodies had also refused to allow deputations from the unemployed, and Ramsey finished his speech by loudly denouncing the hunger-marchers as dupes of the Communist Party.

Having tried constitutional methods without result, the leaders of the marchers now attacked the ruling class with vague threats of "other and more militant tactics" but all that happened was a demonstration in front of Buckingham Palace and a further spurt of oratory at Hyde Park, after which the members went home by train.

A Peaceful Demonstration

In contrast to previous hunger-marches this latest venture was a most peaceful demonstration awakening a considerable amount of sympathy for the hard lot of the unemployed but leaving them just where they were before the march started. The parliamentary leaders of the I. L. P. were the real victors of the march, for not only did they

confine the main activities of the marchers to the vicinity of Parliament but they also obtained the full flood-light of the press for themselves, a very necessary thing for Maxton and company.

So far as the Bermondsey Congress is concerned, it is hard to conceive of anything substantial coming from so loose a body of representatives who merely represent the fringe of the movement, the real machinery being safely left in the hands of the bureaucracy of the Labour Party and Trade Unions. The Congress declared for strike action but before this line could be successful it would have to be carried out upon a national scale combining political with industrial action in the form of a political general strike. This requires not only a thorough permeation of the trade unions but also a powerful political party capable of leading the masses in a direct struggle for power. But in Britain there is neither a party or a communist-permeated trade union movement, and unfortunately Bermondsey was a poor substitute.

Comintern Reply to I. L. P.

At the Congress the I. L. P. and the C. P. endeavored to keep on good terms but the arrival of the Comintern reply to the I. L. P. letter has opened up hostilities again. Signed by Kunsinen, this latest epistle from Moscow contains nothing new. To become a sympathizing member of the Communist International, the I. L. P. need not accept the 21 conditions as formulated by Lenin but must prove in practice that it is assisting the work of the C. I. and it must carry on a fight "against the Second International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions and come out decisively against all attempts to create new internationalism."

The leaders of the I. L. P. are accused of being anti-Soviet and to actually "reflect the foreign policy of the British Government". They are also accused of holding back the rank and file of the I. L. P. from joining the Third International.

I. L. P. Conferences

Meanwhile, the divisional area conferences of the I. L. P. have been held in London, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lymington. All these conferences rejected affiliation to the Third International while the proposal to form a Fourth International was also turned down. The present middle-course position of the party found favour everywhere but in Lancashire a resolution calling for a return to the Second International was carried by 21 votes to 16. The leaders of the I. L. P. have not yet revealed their attitude but the Easter Conference of the party may follow the divisional conferences in favour of a waiting policy.

T. C.

ground has been discovered than concrete activities within class-struggle organizations.

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Mass Organizations a Necessity

The only healthy solution of the problem is the building of sound mass organizations. Here the intellectual can work with workers. This would be the fulfillment of the need and desire that attracted him to the revolutionary movement in the first place, the desire to escape the frustration of the merely intellectual life; the hope of finding, in alliance with the only vital, productive class, the proletariat, roots in substantial soil and a renewed creativeness.

In a mass organization, the intellectual no doubt will find political guidance and education, not in abstract, theoretical form, but on the job, in the struggle. He will find there revolutionaries not only wise and experienced, which he is not, but willing to lead him and teach him not by terrorism or mechanically or by faith, but by patient, comradely discussion and criticism, permitting him also a full vote in making decisions. In the process, he will become not only an increasing useful member of his mass organization, but he will be developed so that in many cases he may consider and be qualified to take a further political step.

But more important than the need of the intellectual and his political future is the crying need of the working-class itself for such mass organizations. There are tremendous immediate problems facing the working-class; the defense of class-war victims, relief to strikers and their dependents, the fight against war and Fascism. Only mass organizations built on the sound basis of union of all elements willing to fight on a common limited program of activities can enlist the forces necessary for militant and successful broad struggles. Today the working-class movement is hamstrung because no such organizations exist.

The responses of the puny sectarian groupings to the increased needs of the past years have revealed their impotence. Yesterday, such organizations as the W. I. R., the I. L. D., the League against War and Fascism were parodies of "united-front" mass organization. Under the impact of recent events they lie today in ruins.

Build Mass Organizations Now!

It is not too much to say, we believe, that the test of all political groups who claim to know how to build revolutions lies in this problem. Mass organizations are the most imperative need of the work-ing-class today; through them runs the road to a new party and the revolutionary future.

Intellectuals are ready, we believe, to join with all political working-class groups who will join with them in a sound mass organization. Intellectuals do not ask for leadership in such an organization; they will take their places in the rank-and-file, and if and when they earn responsible posts they will be proud to fill them. They are not altogether inexperienced: they have fought at Harlan, at Washington, and at Scottsboro. They have useful gifts: they can write publicity and pamphlets; they can raise money; some of them can do minor organizational jobs. And they are willing to learn.

Many of these intellectuals would prefer to work in a mass organization whose purpose is defense. Their interests and their experience happens to lie in the struggle for class-war prisoners, and against Fascism. They would be interested to know if the I. L. O. and other militant political groups think this is the most fruitful field in which to begin.

In any case, we urge on the I. O. that it consider this problem as urgent and immediate. We should like to hear whether it is willing to join with other political groups, and with the intellectuals, on a agreed program for defense (or some other important need) in a non-partisan, united-front mass organization, based on militant class-struggle principles, democratically carried on and controlled?

Comrades, we await your answer. And your concrete proposals.

—A SIGNER OF THE

EDITORIAL

The Furriers' Problem

IN many respects the situation in the fur trade, reported by a correspondent in last week's *Militant*, presents a unique trade union problem. The right of the workers to join an organization of their own choosing, the cardinal principle at stake in many of the labor battles now taking place or impending, is clearly at issue. The Fur department of the Needle Trades Industrial Union (T. U. U. L.) has the great majority of the organized workers on its side—but no recognition from the bosses and no agreement with the bosses' associations. The International Fur Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) has an agreement with the bosses—but only a few hundred members and no real support of the workers.

On the face of it the attempt to impose the International on the furriers is an attempt to force them to accept an organization chosen for them by the bosses. How can there be two opinions as to the stand the workers should take on such a question? If the bosses are to be allowed to decide which union the workers should belong to why not let them specify a company union and be done with it? That, in our opinion, is the fundamental issue although it is somewhat obscured by numerous complicating aspects of the situation.

An exactly analogous case is not to be found anywhere in the American trade union movement. The fur workers, a small section of the needle trades as a whole, constitute the only section where the Stalinist Industrial Union has the majority of the organized workers. In the other trades the organized masses are in the A. F. of L. unions; outside the furriers, the Needle Trades Industrial Union, like all the other Stalinist unions, leads an isolated, sectarian and futile existence devoid of any future.

Besides that, the leadership and internal regime of the furriers' section do not speak for its future either. The paralyzing bureaucracy—characteristic of all Stalinist organizations—to say nothing of the systematic errors—also characteristic of Stalinism—weigh in the scale against the union and mark it for the same doom that has befallen all the other Stalinist unions. The Stalinist party, which controls the furriers' section of the Industrial union, has shown an infinite capacity for disrupting and destroying mass organizations, none whatever, in any field, to build and maintain them. In supporting the Industrial Union in the fur trade as long as the majority of the organized workers prefer it to the A. F. of L. body, the revolutionary militants in the trade should not close their eyes to all these facts.

The role of the Lovestonites in this situation is particularly revealing, both as to the ultimate logic of their trade union policy and as to the essentially opportunist political character of this group. The Lovestonites are betting on the victory of the reactionary combination of the bosses, the NRA and the A. F. of L. and have taken steps to "get in on the ground floor" of the boss-supported International. They have accepted leading posts in the International. Thus they give a "radical" face to this organization which has no support except that which it gets from the employers.

The Lovestonite policy of supporting the A. F. of L. at all costs, which led them to an objective support of Lewis against the heroic struggle of the Progressive Miners, has brought them to the shabby role of agents for the fakers in the case of the furriers. A. F. of L. fetishism, as a trade union policy, is false to the core. Is the present case, as in many others, it serves as a cover for political and personal opportunism. The revolutionary militants among the furriers, without deluding themselves in the least about

the perspectives of the Stalinist union, must respect the attitude of the majority of the workers who support it and fight in the ranks beside them. The Lovestonite policy must be rejected with contempt.

Inside the Stalinist union, however, the militants should fight for a realistic policy that would open up the perspectives for success in the struggle which are not too bright with the present policy and leadership. A head-on fight against the A. F. of L. in a comparatively small and isolated sector of the needle trades reduces the struggle of the furriers to an endurance contest in which the odds are on the other side. A broader and more flexible strategy is necessary.

The heart of such a strategy is the fight for unity, not only of the furriers but of all the needle trades workers. Nobody in his right senses can imagine that such unity is to be realized under the banner of the T. U. U. L. As things stand now, after the reconstitution of the I. L. G. W. and the affiliation of the Amalgamated to the A. F. of L., it should be clear which way the stream is flowing. The furriers ought to aim deliberately to connect themselves with this main stream and influence its further development.

In order to do so it is necessary for them to overcome prejudices against affiliation to the A. F. of L.—prejudices against the course of a mass movement are quite futile anyway. It is likewise necessary to make a sharp break with any sense of obligation or loyalty to the T. U. U. L.—this paper pretense of a labor movement is not worth anybody's loyalty. Once this correction in the orientation of the Left wing furriers' union is made its position in the struggle will be strengthened and the way will be opened for a number of effective moves to get out of the present blind alley.

First, it can demand a charter from the International with only one condition: that the local retain its autonomy and the right to choose its own officials. If that is refused, a proposal can be made to unite the two local organizations into a single body affiliated to the International and, consequently, to the A. F. of L., with officials to be elected in a supervised election of the united organization. Third, the Left wing union can declare its intention to campaign for the amalgamation of all the needle trades unions into one industrial organization affiliated to the A. F. of L.

If such proposals are made known to all the furriers, and combined with a widespread agitation for unity throughout the needle trades, they will awaken a hearty response from the workers, strengthen the sagging morale of the Left wing and put an enormous pressure on the officials of the International, including their Lovestonite come-ons. Either—these officials will be compelled to accede to the demand of the masses for the unity, or they will be convicted to the hilt of responsibility for the split, robbed of every plausible argument and completely isolated from the masses who want unity more than anything else. In any case the position of the Left wing union will be strengthened, and if it has to fight alone for another period its members will be fortified with a new conviction. The chances of victory will be multiplied many times.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in charge of the Left wing furriers' union, of course, will oppose such a strategy and will try to suppress any free discussion of it in the union. But these ideas will make their way just the same. They are stronger than the apparatus of the bureaucrats because they correspond to the burning needs of the workers. And, in addition, they indicate the only way to save the furriers' organization from the debacle which overtook all the other sections of the Industrial Union.

Revolutionary Youth Meet in International Conference at Luxemburg

(Continued from page 1)

the I. C. L. which could not send delegates.

2. The American, French, Belgian, German and Swiss sections of the I. C. L.

3. The Socialist Youth Association of Germany (SAP).

4. The Workers Youth Association of Norway (NAP).

5. The Mot Dag group of Norway.

6. The Revolutionary Youth Association of Holland (RSP).

7. The Socialist Youth Association of Holland (OSF).

8. The Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle, U. S. A.

By a transfer of mandates, the youth organization of the PUP of France, and the Roumanian Association of United Socialist Youth were represented. Holland had refused to admit the representatives of the Independent Communist Youth organization of Sweden, who had sent telegraphic greetings of solidarity from Copenhagen, and transferred their mandate to the Mot Dag group of Norway.

Reports of National Sections

With the opening of the conference it was found that while a smaller number of delegates were present, actually, all the organizations assembled in Holland were represented at Luxemburg. The first point on the agenda was a series of reports by the national sections on the status of their organizations. These reports showed that in almost all the countries present active and vital organizations and groups existed with a will to reorientate the proletarian youth movement.

The reports formed the introduction to the political discussion. The political situation and the tasks of the youth was the most important question of the conference. Here was expressed the opinions of the various organizations present on the basic question of what to do. In the course of the discussion apparent agreement was reached by the delegates on a series of principled questions such as the proletarian dictatorship, the soviet system, the armed struggle for power, the united front, etc.

But on the decisive question of what to do sharp differences expressed themselves between the delegation of the ICL and the left-centerist elements adhering to the London Bureau (now transferred to Amsterdam). The ICL declared that, following the fundamental agreement on a series of principled questions, and following the general agreement as to the degeneration and collapse of social democracy and Stalinism, including their youth organizations, it was necessary to declare openly and without equivocation the need of creating the new international and the new youth international.

Proposals of S. A. P. Youth

The representatives of the SAP, elaborating on their thesis, presented the unique, and not entirely new, point of view, that it is necessary to win the broad masses of workers

and worker youth to the support of the following such an event to then conference on principled questions declare and work for the new international. The comrades argued that while they agreed to the necessity of the new international, it was not the decisive question. They proceeded to divorce the question of the new international from the agitation for the principles of communism, as if such a separation was possible.

The SAP concluded their discussion with the proposal: to accept their thesis which did not contain the necessary declaration for the new international and the new youth international. Following the acceptance of this, to elect a bureau, with a secretariat located at Stockholm which would have as its tasks the work of rallying the broad masses of youth around the banner of the principles contained in the thesis. Then, in order arrive at a concord with the ICL, they proposed an additional resolution proclaiming the necessity of the new youth international and to elect a bureau located in Paris to work for the realization of aims of the resolution.

Standpoint of I. C. L.

These proposals were unacceptable to the delegation of the I. C. L. which decided to reject the motions. To us it was inconceivable that the proposed Paris bureau could carry on an intense activity for the new youth international without at the same time working and agitating for it on the basis of the principles of communism, which could not and should not be separated from the question of the new international. The existence of two bureaus of this character would only result in a dualism of work.

The Stockholm bureau which would stand on the position that the social democracy and Stalinism were bankrupt, would carry on its work without telling the workers what to do. We demonstrated that to wait until mass national organizations were in existence before building the new international could lead to nowhere, and that it was inverted "internationalism", since the reorganization and reassembling of the new organization of the working class could only be on the basis of the existence of the international movement. We therefore proposed that the conference come out openly and clearly for the new youth international, with one bureau to work in this direction.

Agreement on Amended Thesis

After an intense and protracted discussion, agreement was reached between the two tendencies at the conference. The representative of the Socialist Youth Association (S. A. P.) proposed them to include in their thesis the clauses for the new youth international and the new international, to elect one bureau with its secretariat at Stockholm, which would have the task of realizing the decisions of the conference in practice. Inasmuch as the thesis in general renders a correct characterization of the present world situation and a correct criticism of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, we found

it possible, with the acceptance of our proposals on the new international, to agree to the motions.

All the other organizations present—with the exception of the Norwegian Workers Party—accepted the theses. As a result the basis for the creation of two bureaus became non-existent. These decisions of course remain provisional, dependent upon the actions of the organizations represented at the conference.

Appeal to All Revolutionary Youth

With the above political basis laid, the conference proceeded to the more practical questions of the future. It was decided by the conference to extend invitations to all independent revolutionary youth organizations, including those organizations within the official international, who show leftward tendencies, to attach themselves to the decisions of the conference. The Bureau, the conference decided, should consist of one member for every national section adhering to the decisions of the conference. Because of its international character the ICL is to be represented by three members.

It was further decided to create a secretariat of this bureau, consisting of three members and made up of representatives of the Socialist Youth Association (SAP), the Independent Communist Youth of Sweden, and the Internationalist Communist League, with its center at Stockholm. This secretariat would have as its tasks the practical carrying through of the decisions of the conference and the bureau.

Thus, the conference dispersed by the Dutch police, became a reality through the efforts of the ICL and the SAP. After a day of sharp and intensive discussion of a comradely character, we succeeded in overcoming the differences of the conference, and arriving at an agreement which makes possible for us to go a step forward. But it must be stated very clearly that the conference and its decisions while marking a tremendous step forward, is after all only the first step.

Great Tasks Ahead

The real work lies ahead. Everything depends upon how the bureau and its secretariat proceeds to realize the conference decisions in life. This, after all, is decisive. In our opinion, the executive must emulate the activities of the International of Socialist Youth during

March Young Spartacus

The March issue of *Young Spartacus* contains articles interesting both to militants in the movement and the young workers coming to Communism. It features the lessons of the Austrian events and includes several articles on the war danger, the hotel strike, the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, and report of the New York Yipsel convention. In addition, a story on the Snow-Gang, a poem and some science items make the paper very attractive and readable.

Plans are being made to publish *Young Spartacus* as an eight-pager regularly every month. Branches of the League and Spartacus Youth Clubs should immediately pay for their bundles. Yearly subs at the low price of twenty-five cents can easily be obtained if the paper appears regularly. Let us hear from you!

Salt Lake City

OPEN FORUM

Every Sunday 7:30 P. M.

1318 E. Second St. South

Auspices: Communist League of A.

N.Y. Printers Demand Unionization

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY MASS MEETING OF THE INDEPENDENT PRINTING EMPLOYEES Thursday, March 15, 1934.

WHEREAS The code signed by the President for the Graphic Art's Industry promises to improve conditions among the unorganized but fails to provide the means to achieve this betterment, and

WHEREAS This code does not meet the burning problem of unemployment since it refuses to grant a thirty hour week, and

WHEREAS The code as well as previous conditions in the typographical industry causes a deadly competition between union and unorganized men setting up different wage scales to the detriment of all

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED That we, 500 printers assembled in mass meeting in Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, New York City, March 15th, 1934, under the auspices of the Independent Printing Employees.

HONOR AMONG THIEVES

Postmaster General Farley, the former prize-fight commissioner, who promoted Roosevelt into the presidency, stated Sunday that there was more honesty and truthfulness among politicians than any other class of his acquaintances. In other words, the rest of his friends are bigger crooks and liars than the Walkers, McQuades, Smalls, etc., and that's saying a mouthful, as the following recent news items would indicate.

The recently deceased Moe Rosenberg, second-hand dealer and pay-off man for the Insull-Capone gang in Chicago revealed to the Federal Income Tax Department that he had on his pay-roll the former mayor, Tony Cermak, to the tune of \$85,000, and numerous aldermen and other democratic and republican politicians. Many of whom are as well known to Farley, as are Roosevelt, Bull Montana, and Boo Hoff.

In Welfare Island Prison, politicians of the Farley stable were shown to be on a somewhat lower plane than the imprisoned gangsters, and the degenerate male prostitutes who cooperated with them in robbing the general run of prisoners.

Finally there's the New York City Home for the Destitute, where the honorable Mr. Farley's "most honest and truthful" politicians robbed the aged, the crippled, the blind, and the feeble-minded. Savings of old and illiterate scrub-women stolen by trusted officials. These officials using the unfortunate inmates' dread of a nameless grave in Pottery Field as a threat, forced them to turn over insurance policies and savings accounts into their hands.

When, by accident or otherwise,

ed upon to go the limit in lickspittles servility and invention. Gory, "the Leader" and "the Great Disciple", Stalin, in the *Daily Worker* of March 10th, Minor says: "Lenin built up and trained a core of Marxian revolutionists the hardest, clearest, and best of whom he nicknamed 'Comrade Steel' (Stalin)."

We don't know if that lie is original with Minor or not. The facts are that Stalin gave himself the name of "Steel" and later he took upon himself the titles of "the Leader", and "Great Disciple", and furthermore, the description, "hardest, clearest, and best" is self-bestowed. Lenin's opinion of Stalin is known to Minor. It was written in a last and solemn warning to the party. In this document, "Lenin's Last Testament" Stalin was characterized as rude, disloyal, and unfit for leadership. The party was urgently advised to remove Stalin as secretary. Of course what Lenin actually said matters no more to Minor now than it did in 1918 when he attacked Lenin and Trotsky in the *New York World* and other capitalist publications.

Rural Housing

That the New York song writer who had the country "Crying for the Carolines" a couple of years ago would be crying a different tune if he lived there is indicated by first reports on rural housing released by the Department of Agriculture. Unpainted one-story frame shacks lacking the most elementary sanitary facilities are the general rule for the "great American farm home". Out of 2,311 houses in Duplin County, North Carolina, only

lemen of the Blue Grass country. Almost an Eden of contentment, peace and refinement. The federal report shows a different picture. Sanitation of the worst type, unpainted outdoor toilets, water carried by hand, unpainted, miserable shacks, abject poverty. Slums for the builders of cities, shacks for the growers of food, while hundreds of thousands of building trades workers tramp around vainly searching for a job. That is capitalism in its most highly advanced state.

"Party Life"

A letter in the "Party Life" column of the *Daily Worker* of March 7th states that the writer joined the party in June 1932, was made unit organizer, member of the section committee, and put forward as an aldermanic candidate without every knowing what it was all about. "On several occasions I was called into the office by the Section Organizer and told about some opposition force and to vote this way or that. But I was never drawn into any discussion concerning the grievance. It was always cut and dried. All that I was to do was to vote so and so. I think the section was a little too bureaucratic. Now the party just exists. There are no struggles, no unemployed movement...."

Editorial comment by the *Daily Worker* hopes this situation is not widespread in the party. It is not in line with the open letter and "It has been taken for granted.... that he (the writer of the letter) is a full blown Communist." No doubt it is the duty of a "full blown" Stalinist—and how full some of them are blown!—to stick up his hand on a bureaucrat's say-so, to slug a Trotskyist who calls for a

MILITANT PLEDGE FUND

Our call for weekly or monthly pledges to help sustain *The Militant* has brought some immediate results as evidenced by the list printed below. Thus far, the response has been from the members of the Communist League, with one exception which is from a sympathizing school teacher.

We take this opportunity to make a special appeal to our readers and sympathizers to pledge definite weekly or monthly sums as a concrete manifestation of their interest in *The Militant* and the cause it represents.

In spite of the many difficulties, *The Militant* has continued publication regularly over a period of five and a half years, coming out as a tri-weekly on two special occasions. This was made possible only by tremendous sacrifices. But this condition must now be stopped. Worry about paying the linotype; worry about paying electric, gas and other bills; worry about raising the necessary funds with which to mail the paper in addition to worries about personal economics, are not conducive to the production of the kind of a *Militant* we visualize.

The Pledge Fund, if promptly and regularly remitted, can help to overcome these difficulties, stabilize the paper, and permit us the hope of making it a bi-weekly soon. We hope that our readers and sympathizers will participate in this action by sending in their pledges at once.

THE PLEDGERS

BROOKLYN BRANCH, LOCAL N. Y.

1. Paul King	25 weekly
MANHATTAN BRANCH, LOCAL N. Y.	
2. G. Wright	.50 weekly
3. E. Konkow	.25 weekly
4. M. Beardslee	1.00 weekly
5. M. Sterling	.25 weekly
6. F. Victor	.50 weekly
7. J. Weber	.50 weekly
8. S. Gordon	.50 weekly
9. E. Stone	.25 weekly
10. M. Kline	.50 monthly



FOR THE 4th INTERNATIONAL!

Appeal of the Communist-Internationalists to the Workers of the World

We, the representatives of the Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik-Leninists) of U.S.S.R., Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, the United States, South America, China and other countries turn to you, workers of the world, in an hour of impending danger, with this appeal.

Since the crushing of the Austrian proletariat and the bloody fights in the streets of Paris, it is clear even to the blind that old methods of struggle, based on peaceful development, are completely exhausted. Rotting capitalism has no other resort except to suppress the proletariat, smash its organizations, crush its will and reduce it to abject slavery. The bourgeoisie will not and cannot wait until the proletariat gains 51 per cent of the votes. The question will be settled by force. Finance capital is organizing and arming fascist bands. Mussolinism is not an Italian but a world phenomenon. The gangrene of barbaric reaction is spreading over one land after another. France is next in order. February 6th marked the first rehearsal of Fascist banditism. The same manifestations are in preparation in England. The prerequisites for fascism exist in the United States just as much as in Europe.

What a terrible degradation!

The proletariat is the only creative class in present-day society. On it depends the entire life of the country, its economy and culture. Together with the semi-proletarian masses, whose leader it is destined to be, the proletariat constitutes the overwhelming majority of civilized humanity. It is inspired by a great social ideal. During recent days in Austria as throughout all modern history, it has shown itself capable of great self-sacrificing heroism. Nevertheless, Fascism, basing itself on the worst, most demoralized elements of the petty bourgeoisie, on human dust, the scum of the nation, gains one victory after another.

The Bankruptcy of the Leadership

What is the cause of this?

This is the question weighing on the mind of every worker. The answer is written in the flames of the events themselves. The cause lies in the *bankruptcy of the leadership*. The proletariat is betrayed, divided and rendered powerless from above. For this the social democracy, the *Second International*, bears the major responsibility. As long as the question was limited to peaceful parliamentary and trade union struggles and settlements, the workers did not notice that the staffs were made up of narrow-minded petty-bourgeois types, ex-reformists and semi-revolutionists who had become conservatives and, finally, common traitors. To these leaders (Wels and Hilferding, Vandervelde and de Man, Leon Blum and Renaudel, Lansbury and Henderson, Robert Grimm, etc.) the thoughts and feelings of bourgeois ministers, bankers, journalists and professors are incomparably nearer than are the thoughts and feelings of the proletariat, the unemployed, the small farmers, the starving youth growing up on the streets.

But a heavy responsibility rests also upon the *Third International* which once rose high under the banner of the October revolution but which, sinking ever lower and lower, has changed from the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat into an ossified bureaucratic apparatus. The Stalinist Comintern led the revolution in China and brought it to defeat. The Comintern took the revolutionary workers of the whole world out of the trade unions, isolated the left wing and thereby saved the conservative trade-union bureaucracy from collapse. The Comintern entered into blocs with individual bourgeois pacifists, chatterers, careerists while rejecting joint action with proletarian mass organizations. The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern says to the world proletariat: "Accept without dispute my commands or I will smash the fighting unity of your ranks and sabotage the defense against Fascism." This was the policy of the most powerful section of the Comintern, its German section, thru 1923-1932, and this policy led to Hitler's victory. In Austria, thanks to the chain of crimes and mistakes of the Comintern, the C. P. did not even succeed in raising its head. Finally, heedless of all tragic lessons, the Communist parties of France, England and other countries proceed slavishly to repeat the criminal policy of the German C. P. The combination of Marcel Cachin and Leon Blum will inevitably lead to the same consequences as the combination of Thaelmann and Wels. Along this road complete and final catastrophe awaits the proletariat.

The result of the great October overturn in Russia was the *Soviet Union*. It showed the power and potentialities inherent in the proletariat. The Soviet Union remains today flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. With all the power at our command, we call on every

honest worker to come to the defense of the *Soviet State* in the hour of need.

Under the pressure of world imperialism, internal difficulties and the mistakes of the leadership, however, a powerful bureaucracy has elevated itself over the workers' and peasants' soviets, and now makes a religion of its infallibility. The autocratic rule of the unrestrained bureaucracy today constitutes the chief danger to the further development of the peoples of the USSR and to the triumph of world socialism. The Communist International created by Lenin has fallen victim to its slavish dependence on the degenerate Soviet bureaucracy.

Which is the Way Out

A new party and a new International must be built. Although in these words many hear the voice of "sectarianism" and "despair," this slogan is dictated by the situation in the world arena as well as in each individual country. There is no other way. Is it possible to reform or renew the Second International, pervaded by crimes and treacheries? The war and all post-war events answer: "No!" The matter stands no better with the Third International. We Bolshevik-Leninists, known hitherto as the left Opposition have tried for ten years to reform the Comintern, to bring it back to the road of Marx and Lenin. Colossal events in all parts of the world have confirmed our warnings and appeals. In vain! The conservative ideas and the interlocking interests of the privileged bureaucratic group have proven stronger than all the lessons of history.

It is impossible to rebuild the Comintern through the masses because it no longer depends on the masses. The Second and Third Internationals have played themselves out.

Now they are only obstacles on the road of the proletariat. It is necessary to build a revolutionary organization corresponding to the new historic epoch and its tasks. It is necessary to pour new wine into new bottles. It is necessary to build a genuinely revolutionary party in every country. It is necessary to build a new International.

The thinking worker must recognize the iron logic of these conclusions. But doubt born of the all too recent disappointments, rises in him. A new party! This means new splits. But the proletariat needs unity above everything else. This is simply a pretext, largely arising from a reluctance to face great difficulties.

We reply that it is not true that the proletariat is in need of unity in and of itself. It needs revolutionary unity in the class struggle. In Austria almost the whole proletariat was united under the banner of the social democracy; but this party taught the workers capitulation, not fight. The Austrian workers have demonstrated that they know how to fight. With them part of the old leadership also fought courageously, but the responsibility for the defeat falls on the party as a whole. Opportunistic "unity" has proven itself to be the road to ruin. In Belgium the party of Vandervelde, de Man and Co. have the overwhelming majority of the working class behind them. But of what value is this "unity," when the general staff of the proletarian army crawls on its belly before the royal power, the patriotic bishop, the liberal city mayor, all the representatives of the class enemy? In little Norway, the opportunistic party led by Tranmael, which received 45 percent of the total votes cast in the last elections, is repeating every crime of the Austrian social-democracy, is crippling the proletariat and opening the door to Norwegian Fascism. Such unity is a rope around the neck of the working class.

The Proletariat Must Forge a New Weapon

We need genuine revolutionary fighting unity: for the resistance of fascism, for the defence of our right to live, for an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois rule for the full conquest of power, for the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the Workers' State, for the United States of Europe, for the Socialist World Republic*. Social democracy is devoted in body and soul to the bourgeois regime. The Comintern has shown in practice its total inability to assemble the masses for revolutionary tasks. There remains for the proletariat only to bow its head under a slave yoke, a yoke even more terrible than that of the Middle Ages, or to forge itself a new weapon for its revolutionary liberation.

"Where however is the guarantee that the new International will not suffer shipwreck in its turn?"

A miserable, philistine question. In the revolutionary struggle, there are no guarantees in advance and there can be none. The working class climbs up steps that it hews for itself out of granite rock. Some-

times it slips down a few steps, sometimes the enemy dynamites the steps which have been cut, sometimes they cave in because they were cut of poor material. After every fall one must arise; after every slip down one must reascend; every step destroyed must be replaced by two new ones.

A guarantee of success—if one must speak of guarantees—lies in the fact that we are enriched by the experience of the Second and the Third Internationals which were of great service to the proletariat before they broke down. *We stand on the shoulders of our predecessors*. That is our greatest advantage. We gather all who today have realized the perniciousness of the policy of the two outlived bureaucratic apparatuses. The correctness of our methods, our predictions and our slogans have been incontestably proved through the entire historic development of the last ten years, that is, the period of the degeneration and decay of the Communist International. Correct theories and a correct policy will inevitably clear a road for themselves and gather the majority of the world proletariat under their banner. Thus is *revolutionary unity* forged.

Here, however, we hear another answer which, at first glance, seems most convincing: "The Fourth International will not crystallize at once, and meanwhile fascist pestilence stalks over every land with seven-league boots; is this the time to divide the ranks of the working class?" To this we answer: "For the unity of the ranks in the direct struggle there is the *Leninist united front policy*. Bolshevik victory in October, 1917, thank only to the correct application of this policy. Marx and Lenin were not frightened by the splitting of opportunist bureaucratic parties while they welded the real revolutionaries into an independent vanguard; at the same time Marx and Engels were ready to make *practical agreements* with any mass organization for the defense of the daily interests of the proletariat. The wisdom and strength of Leninism lies, on the one hand, in the theoretic and political intransigence of the party, and on the other, in the realistic attitude to the class, all its organizations and groups. Leninism did not try to order the proletariat from above to follow it, but neither did it dissolve itself in the mass—and precisely because of this it gained the leadership of the proletariat.

The Proletariat Can Crush Fascism

Yes, throughout the world Fascism marches forward with seven-league boots. But wherein lies its force? In the confusion of working class organization, in the panic of the workers' bureaucracy, in the treachery of its leaders. It would be sufficient for the proletariat of one country to offer merciless resistance to the reactionary band, to go over to the offensive, to seize power, for the attack of Fascism to turn into *panic retreat and go down in ruin*. Between the Nazisky and Soviet France the dictatorship of the Nazis could not last two weeks. Mussolini would not be long in following Hitler to inferno. Defense is possible and necessary; from an active defense there would emerge the attack. It is necessary to throw all waverers overboard and to free ourselves of the vacillating—they will follow later—it is necessary today that the vanguard close its ranks in the international arena. The masses harassed and made restless by terrible pressure and dangers await an answer and demand a leadership. That leadership must be created.

The greatest of all dangers is the war danger. The whole world listens to the indistinct subterranean rumblings of approaching international collision. The leaders of the Social Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are preparing anew to assume the role of *patriots*, that is hirelings of imperialism, to become suppliers of cannon-fodder to the imperialist masters. Under the guise of "defense of the fatherland," they are preparing the slaughter of the peoples. At the same time the Comintern is replacing the revolutionary mobilization of the urban and rural masses with empty sound and fury, and tries in vain to hide its impotence by masquerade congresses. The proletariat can prevent a new war or shift its consequences to the shoulders of the exploiters in no other way than by re-grouping its ranks from the ground up on a new basis, under the banner of the new International. By taking the initiative, small minority can, under wartime conditions, play a decisive role. Think of Liebknecht! Think of Rosa Luxemburg! and think of Lenin!

A Program of Action

The miserable philistines may speak of our "sectarianism." To prepare for the coming day is not sectarianism, but revolutionary realism. To all working class organizations we offer a program of action on the basis of the proletarian united front. Beginning

today, we see active proletarian self-defense as the main task. Force against force! The workers' militia is the only weapon in the struggle against fascist bands, who sooner or later will have the aid of the official police.

A workers' militia, however, is not for parades or theatre performances, but for fierce struggle. A workers' militia, that is the mailed fist of the proletariat. Answer each and every blow with two blows. Carry the struggle to the point of exhaustion, to annihilation. Do not let the Fascist enemy raise its head. *Follow hot on its trail*.

The general strike of February 12th in France was an impressive warning, but no more than that. Scenting the danger the enemy has doubled, trebled and quadrupled its efforts. The working class of France, like that of the whole world, will be able to hold its position and win new conquests in no other way than by heroic battles. The revolutionary defense must become a great school for attack. The workers of France have shown that the blood still runs hot with the flame of revolution which flared in the Paris Commune. But the readiness to fight, as shown by Austria, is not enough. It is necessary to know how; organization is necessary, a plan is necessary proletarian necessary.

On the 12th of February, on the day of the general strike and powerful demonstrations, the workers of France forced the two bureaucratic apparatuses into a united front for 24 hours. This was, however, improvisation, and for victory organization is needed. The natural united front apparatus in days of struggle is the body of proletarian representatives, the delegates from shops and factories, from working quarters and trade unions: the *Soviets*. Long before they become organs of power, the Soviets are the *revolutionary apparatus of the united front*. In honestly elected soviets, the minority submits to the majority. The powerful logic of the struggle pushes us in this direction. Our conscious efforts must be bent in this direction.

Today proletarian France is next in historic order. Again in France is being decided not only the history of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should Fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup. On the other hand, under present conditions the victory of the French proletariat would far surpass in significance even the October victory of the Russian Proletariat.

Workers of the World

You can help the French proletariat best and most surely by an irreconcilable struggle against your own bourgeoisie. Under the fire of the enemy gather the most intrepid, far-sighted, devoted among you, and weld them together into detachments of the Fourth International. Call upon and lead the toiling, the downtrodden, the unemployed masses into struggle. Penetrate every organization; Explain, arouse, recruit! Do not lose a day, not an hour!

HANDS OFF PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PROLETARIAN PRESS!

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE SOCIAL GAINS OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FOR THE BASIC RIGHT—THE PIECE OF BREAD!

AGAINST REACTION! AGAINST BONAPARTIST POLICE RULE! AGAINST FASCISM!

FOR THE PROLETARIAN MILITIA!

FOR THE ARMING OF THE WORKERS!

FOR THE DISARMING OF REACTION!

AGAINST WAR: FOR THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE PEOPLES!

FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM!

FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FOR THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

PROLETARIANS OF BOTH HEMISPHERES! The First International gave you a program and a banner. The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet. The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action. The Fourth International will bring final victory!

—International Secretariat,
League of Communist-Internationalists.
Geneva, March, 1934

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Tammany Hall

Tammany Hall, which has become too discredited and too expensive to be an effective tool for the ruling class of New York, has been shaken and investigated to such an extent that we can get a fair picture of the inner life of the "practical" working forces of a capitalist political party. The "respectable front" has not been investigated. The following items may however serve to illustrate how the "respectable" and the "disrespectable" parts worked together to complete the whole leprous body known as Tammany functioning for the financial interests of New York.

When John McCooley, fat and wealthy Tammany leader of Brooklyn's "democracy" died, all the leading newspapers of New York carried stories of his charity to the poor, his loyalty to his friends, his love for his wife and family and his reverence for the church. Just one case of how the press played its part in giving a halo to Tammany.

Al Smith, Senator Copeland, Governor Lehman, Postmaster General Farley and others of their kind turned out in silk hats and long faces and posed for the press photographs at the McCooley funeral. They made an imposing "front."

President Roosevelt sent a dignified message of sorrow and condolence to the McCooley family, thus rounding out and completing the "front" behind which the McNallys and the gangsters could do "practical work."

McNally and associates robbed unfortunate inmates of the "Home for the Destitute" of at least \$86,000. Instead of a surgeon and a surgical ward, a sailor with a jack knife performed operations. Gangsters and "silk hats" cost money, so disperse with surgeons. McNally and his kind also delivered the votes.

The administration of Welfare Island Penitentiary cooperated with gangsters in selling drugs and grafting on prison food. From each according to his talents.

A. F. of L. fakers gave the endorsement of "labor" to Tammany politicians and did not lose thereby.

The gangsters mauled and terrorized the polls and acted as strike breakers when needed. The gambling, alky, and red light concessions were theirs on a percentage basis. Just humble workers in a "noble" array.

New York's "finest" saw to it that squawkers were properly disposed of, clubbed "reds" who exposed the racket, etc. Uniformed members of the same gang.

Supplies to the City were paid for several times over. Concessions were handed out to "friends." Payrolls were padded. Special privileges to transit and other corporations brought in the swag.

From Roosevelt's telegraphing a message to the McCooley down to the old sailor cutting ulcers from the legs of screaming paupers with a jack knife, each part fitted into the machine and each depended on the other. All had their price, from high positions and millions for the "high hats" down to a plug of chewing tobacco for the filthier tar. All served—some unconsciously—but all served the filthy, banking, real estate, and other corporations whose tools they were and are.

"Success" of British C. P. In reporting for the C. I. to the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. of the U.S.S.R., Manulsky said that Stalin's inflexible, iron will was leading the toilers of the world to victory. One example was the British Party. But here it is in Manulsky's own words: "If the students of the two most aristocratic universities strike horror into the whole of the English bourgeoisie by passing a resolution that they will not defend king or country in the event of war, that is a result of many years of anti-war agitation by our party... Stalin taught the Communists of all countries to fight and conquer. He taught them... to patiently accumulate forces and at the decisive moment to inflict upon the class enemy a crushing lightning-like blow."

However, Stalin will have to contend with the Ecclesiastical Left Wing, the Baptist Church, the War Resisters League, and every other pacifist and Ghandist in England for credit for the "aristocratic" resolution. But maybe it was a united front from below with Stalin at the head. And who are we to take credit from Stalin for such a "crushing blow to the bourgeoisie?"

—BILL

Letters to the Editor

Another Opinion on the Furriers' Situation

Ed. Note.—We print below another letter on the furriers' situation with a reply appended. The first letter was published in the Militant March 17 and an editorial reply appeared in the issue of March 24. Other contributions of reasonable length will be printed regardless of the point of view of the writers.

To the Editor of The Militant:

The controversy over the furriers is still raging in the radical press, and oceans of ink will be spilled before this question is satisfactorily settled. Everyone acquainted with the social composition of the workers who work in this trade must often wonder why it is the furriers' lot to be destined to become the "vanguard" of the proletarian revolution; the furriers where each and everyone dreams to become someday a manufacturer or at least an independent contractor. And this middle class element is boomed daily in the Stalinist press as the cream of the revolutionary movement.

It is a habit with many people who criticize the general policy of the T.U.U.L. to find excuses for the policy of the Stalinists in the fur trade, because they claim to have the majority of the furriers behind them. Very similar reasons are brought forward daily by the apologists of Fascism because the Mussolinis and Hitlers too claim that they have the backing of the large majority of their people behind them, but how do they really know that this is the case, when the press, radio, and all the weapons of suppression are in the hands of the Fascist state. The fur workers are being faced daily with the same situation.

Terroristic Methods

The Stalinist Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was able through the use of terroristic methods to intimidate the workers and monopolize the fur market, the members of the Right union have been met with riots staged by Stalinist cronies whenever they tried to bring their message to the workers, with the consequence that workers have been beaten and insulted.

992 New Subs!

Almost over the top! Seventy three new Club Plan subs came in last week, raising the total to 992 and bringing us within eight of the goal of 1,000.

The subs received last week:

Minneapolis Branch	20
New York Local	18
Youngstown Br.	8
G. Kotz	5
Chicago Br.	4
H. R.	4
M. Holld	4
Los Angeles Br.	4
New Haven Br.	4
Davenport Br.	4

TOTAL 73

The complete record up to date follows:

New York Local	404
Minneapolis Br.	128
Kansas City Br.	48
Boston Br.	32
Pittsburgh Br.	32
New Castle Br.	24
Youngstown Br.	20
L. Brown	20
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	16
Davenport Br.	16
Chicago Br.	16
Oakland Br.	12
Philadelphia Br.	12
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
G. Parker	11
G. Kotz	11
Los Angeles Br.	9
F. Berensmeier	8
F. Simington	8
M. Steindach	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papcan	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Goodman	8
M. Hurwitz	8
Buffalo Br.	4
New Haven Br.	4
H. R.	4
M. Holld	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
W. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
B. Carlson	4

TOTAL 992

Next week's report will close the drive. Let's see how far over the top we can go.

The writer does not consider the A. F. of L. as a fetish, but no one will deny that the vast majority of the workers who are employed in the needle industries, are members of the A. F. of L. labor unions. Even if it were true that the N.T.W.I.U. has the majority of the furriers—and to my opinion a very disputable contention—is it the best policy for them to be isolated and detached from the general organization of workers and to resort to dual organization when they could do better work and gain more power in the general organization of workers even though the latter is conservative in some respect?

Democracy in International

With all the just criticism any one may have against the Right-wing union, no one can deny that every member can express freely his differences with the policy and leadership of the union without running the risk of being ostracized or abused by the zealots of the "United Front." Is it possible for a member of the Left Opposition to stand up in a Stalinist controlled organization and question policies of the organization without running into danger of being sneered at or have a howling mob set against you. Many Trotskyites received this medicine one time or another.

I surely hold no brief for the Lovestonettes, because in my opinion they possess all the bad qualities of the Stalinists and none of their good ones, being that they always try to sneak, even through the back door, into the Communist International. They always try to justify the adventurous policy of the Stalinist International. Their policy in the trade unions is always designed to maneuver with one group or another, as long as this will help them to achieve their purpose, to gain power in order to convince Stalin that they, and not the official Stalinist party, have the leadership of the American masses. And still I maintain that in the furriers situation they did the most plausible thing. Every avenue of activity in the Industrial Union was closed to them, and being a political group with a desire to function in a trade union, what else could they do but to join the A. F. of L. union, where no one is asked if he is in agreement with the latest thesis of Manulsky?

—LEON KOENIG.

Editor's Reply

We are glad to publish the above dissenting opinion on the complicated problem of the furriers, and other contributions to the discussion will be welcomed. Our remarks on the question are put forth as a point of view, not as an ultimatum or a law. Generally speaking, the only way to arrive at an intelligent collective judgment of trade union problems—or any other problems of the class struggle for that matter—is by free discussion, exchange of opinion and comparison of experiences. When this is prohibited or prevented we get not collective judgment but ultimatums and instructions—and disastrous blunders every time. The furriers will not get out of the blind alley into which Stalinist as well as reactionary compulsion and terrorism has driven them until they conquer the right to discuss and decide their problems freely.

Unconvincing Arguments

The argument of comrade Koenig appears to us to be unconvincing despite a number of indisputable facts which he advances. In the trade union question it is necessary to follow a principle line in order to arrive at the right conclusion in regard to tactics. If one departs from this method it leads to guesswork and contradictions in policy at every step. From this point of view it appears to us that comrade Koenig errs in his conclusions on the main points he raises.

1. The Stalinist bureaucrats resort to terrorism.

This is true, as every furrier knows and as is always the case with such methods in the end, the terroristic tactics are employed against members of the union as well as against the rival organization. But the Stalinists are not the originators of these degenerate, anti-working class practices. As a matter of fact they are only slavishly imitating the methods of the reactionaries who ruled the International for years by methods of violence and terror.

How the Left Wing Took Shape

In the struggle against the gangster regime of Kaufman & Co. the left wing originally took shape and gained the allegiance and support of the great majority of the furriers. Didn't this experience prove quite conclusively that terrorism cannot

bind the workers to a trade union machine when they are offered a better program and a better leadership?

This, in our opinion, is the nub of the question. The rank and file of furriers, hating and despising the violence of worker against worker, do not leave the Stalinist Union because they have no confidence in the treacherous leaders of the International and their Lovestonette camp-followers. They have a good memory. They do not trust the saccharine promises of "democracy" made now so glibly and freely by the isolated fakers and their "radical" agents.

Terrorism is an abominable evil in the labor movement. Every class conscious militant worthy of the name will fight against it. Comrade Koenig is wrong when he says the furriers cling to the Stalinist Union only out of fear. If they really wanted to go over to the International, a single mass demonstration would suffice to accomplish the transformation. In the absence of such a demonstration, or even of a serious group of militants to propose it, there is no ground for the assumption that the mass of furriers want to join the International. The indications are all to the contrary. We must govern ourselves accordingly and respect the attitude of the majority in the choice of unions.

The Criterion of the Mass

Nobody will accuse the Militant of partiality for Stalinist organizations. But we do not determine our attitude toward labor organizations by like and dislikes for the leadership and its methods. We choose a party by its program, its methods of work and the quality of its leadership, regardless of whether it has a majority or minority of the politically organized workers. For a trade union, on the other hand, an entirely different criterion is necessary. Here the mass character of the organization, not the program and leadership, is decisive.

If the masses elect to belong to a conservative union in preference to a radical one we are obliged to go with them, support their chosen organization and work within it for our ideas. By the same token, when the majority decide in favor even of a Stalinist union—and the case of the furriers is a rare example of such a choice—we are obliged to support the Stalinist organization without relenting for one moment in our irreconcilable hostility to Stalinist ideas and methods.

Consistent Principle

The revolutionary left wing can be reconstituted in the labor movement only on the foundation of principle, and its consistent application. If one is to leave the dominant organization among the furriers because it employs violence and terrorism, and go over to a smaller organization because it is presumably more civilized and democratic, what is to be done in the building trades, the United Mine Workers and many other similar cases? The left wing is up against gangsterism, more or less, in a great many conservative mass organizations. If that is taken as a ground for splitting, the new left wing would soon find itself isolated from the trade union movement. Such a precedent should not be set in the furriers' situation.

The Furriers and the A. F. of L.

2. The vast majority of workers employed in the needle trades as a whole are members of A. F. of L. unions; the furriers should not be isolated from them.

As a general formula, both the facts cited and the conclusion are unassailable. But it hardly covers the concrete case. The fact that practically all the other organized workers in the needle trades are in the A. F. of L. is a powerful argument for the furriers' union, as a union, to apply also for admission into the A. F. of L., with the same autonomy and rights as those enjoyed by the other unions. But we cannot see the wisdom of splitting the furriers for the sake of what amounts to a platonic unity of the needle trades as a whole.

Connection with the other needle unions in the A. F. of L. will have a much greater meaning when a movement is set on foot to amalgamate them all into a single organization. The Furriers' Industrial Union ought to apply for an A. F. of L. charter. It ought to signify its readiness to merge with the International into a single union of the trade affiliated to the A. F. of L. But under the present conditions and relation of forces, individual militants should not jump over to the International. On the contrary, they should put forward the program of unity and fight for it inside the Stalinist union.

The idea is unassailable and the workers will respond to it. It corresponds to their vital interests and shows them a way out of the present chaos. In reacting against the perverted functionaries of Stalinism it should not be forgotten that their followers are workers—badly de-

Shachtman on Tour

NEW CASTLE

New Castle.—On Wednesday evening, March 14th, comrade Max Shachtman spoke to a group of thirty advanced New Castle workers on the need for a new revolutionary party and a new international. In the course of his address he showed very clearly how the policies of the official Communist party leadership and the Social-Democratic leadership had paved the way for the victory of Fascism in Germany. In Austria, where the official Communist Party is almost non-existent, the entire responsibility for the Fascist victory must be placed on the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democracy. Since these two parties have shown their political bankruptcy in these events, it becomes necessary to take steps toward the formation of a new international and new parties throughout the world, which will adhere to the tested principles of Marxism in the class struggle. At the conclusion of the address, the speaker answered various questions from the audience. Following the question period the meeting was adjourned.

YOUNGSTOWN STALINISTS FRUSTRATED

For several weeks the functionaries of the so-called "Communist Party" who have been shipped into this city have been threatening violence against individual members of the Communist League. At the second meeting of the recently organized "League Against War and Fascism," which Stalinist domination doomed to a still birth, these same functionaries did a little Trotsky baiting while condemning J. B. Matthews and demanding the expulsion of all "Trotskyites" for their common "anti-Communist" Party stand on the recent Madison Square Garden affair. At this meeting they openly announced that they did not believe in free speech for the "counter-revolutionary, social-Fascist Trotskyites."

Three days later Max Shachtman delivered his lecture on "Boss War or Workers' Revolution?" at Central Auditorium. A handful of "Communist Party" supporters came down, headed by the Y. C. L. "leaders" Gray and Gates. When the audience voted decisively to put an end to some filthy disruption by Gray, the latter declared: "You think you're going to hold a meeting here tomorrow night, but we'll see about that!" To everyone present this meant that an official representative of the Stalinized Communist Party threatened to break up the meeting at which Shachtman was scheduled to lecture the next night.

Stalinist Hoodlums Mobilize

On Friday the Stalinists mobilized a gang and went to the hall one-half hour ahead of time. But on arriving they found to their dismay that a workers' guard was already on hand to keep them out of the hall. So the hoodlums headed by Dallet and Gray waited for reinforcements—and reinforcements came—for the workers' guard! Seeing our forces growing stronger as the minutes passed, General Dallet ordered his forces to make a sally at the door. The General took a poke at the door guard and received in

ceived and often fanatical workers, but workers just the same—whose bread and butter and economic future are at stake. The revolutionary left wing has the task of gaining the sympathy of these Stalinist workers and of re-educating and rearming them for the revolutionary struggle. That will be possible only on the condition that our own program is correct and that we fight for it consistently and tenaciously.

3. The Right wing union permits freedom of criticism and internal democracy.

This only means that it has changed its tune since it lost its membership. The record of this union is as rotten and reactionary as any that could be mentioned. The use of paid gangsters against its membership by the officialdom and their treacherous betrayals of the workers are black and bitter memories.

Sick-Bed Repentance

One should not take too seriously the sick-bed repentance of the International fakers. When the devil is sick the devil a monk would be. Still less should one be deceived by the radical "face" which the Lovestonettes give to the union. They are only serving as come-ons for the reactionaries. When these reactionaries—and the bosses who stand behind them—show their face it will not be a liberal or democratic one. To enjoy democracy in a mass union the workers must conquer it for themselves by struggle. The mere application for membership in the discredited International is too simple a formula.

—J. P. C.

return three healthy punches from some young steel workers of the guard.

After recovering from his dizziness the General dictated a change of tactics: two female comrades were sent to the entrance to disrupt the speaker with their yells. The meeting started, and the chairman announced that adequate preparation had been made to guarantee order during the lecture, the question and discussion periods. Out-witted and out-punched, the Stalinists capitulated to our earlier offer to allow three representatives of the official "Communist Party" to enter. The delegates entered, followed by a few more Stalinists who suddenly decided they were no longer "unemployed workers" but quite able to pay.

Dealing with the Disrupters

During the meeting a minimum of weak heckling was tolerated from this bunch of hoodlums. The question period passed without anything unusual. During the discussion period the Stalinists tried to play the old game of "conceding time to the speaker" but this was not tolerated. When the six who had first asked to discuss had all either spoken or refused to take their time, Shachtman began to summarize and reply. Then one foolish C. P. supporter began to yell that he wanted his time NOW! And all the Stalinists joined the chorus with him. Quickly small groups of the workers' guard approached the disrupters. A motion was put and carried that Shachtman should conclude the lecture without further discussion. And the General and his army marched out complaining that "there ain't no justice!" because there were "paid thugs" present. To the workers, young and old, who had volunteered to defend our meeting this "paid thug" slander became the good-night joke of the evening.

In concluding we want to record that Shachtman's exposure of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals was so thorough and annihilating that no one made any serious attempt to defend the Socialist International and all the Stalinists could do was yell: "There can be only one Communist Party and that is ours!"

And finally, the Youngstown branch wants to thank all the workers, our sympathizers and friends in other organizations, who gladly helped us to protect our meeting against hoodlums and disrupters. In return we assure you that we will come to your assistance when you are threatened by similar hoodlums, regardless of whether they are of the Fascist or Stalinist variety.

Stalinist hoodlums have been checked again! The united forces of those defending workers' democracy have won another victory!

For a United Front Workers' Guard!

—YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH REPORTER.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

Tues., April 3rd—Williston, N. D.
Wed., April 4th—
Thurs., April 5th—Portland, Ore.
Fri., April 6th—Portland, Ore.
Sat., April 7th—
Sun., April 8th—San Francisco.
Mon., April 9th—San Francisco.
Tues., April 10th—San Francisco.
Wed., April 11th—
Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles.
Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles.
Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles.
Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles.
Wed., April 18—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Thurs., April 19—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Fri., April 20—Denver, Colo.
Sat., April 21—Denver, Colo.
Sun., April 22—Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo.
Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo.
Fri., April 27—St. Louis, Mo.
Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.
Lespie, Ill.
Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3—Detroit, Mich.
Fri., May 4—Detroit, Mich.
Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.

GRAMMERCY 5-9524 - - -

This is the phone number of the Militant, The Communist League and the International Workers School.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The A. F. of L. Bureaucracy

The new wave of strikes sweeping the country alarms not only the capitalists but the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as well. For in the present situation militant action of the workers may spread like wildfire and get "out of hand," thereby becoming a threat to the labor lieutenants of capital just as much as to the bosses. Let the proletariat once signal their determination to pay off their oppressors for the agonies they have endured, and the battle will take on undreamed of proportions. The bosses are fearful that a strike, starting in the automotive industry, will quickly spread to the steel plants and to the railroads. And how much would it take to bring the miners to their feet?

The class struggle is irrepressible but the A. F. of L. with its treacherous, reactionary leadership and its obsolete craft structural basis, acts at this juncture as a serious obstacle to militant action. By its policy of delay and fake "progress" with the aid of the NRA machinery, the bureaucracy plans to harness the proletariat substitute for the real battle on and hold it in check. The intent to the industrial field the sham battles in Washington.

The Role of Roosevelt

Roosevelt becomes the "umpire" in this game played at the expense of the workers. Roosevelt, who was hailed last November by the boss magazine "Automotive Industry" for his aid against the tool and die makers in their struggle that formed the prelude to the present one: "Without doubt President Roosevelt's recent communication to General Johnson, interpreting the NRA labor clause in line with automobile producers' views, had a considerable psychological effect in breaking the backbone of the strike." Roosevelt, who is hamstringing the railroad workers by announcing in advance of their negotiations that he favors the retention of 10% wage "deduction." Roosevelt, who mobilizes the nation's resources to bolster up finance capitalism and to raise profits for the bosses while beating down the living standards of the working class. To expose Roosevelt means to expose the entire fraud of class collaboration practiced on the workers.

The Philippines

Roosevelt has just signed the bill granting complete independence to the Philippines—ten years from now. It is strange that we leave our rejoicing till then? Meantime we prefer to watch how the United States will most likely not dismantle its naval bases and fortifications in these islands of the militarized Pacific. The Philippines are merely a stepping stone to more distant shores for American imperialists hopes to solve its internal impasse, its desperate need for expanded markets, by challenging Japan for domination in China. The Philippines are the most trifling pawns in the bigger game of imperialism. The United States, in the maneuvering for "position," appears to retreat for the moment the better to attack later.

The New York Post and Civic Virtue

The Post has been conducting an investigation to determine the state of knowledge of the masses regarding the names of "their" elected representatives in the city, state and federal governments. And the estimable Post editors have been scandalized to learn that the average run of person is abysmally ignorant of capitalist politics and politicians. In itself this shows quite clearly that the capitalist government is not "theirs"; i. e. that of the masses.

We refer the Post to Engels' remarks on this subject: "There is no country in which 'politicians' form a more powerful and distinct section of the nation than in North America. There each of the two great parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is common knowledge that the Americans have been striving for years to shake off this yoke which has become intolerable, and that in spite of all they can do they continue to sink ever deeper in this quicksand of corruption. — And nevertheless we find here two great groups of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state machine and exploit it by the most corrupt means—and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality exploit and plunder it."

Gala Spring Festival

Dance and Entertainment
Good five-piece jazz band

PROGRAM:
Chief Littlehouse in a recital of his American Indian native dances
A Duncan dancer—Lifalitz
Fortune teller
Other special feature
Private Table

Saturday, March 31st
IRVING PLAZA
15th St. and Irving Place
Get your tickets now, only 35c in advance at the International Workers School, 126 E. 10th St.

International Agitation For Deported Youth

The Dutch government, feeling the growth of an international protest movement against its police services to Hitlerism in deporting four German political refugees to Germany, is scurrying to cover its tracks. By radio and press statements it is denying its guilt. The facts are clear, however, and the protest movement is growing rapidly.

The four workers turned over to Hitler's police were delegates to an international conference of workers youth organizations called at Laren, Holland, Feb. 24. The conference was broken up by the Dutch police and the 16 foreign delegates deported. All the latter had passports in good order issued by the Dutch government. The papers of Kurt Liebermann, Franz Bozian, Hans Goldstein and Heinz Hise showed that they had entered Holland not from Germany but from other countries where they had been living as exiles from Hitler's Nazi state.

When these four comrades were arrested, they were assured that they would be deported to Belgium. Deputy Smevlet (Revolutionary Socialist Party) of the Dutch parliament demanded of the Minister of Justice the release of all the delegates and freedom for the Germans to leave via Belgium. Attorneys Stockvis and de Reuter, retained for the comrades, also informed the government of this demand. Three German comrades had been removed to Amsterdam jail where they were finger-printed and forced to sign a statement that they were being deported to Belgium as political refugees. They pointed out that the four other German delegates were in Laren jail and were assured that these would be sent to Belgium too.

At that very moment the mayor

Add New Names to Pledge Fund to Sustain Militant

Last week we printed a special appeal to our readers and sympathizers to join us in our effort to stabilize The Militant by pledging a definite weekly or monthly sum. In response, we received the following letter from Brooklyn, in addition to eight new pledgers from the Bronx:

"Please include me in your Militant Pledge Fund for \$1.00 monthly. The Left Opposition Press has certainly been an eye-opener to me in the past few months. Enclosed you will find One Dollar.

City Subway Worker."

We feel confident that there are many more of our readers and sympathizers who feel keenly the need of supporting the Militant. We trust that they will not delay their response to our appeal and will soon join the members of our organization in helping to sustain our paper.

THE PLEDGERS

Brooklyn	
1. Paul King	weekly \$.25
2. City Subway Worker	1.00 monthly
Manhattan	
3. G. Wright	.50
4. E. Konikow	.25
5. M. Beardslee	1.00
6. M. Sterling	.25
7. F. Victor	.50
8. J. Weber	.50
9. S. Gordon	.50
10. H. Stone	.25
11. M. Kline	.50
12. S. Bleeker	.50
Harlem	
13. T. Smith	weekly \$1.00
14. A. Teacher	1.00
Bronx	
15. A. Brandmarck	weekly .25
16. G. Saul	.10
17. B. Ramloff	.10
18. M. Mendelson	1.00
19. S. Egstadt	.25
20. I. Dryer	.25
21. M. Lipshitz	.25
22. P. Shulman	.50

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SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1934

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75c for six months.
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THE BETRAYAL OF THE AUTO WORKERS

The new strike wave of revolt against the exploitation foisted on them by the once-trusted NRA has received a definite check by the calling off of the threatening automobile strike. The entire capitalist class of the country is delighted with Roosevelt's skill in conducting the negotiations on behalf of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and full of satisfaction with the work of Messrs. Green and Collins, their labor lieutenants in the automobile field.

"Had the strike begun," writes the N. Y. Times, "it was regarded as likely that it would spread to scores of accessories plants and to the steel industry. It would have affected the railroads, lumber, glass and textile industries particularly, for these furnish a large part of the automobile industry with raw materials."

Instead of this enormous strike wave being loosed, there is now a temporary lull. On the heels of this settlement, the Budd workers who were already striking against fierce exploitation gave up the fight for the moment.

A. F. of L. Sabotage and Treachery

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that any rising movement of the workers against the NRA and capitalist exploitation would meet the sabotage and treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. This forecast has been strikingly illustrated by the automobile settlement. The workers in the industry have been for years discontented with their working and living conditions. For years the A. F. of L. made no effort to organize them or to help them fight for better conditions. Not until rank-and-file discontent reached the boiling point and began to find a channel of expression in independent unionism (Mechanics Educational Society) did the A. F. of L. reluctantly come into the picture. With the funds and powerful apparatus at its disposal, it organized automobile workers, put its mercenaries at their head, and began to speak in their name.

The temper of the workers grew shorter and shorter and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats loosed a flood of demagogic strike talk. Only in this way were they able to hold the workers in line. The situation was ripe for the conduct of a militant strike. The workers in the industry were ready for it, the bosses were caught at the peak of production period with unfilled orders before them. Throughout the country, in railroads, mines, steel, millions of workers watched Detroit ready to march shoulder-to-shoulder with the auto workers as soon as the struggle would begin.

The Role of Roosevelt

At the critical moment, of course, when the bosses could no longer hold the men in line, when the promise to lead them into the fight made by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats was maturing, the government intervened. Mr. Green is saying in the news-reels, "The President dominated the entire proceedings." Acting for the bosses, Roosevelt ordered the A. F. of L. "strike leaders" to Washington. There Roosevelt and Johnson, in constant touch with the bosses, chipped away for five days at the program of the A. F. of L. Meanwhile lesser bureaucrats in Detroit kept the workers in line with promises of something good coming out of Washington.

What finally came out was one of the rawest deals ever pulled by this Administration. Roosevelt calls it "a pioneer effort in human engineering on a basis never before attempted." The anti-labor N. Y. World Telegram comments on this remark with skepticism, pointing out that the workers have not even won collective bargaining agreement or union

recognition. Everything is left up to a three-cornered board made up of an automobile manufacturer, an A. F. of L. bureaucrat and a professor who was once Sidney Hillman's economic expert and is now an experienced strike-breaker.

No provisions are made for adjudicating contracts regarding hours, wages and other matters. All that happens is that the A. F. of L. turns over its membership lists to Mr. Wolman (who promises not to tip off the bosses' representatives) and the bosses agree to rehire those on the list who have been fired for union activities. The recent N. Y. hotel strike makes it clear how little such promises are worth. In addition, the open shop is guaranteed and the company union given a firm base.

An Old Lesson Taught Again

The workers got nothing and will get nothing from this settlement. For this job Green certainly deserves a bonus from the auto bosses. As for the government, it has made its most radical swing to open support of the bosses. Here is the old lesson taught again: the government is a class government, the existing government is that of the existing ruling class, the auto bosses and their fellow-capitalists. The latter get a delay of the strike at the peak of the season and a chance to prepare to fight future strike movements.

For there will certainly be such movements. Conditions cry out for improvement. The bosses will concede nothing freely. Their recovery program is based upon ever sharper exploitation of the workers. Talk about a 30-hour week is so much syrup to help down the bitter draught prepared for the workers by Roosevelt, Green and Collins. Sooner or later the workers will have to fight or starve. There is every indication that they will fight.

When they do so they will meet the fierce opposition not only of the bosses but also of the government and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Now that they made their deal, Green, Collins and Co. are against strikes in word as well as in deed. This means that in all likelihood the new strikes, bitter and fiercer because postponed, will be an outflow movement.

The Task of the Militants

The place of the revolutionary in the auto field today is with the masses of workers. The greatest weakness of the auto workers in the recent situation was the lack of a class-conscious core in touch with the broad masses of the exploited workers. The Auto Workers Union, an invention of the C. P., drew off into its ranks some class-conscious elements who thereby lost that contact. It muddled the situation and was itself impotent. When the A. F. of L. misleaders postponed and called off the strike, the Daily Worker called on the auto workers to act over the heads of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Nobody moved.

The task of the militant fighter is to penetrate the A. F. of L. and the Mechanics Educational Society. The latter union was unable to develop a clear independent line in the recent situation, but it probably has a future as a rallying point for militant elements.

The answer of the class-conscious militant to the combination of capitalists, government officials and A. F. of L. bureaucrats who put over this swindle settlement is clear: We have barely begun to fight. When there finally breaks the broad and powerful strike wave now shaping up as a result of the growing disillusionment of the masses with the NRA, the auto workers will be in the forefront of the battle.

Plan Early Publication of the «New International»

Theoretical Organ of Revolutionary Marxism Out in May

In the past few weeks, since the announcement in these columns of the forthcoming publication of The New International magazine, an impetus has been given to the early issuance of the theoretical review. The response to the announcement on the part of the branches of the Communist League as well as from sympathizers of the Left Opposition has been very gratifying. Every branch has responded, either with advance bundle orders or subscriptions. A keen interest is evidenced in a new organ of revolutionary Marxism.

It has been decided by the National Committee to issue the first number of The New International in the month of May. This definite announcement of the date of publication will no doubt meet with added enthusiasm upon the part of those who are active in building up circulation and support for The New International.

Cities that have responded are: Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New York, Youngstown, New Castle, Boston, New Haven, Parkersburg, Dayton, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Detroit and other places. In Canada there has been an exceptional enthusiasm for The New International. Toronto has been in the forefront in the advance work for the magazine, sending in seven bundle orders. Bundle order responses have also come in from England—London, Hull, Cornwall, from Glasgow, Scotland and Dublin, Ireland. The British comrades feel that The New International can be of special value

in the development of the movement in Great Britain. In addition, a substantial bundle order has arrived from far-off Johannesburg, South Africa, as well as subscriptions from China. In brief, there is evidenced a great desire for a theoretical organ of revolutionary Communism, which The New International confidently expects to fulfill.

Comrades and sympathizers are urged at this time to send in their subscriptions and bundle orders, together with donations to help place The New International magazine on a sound foundation. The subscription rate is \$1.50 per year. Subscriptions and donations can be sent to:

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
Station D—P. O. Box 119
New York City, N. Y.

Bellussi Gets 30 Days Stay

A delay of 30 days in the execution of the deportation order against A. Bellussi has been secured and efforts are now being made to secure his release on bail. An application for the right of voluntary departure to a country other than Fascist Italy has also been filed. The bail for comrade Bellussi has been deposited and his release is expected this week. Friends and comrades of Bellussi are working to arrange an affair to raise funds to provide for his passage. Details will be announced in next week's Militant.

Greek Workers' Club

LECTURE
Sunday, April 1st, 8 p. m. (Protomagia Club, 633 8th Ave. (bet. 40th and 41st Sts.))

This Sunday, April 1st, Comrade Albert Weisbord, sec'y of the Communist League of Struggle, will speak on War and the Fourth International as scheduled above. All workers welcome. Admission free.

Just Off the Press!

I Accuse Stalinism!

BY
MARIA REESE

5c
3c in bundle orders of 5 and more

PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 14th Street, New York City, N. Y.

CWA Delegations March in Protest at Washington

A Mass delegation of 900 CWA workers and unemployed from New York, Camden, Reading and Baltimore demonstrated in Washington on Saturday, March 24, presenting their demands to Harry L. Hopkins, Federal relief administrator. Through snow-covered streets and in a hail and rain storm, the workers marched from Union Station more than two miles to Hopkins' office and back, partly along Pennsylvania Avenue, chief artery of Washington.

Earlier in the week, Hopkins had refused to see the delegation, but had backed down. When the committee of 24 came in, Hopkins declared he wanted a private conference, with no reporters present. This was indignantly refused, and Hopkins was forced to let the press in. When a worker supporting a family of seven on CWA wages cut to \$13.44 a week asked Hopkins how anyone was expected to live on that wage or the still lower wages or relief proposed after April 1, Hopkins answered that millions of workers in private industry had been living on less for generations.

Exposing the "New Deal" Program

Inadvertently revealing the importance of local struggles, Hopkins gave the direct lie to the New York officials, De Lamater and Daniels, who had claimed that orders for wage cuts and abrogation of sick pay came from Washington. Hopkins

Attempts to Split the Amalgamated Hotel Workers

The combined activities of the Field clique and the Stalinist disrupters working in the interests of the Food Workers Industrial Union have culminated in attempts to split the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers.

Thriving on the demoralization which followed the defeat of the hotel strike and capitalizing on the justified resentment of the membership against the conservative and bureaucratic administration of the Field clique, the Stalinists gained the upper hand at a membership meeting and deposed the officers. Removed from leadership Field immediately attempted a split.

In this criminal adventure, as in all his conduct throughout the strike, Field is adapting himself to the most conservative elements among the hotel workers. As in the actions which brought about his expulsion from the Communist League, he demonstrates again his incapacity to submit to any kind of proletarian discipline.

The "Brotherhood of Culinary Workers," the organization sponsored by Field, is a craft union of cooks announced by the capitalist press as an "anti Communist move." Besides adding to the demoralization of the hotel workers and weakening the struggle to rebuild their organization, the splitting maneuver of Field is a reactionary step away from the principle of industrial unionism represented by the Amalgamated.

The split, adding to the general demoralization and resulting in the withdrawal of large numbers of hotel workers from any kind of union activity, directly facilitates the game of the Stalinists who never had any other aim than to incorporate fragments of the Amalgamated union into the Food Workers Industrial Union. The best militants in the union, however, remain equally hostile to the Stalinist machinations and the conservative, craft union split of Fields.

The tradition of the Amalgamated as a militant and progressive industrial union retains its strength with the hotel and restaurant workers despite the defeat in the strike. It is not the union that has been discredited but a clique of unworthy leaders. The vitality of the Amalgamated will undoubtedly enable it to survive the present demoralization and throw off its authors. The pending election should witness the consolidation of the genuine progressive elements on a program of rebuilding the Amalgamated union and the unification of the food workers under its banner.

OPEN FORUM

PROF. JAMES BURNHAM

on

FASCISM AND THE NEW DEAL

Sunday, April 8, at 8 P. M.

International Workers School

126 E. 16th Street

New York City

kins, under questioning by the workers, made clear that the Government intends to go through with ending the CWA on April 1, put only a fraction of unemployed on relief work at pauper wages—averaging \$7.20 to \$10. a week—and gave the majority of unemployed families home relief at still lower rates—or nothing. With the hunger program of the New Deal exposed, the workers must fight for a workers' program.

The Washington delegation was arranged by a Joint Committee of the Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, the Association of Civil Works Employees, Emergency Workers in Adult Education, Tenement House CWA Employees, and the Workers Unemployed Union, all of New York. Also in the delegation were representatives from CWA and unemployed organizations in Westchester County, Baltimore, Reading and Berks County, Pa. and Camden, New Jersey. The four main demands raised by the Joint Committee are: 1. Continuation of CWA at living wages, with a minimum of \$20 a week; 2. Extension of CWA to include all unemployed workers; 3. A public works program at trade union wages on socially necessary work, especially Federal housing for workers; 4. Federal unemployment insurance at the expense of employers and government at living wages for all workers for whom whom work is not made available.

A Tail to the Socialist Kite

Norman Thomas was brought in by Socialists and Lovestonites as the leader of the delegation and thus it was made a tail to the Socialist kite. The publicity both in Washington and throughout the country centered on Norman Thomas, with no mention of the participating organizations. This served to defeat one of the purposes of the demonstration—namely to popularize the various organizations to the unorganized unemployed and relief workers as fighters in their interests. The "bodies" responsible for this also did all in their power to put a damper on the militancy and enthusiasm of the delegates while in Washington.

The task of the hour is to strengthen the organizations—the A.O.P.E.E., the A.C.W.E.; the E. W.A.E. and the Workers Unemployed Union by drawing into their ranks masses of workers and fighting for militant leadership and policies.

The Opportunists in Home Relief Workers Body

To the Editor of the Militant:
The article in the Militant concerning the Home Relief Bureau Workers, while accurately describing the role of the party in the Association, does not, however, say a word about the activities of the Lovestonites.

The Lovestonites play a special role in the Labor movement and their activities in the Emergency Home Relief Bureau Employees Association is no exception.

When the party captured the controlling positions in the organization, and by subtle maneuvering, tried to draw the Association into "United Fronts" with the Relief Worker's League and the Unemployment Councils the workers emphatically rejected their proposals.

A few conservatives, seeing the tremendous pressure that the Stalinist officers were using to get them into the Relief Workers League, utilized this to declare that they did not want to have anything to do with any "red" organization, and in general showed their aversion to communists.

The Lovestonites used this reaction for their own sectarian purposes. They aligned themselves definitely with the backward elements on the basis of a "red" scare. Keep the reds out! That was the slogan.

It is true the Lovestonites did not instigate this campaign, but they certainly encouraged it.

This unprincipled alliance with the conservatives (they are not really reactionaries) on such an issue should be condemned by every honest militant. There are certainly enough issues with which to combat the incompetent Stalinist hacks without resorting to such methods.

I therefore welcome the suggestion of your correspondent that a progressive group be formed on the basis of a really militant program. Here we can find a common meeting ground on which to rebuild the Association into an effective weapon against the administration.

A Home Relief Worker.

Brooklyn.

One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

Article II

"The program comes from the American people," said President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on the New Deal, January, 3rd, 1934. And why not blame the American people. They have been blamed for so much anyway.

It is quite clear that the American people, to use that term, that is, the exploited and exploiters alike in their overwhelming majority, supported the New Deal program. But as it swings into operation on a large scale, the attitudes toward it begins to divide on class lines. Issues of labor unions versus company unions arise. Code regulations tie the workers to the crisis level of wages. And, besides that, the economics of the New Deal with its general inflation schemes hit the workers below the belt. It increases the money available—for those who own the means of production—by forcing the rate of exploitation of the workers upward due to the lowering of their real wages. The workers come face to face with the realities of a stronger monopoly capitalism functioning under governmental regulation and support.

Aid to Big Financiers

The very first steps in the New Deal program constituted an aid to the big financial overlords who had "suffered" so much from crisis and deprivation. Hoarding and exportation of bullion or currency were prohibited under presidential emergency powers. The Emergency Banking Act reopened the closed big banks and authorized their issuing new preferred stocks to obtain additional capital. Following on the heels of this came a whole series of legislation.

First, the Securities Act which established federal supervision over sales of investment securities. Then came the project to refinance farm mortgages on the plea of helping the farmers. It was well known that there could be no more farm foreclosures because such would hurt the bankers more than the farmers. The bankers had already too much farm property on their hands, so it was much better for them to obtain refinancing and interest on the farm mortgages. Next, followed the Home Owners Loan Act to secure the interest payments to the bankers on outstanding mortgages due from small property owners. Then, the Bank Insurance Act which established a guarantee on bank deposits. It also provided for expansion of credits and authorization to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to invest one billion dollars to "strengthen the banks and make it possible for them to respond to the credit needs of the country."

But, as they many wallings and lamentations have since proven, the bankers cashed in on the dough but failed to "respond." They refused to lend unless they could see something profitable to use their money for.

Government Money Flows

Government money began to flow easy and all the pilfering pirates were gathering to get their share of the loot. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was also authorized to aid the "hard-pressed" insurance companies, who gobble up the small savings of the gullible investors. Railroad companies and other monopoly enterprises got their heavy share until this orgy of credit expansion, through the R.F.C. subsidies and loans, reached the stupendous sum of six million dollars at the end of 1933.

The suspension of the gold standard and the dollar devaluation climaxed the series of inflationary schemes. They were all designed to raise the commodity price level at home and thus to reestablish the profit inducement for capital investments. In addition they also become preparations to facilitate the competition of American capitalism in the world market. Such is the picture of one side of the New Deal in operation. An enormous flow of easy money for finance monopoly institutions with the resulting inflated credits and rising price level for the things the workers need.

The slow moving index of 784 commodities compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics has advanced 23% and the more sensitive index of The Analyst 33% during the first year of the New Deal. Since farm prices, helped by the outright destruction of wheat, meat, and cotton, have risen more than those of non-agricultural products, it is quite easy to get an idea of the advancing cost of living which means a lowering of real wages to the workers.

Standardizing on a Lower Level
We have presented to us the New Deal program as a means of restoring and stabilizing the purchasing power of the broad masses. But this, of course, to be on a distinctly lower level than the former "prosperity" equilibrium. It hovers around the industrial code minimum wage of \$11 to \$15 weekly. Is this not distinctly the crisis level of wages? Is it not a wage level as low if not lower than that of 20 to 30 years ago?

Quite cleverly, the first of the

codes to be adopted was that for the textile industry. In that industry wages had always dipped the lowest. The code provides for a forty-hour week, the magnificent sum of twelve dollars in the South and thirteen dollars in the North. Being the first code adopted, it tended immediately to become a standard for wages and other provisions, from which other codes proceeded with as little variation as little variation as the exploiter could get away with.

Now we can add to this wage standard the combination of increased commodity prices and the devaluation of the dollar. As a consequence unbearable conditions have become the lot even of those workers fortunate enough to have a job. For the working class as a whole, and that includes the unemployed millions, the total income remains vastly reduced.

Unemployment and Reduced Hours

How do matters stand in regard to the other aspect of increased purchasing power of the broad masses by the spread of employment through a reduction of working hours? In administration circles much has been made about the shorter work day. Each reduction of hours made in any code regulation was widely advertised. But, as it turns out, only a few codes go below forty-hour weekly maximum and many remain above the forty-hour maximum.

As compared to 1929, when the average work week was forty-eight hours, this would even have some significance, but when compared to the crisis, none whatever. The average working hours of the first five months of 1933 in manufacturing industry, for full time workers and part time workers put together, were 34.7 weekly. Thus the code regulations of working hours attained so far could not appreciably increase employment. With the Civil Works schemes at an end, the unemployed army, according to all reliable estimates, will remain about as large as before.

Statistics on unemployment have become exceedingly scarce since the drop which followed the early flush of business revival, artificially stimulated by the various NRA schemes. Now whatever statistics

are available are being manipulated. Facts and figures are turned upside down, inside out, and squeezed until they bleed from every pore. Yet they cannot hide the enormous numbers on the unemployment market. With the NRA in operation and the suspension of the anti-trust law, there is in motion a greater concentration in industry and a greater centralization of finance, all at the expense of the workers. What was formerly spent by big concerns for high pressure sales and for advertising purposes tends to go into so-called scientific management and elimination waste, which in reality means more speed-up and further elimination of labor power necessary to the productive forces.

The Real Aim of the New Deal

There should be little doubt left in the minds of the thinking workers that the New Deal represents a series of measures to save the capitalist system which was so badly dislocated during the crisis. The economic part of these measures does not aim to improve the conditions of the workers regardless of what temporary advantages they may offer. In the objective results of these measures the workers face a reduced level of real wages, an intensified speed-up system, and increased rate of exploitation. Mass unemployment remains in permanent form, and the workers are brought face to face with a stronger monopoly capitalism. That, of course, is the real aim of the New Deal.

It means a reorganization of American national economy to restore and increase capitalist profits. In the program as a whole are embodied the active preparations for further imperialist expansion. For that, tranquility of class relations is required. But this is another aspect of the New Deal program, to be dealt with separately. Meanwhile one important lesson must sink deeply into the minds of the workers:

Preparations for further imperialist expansion as a means of issuing out of the crisis lead directly on the path of war. That we can rest assured, is taken fully into account in the New Deal program.

Arne Swaback.

Inside the C. C. C. Camps

Minneapolis.—Today there are 1,522 C. C. C. camps in this country with over 300,000 recruits. By summer many more such camps will be established. I have just returned from a visit to several such camps in Minnesota, and would like to tell the *Militant* readers what I observed.

Most of the boys at work in Minnesota forests have been imported from Kansas. The government makes a fixed policy of sending the young workers far from home: in this way the potential rebels and deserters will think twice before they run away, with a long trek back to the farm staring them in the face.

For working 8 hours a day, five days a week, these boys receive thirty dollars monthly—twenty-five of which is sent home to their parents. In this way many Kansas families are removed from local relief. This peculiarly ingenious plan has a double merit, then, in Rooseveltian eyes. By making one member of the family support his parents and brothers and sisters in the style to which they have become accustomed, it preserves the domestic self-respect. Likewise, the C. C. C. worker himself receives a tidy bit of pocket money. For working 40 hours weekly, he receives the meager sum of \$1.25—or slightly over 3 cents an hour.

One of the camps at which I stayed for several days (in the Chippewa National Forest) was located near an Indian reservation. After every meal, a throng of dirty, ragged Indian boys and men would throng themselves at the kitchen door, carrying large cans and buckets. They were waiting to receive the scraps from the meal. All that could not be garnered by the camp cooks for subsequent meals was given to the Indians—soup, bones, crusts, vegetables—all were thrown in the greasy pails making the most filthy, garbage-like olla-podrida—to be eagerly taken home and eaten by the Chippewa braves and squaws and tubercular papooses. Thus does Uncle Sam provide for his First Families.

A word about the forestry work. These Kansas boys are not used to the bitter weather of northern Minnesota winters. One day it was 27 degrees below zero. Eighty boys decided that this was too cold and revolted. After breakfast they returned to barracks instead of climbing on the trucks which were to convey them to the woods. Ten minutes later the officer in charge strode in and paused in the center of the room.

"Any man not reporting for work this morning, will be fined \$20," he announced. "Just follow me back to the office and I'll take your names."

The boys thought of their families back home, destitute, starving. The putsch was over almost as soon as begun.

At noon a handful of boys came back to camp with frost-bitten ears and cheeks. After bandaging the injured parts, the camp medic observed, "The bandages will be a warning to the rest of the men. Now they will take more care to protect themselves." What a soothing philosophy!

While at the camps I had the opportunity to talk to many of the boys. I should like to report that many were militant, class-conscious workers; but such is not the truth. The boys, almost without exception, come direct from farm homes. None have ever worked in a factory, has ever stood face to face with his exploiters across a picket line. I found no evidence to indicate that any boy had the least understanding of the economic forces at work in the world which were condemning him to an empty futureless life. They, and their fathers, had slaved on the farm, had been losing ground every year in this struggle for existence. Then came the New Deal, with its shabby offer of six months of camp life; and, poor as the work was, these boys jumped at the chance to escape from the wretched gray existence on the farm.

I was particularly interested in the attitude of the recruits towards war. Would they go to war if America should become embroiled with a foreign nation? Yes, almost to a man, they would. "There's nothing doing back home," they say. "Might as well fight as rot on the land." Should an emergency arise, and the Government throw rifles at these 300,000 young men, 99% of the rifles would be caught and drilled could immediately start. At present, the army staff makes a great show of the lack of military discipline prevailing in the C. C. C. camps. No saluting, no drilling, no court-martial, etc. But let war appear on the horizon: how the picture would change overnight. The department of war must be well aware of the fact that, if occasion arises, they have a third of a million young men in first-class condition available for fighting forces at a moment's notice.

The C. C. C. workers have become accustomed to having the government take care of them. Poor as the pay is, they are living better now than were they back home. In the evenings in camp they have attended classes in American history, in military tactics, etc. Subtly they have been filled with the insidious nationalistic ideology. Here the greatest danger lies.

—CARLOS HUDSON.

International Notes

LITHUANIA—

The Lithuanian opposition is growing stronger and gaining adherents among Lithuanian workers as well as among the student youth. A few student-propagandists lead workers' study circles on political economy, history of the revolution, party movement and history of the opposition. On the 18th anniversary of the October revolution Lithuanian Bolshevik-Leninists published an illegal leaflet to the workers. In December the Lithuanian comrades printed a first issue of their periodic illegal organ in the Lithuanian language under the name "Lenin Kellin" (In Lenin's Steps). The issue contained the following articles: An editorial on the Lithuanian Fascist overturn of 1928; an article "On the building of the Fourth International"; "The Declaration of Four"; a warning to the Stalinists on the provocative character of their publishing the names of our comrades; Workers Correspondence; On parliamentary cretinism in Austria.

In the discussion which took place on the question of the Fourth International not one voice was raised against the new orientation. We have now in Lithuania 20 active members of the opposition organization, the majority of whom are workers. The work has to be carried on under the severest conditions of illegality.

The Stalinists have begun to feel the influence of the Lithuanian oppositionists and have therefore opened up a slanderous campaign against them, not stopping even before making public the names of the leading Bolshevik-Leninists. For instance, the Stalinist illegal press—in the student party organ, the *Aurora* (No. 2-3)—published an article: "Trotskyism—the advance guard of the counter-revolution". This article, outside of the usual slanders of Trotsky carries information on the activity of the Lithuanian "Trotskyites". They have allegedly the most backward workers with them and are carrying on Trotsky's line directed against the Lithuanian peasants since they stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, "ignore" the peasantry, etc., in the same spirit. In conclusion, as stated above, they mention by name "as a traitor" a leading comrade in order to draw the attention to this "traitor" of the Lithuanian police. Thus, the Lithuanian comrades find themselves between two fires; the Stalinist provocateurs and the Lithuanian police. The provocative work of the Stalinists must be completely unmasked before the Lithuanian workers.

GERMANY—

Agitation for a new party which at first met with certain difficulties gained ground among the Communist as well as the social-democratic workers. In the general chaos in which the German working class movement found itself after Hitler's coming to power, the remnants of the former working class organizations are searching for new roads and are standing face to face before new realignments. In this chaos the Left Opposition tried—and with success—to create nuclei of the new coming party from the cadres of the Communist party, the social democracy and the trade unions. First of all the causes of defeat are being discussed.

Parallel with this a discussion with the SAP (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) is being carried on, a discussion which first of all takes up international questions. The SAP, as is known, is by its origin a centrist organization which has undergone an evolution towards Communism. The SAP signed the Declaration of Four for the new International. The unification of the German opposition with the SAP would have been an important stage on the road to a new party. But the discussion showed that the SAP still has some Rightist tendencies. Therefore, a deepened discussion must precede unification.

Armed with correct policy, the German Left Opposition made a successful turn towards illegal work under new conditions. It escaped the decomposition and demoralization of big organizations. Only in small towns, where our comrades were widely known, were the groups of the German opposition routed by the police. In the majority of large cities the German oppositionists feature hectographed papers and leaflets. The weekly organ of the German Bolshevik-Leninists "Unser Wort" (Our Word) appearing abroad since February, as well as a number of other publications penetrating by various ways into Germany, have given great impetus to the spread of the ideas of the German Left Opposition, the correctness of which had been proven by living events.

The spread of the ideas and the growth of the influence of the Left Opposition are by no means limited to a layer of critically thinking Communists, but on the contrary find a considerable echo among social-democratic cadres standing for

The Left Movement in Poland

According to recent documents, and resolutions of the Comintern and particularly to Piatnitsky's articles the Communist Party of Poland (C. P. P.) is the best Communist party in the Comintern from which all the sections can take example. One might really believe the veracity of this statement because the founders of this party fought with Lenin against Czarism. Under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg the old Socialist Party of Poland was a model of revolutionary proletarian internationalism. In spite of the theoretical differences between Lenin and Luxemburg the Socialist party of Poland stood closest to Russian Bolshevism. Not only the leaders but also the proletarian masses of Poland have behind them a glorious past of revolutionary struggle. To that can be added the conditions in the country favorable to a strengthening of the Communist movement. Poland is still the weakest link in the chain of capitalism.

Effects of Crises

All of the post-war crises lasted longer and had a more catastrophic effect in Poland than in other countries. The agrarian crisis is so serious that the frequent demonstrations of the peasants bear a near revolutionary character. More than 40% of the population consists of national minorities and of these 80% are Ukrainian and White Russians who hate Polish imperialism and are striving for national liberation. Poland does not lack in cadres and reserves for real revolutionary activity. Piatnitsky's prognoses could be realized if the Communist leaders were fully aware of their tasks and employed a correct Leninist line. Unfortunately their tactics are not Leninist but Stalinist. And since the tested leaders of the movement have been eliminated, and those at its head now are incapable of giving it leadership the results are not very gratifying. It can even be said that in Poland there is not a party in the real sense of the word, but a party apparatus which is completely isolated from the masses.

Trade Union Debacle

What caused this ruin of the C. P. P.? We can only give some of the reasons here. The 6th Congress of the Profintern instructed the Polish party to build its own trade unions. That was grist to the reformist mill. Of course the party did not succeed in building its own trade unions. Two examples: (1) There are more than 90,000 Polish miners in Upper Silesia. They are organized in Christian and reformist trade unions. The party recruited but 300 of these workers in its attempt to build its own trade unions. To be sure these 300 were the best revolutionaries but they were demoralized by their impotence, and the broad masses remained under the influence of the Christian and reformist trade unions. (2) Following their victory in the textile workers strike in Lodz the reformists built a union with a membership of 10,000. This is the largest union in existence in Poland.

The party forbade its members to join this union and instructed them to create small trade unions in each factory. The disastrous results of this tactic were soon demonstrated at the recent congress of the Warsaw metal workers, to be sure bureaucratically prepared by the socialist officials, there was not a single Communist delegate. And at the railroad workers congress, where the Communists had the majority two years ago, their delegates did not form an independent group. Their few delegates were so fearful of being known as Communists that all the reformist resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Internal Regime in the Party
Mass discontent grew simultaneously with the loss of the party's influence in it. Instead of encouraging criticism from the membership to find the basis of the mistakes, the party bureaucrats used every possible

break with reformism and against joining the Stalinists. In July of last year the German opposition was subjected to serious blows of the Fascist police. But the comrades who were arrested or forced to emigrate were soon replaced by fresh recruits from the former social democrats and Stalinists. The illegal publications of the German Opposition testify irrefutably to the fact that this "rejuvenation" of the cadres did not at all affect the level of our propaganda work. Out of seven Regional Organizations existing at the time the Left Opposition had to go underground, systematic uninterrupted work is carried on in six of them to this very day. The loss of old elements is replenished by the influx of new. The fact that MARIA REESE, former member of the Reichstag enjoying a wide popularity among the German workers, joined the banner of the Left Opposition found a wide echo among German workers. A supplementary edition of "Unser Wort" carrying the declaration of Maria Reese was published in hectographed form in

ble means to suppress it. Every criticism was considered and branded the work of renegades, and every critical member expelled from the party. The seizure of power by Hitler was communicated to the membership as a mere piece of news and no discussion on this question was permitted. In the same manner the resolution of the Comintern on March 5th, 1933 on the united front was conveyed to the membership as a mere communication. The bureaucratic party apparatus, which has made every criticism impossible, brought things to a different end: the discontented members have grouped themselves together to build an opposition.

The Opposition

The Opposition was created two years ago in Poland. Without forgetting the international character of their struggle, the leaders of the Opposition raised demands on all the national and local questions. They did this because they had no desire to break with the party. The party bureaucrats answered these demands by expelling the best members. That further sharpened the contradictions in the party.

The aggravation of the situation in Russia and the seizure of power by Hitler have shown the Opposition that the struggle is not limited to local questions but must be broadened to the international field. We solidarized ourselves with the Left Opposition and decided to educate our members in this spirit. We struggle against the Stalinists on the basis of the interests of the workers and in all the daily econ-

omic and political questions. In that way we won the sympathies of the Communist and non-party workers who follow us to this day. We also have contacts in various groups in reformist organizations. We have oppositionist organizations in all the trade unions. We have about 300 members, equally young and old comrades. We have two weekly papers, one in Polish and another in Jewish, which are issued in 5,000 copies. It is significant that our papers are better sold than the party's.

The Polish Opposition has issued a series of Left Opposition pamphlets in the Polish language: "The Key to the International Situation", "What Next?" a pamphlet by Trotsky on the Amsterdam Congress with the declaration of the Left Opposition, Lenin's "Left Communism" with an introduction by Trotsky, the declaration by the Left Opposition on the Paris Anti-Fascist congress, a pamphlet on the Fourth International (which was confiscated), "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union" (also confiscated) and a pamphlet on the "Bund". 20,000 copies of these pamphlets have been bought.

The question of the Fourth International, which was under discussion for five months and disclosed serious differences in the organization, is now about to be definitely decided. The leadership of the organization and the majority of the membership have taken a firm position for the Fourth International. The official entry of the Polish Opposition into the League of Internationalist Communists will soon be consummated.

—VICTOR.

The Right Wing and Labor Party

Today, in America, we have entered upon a new and higher stage of the class struggle. With the sharpening of the class struggle, the true nature of classes, and political parties or tendencies stand out in ever sharper relief. In the light of sharpening contradictions, most revealing of all are the political perspectives put forward by parties or tendencies within the working class. Let us apply this touchstone to the perspectives put forward by the Lovestonites.

What is the task facing the revolutionist today? According to the Lovestonites: "to agitate and prepare the ground for the formation of a Labor Party". What is the historic need of the present moment? According to the Lovestonites "the fight for a Labor Party."

In the *Workers Age* (March 15, 1934) two articles appear proclaiming this perspective: one by H. Connor who deals with the Labor Party in Fort Wayne; the other by S. Jonas & H. Vaughan who deal with the Labor Party in general. Connor reports as an "activist"; Jonas & Vaughan on the other hand, approach the question "as theoreticians."

Both the activist and the theoreticians argue for the Labor Party from the same premise, a very remarkable premise, to wit, because of the immediate need "to divorce the workers politically from the capitalist class" (Connor); because of "the necessity for the political separation of the working class from the capitalist class." (Jonas & Vaughan).

From such a premise a Communist would argue not for a Labor Party but for a genuine revolutionary party. Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, all Communists have proclaimed the necessity of separating the proletariat politically from the bourgeoisie, i. e., "the organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party"; and it is equally an ABC of Marxism that this task can be achieved only by organizing the vanguard into a revolutionary party. Only the revolutionary party can divorce the workers from the capitalists politically.

But the Lovestonites are not of the opinion that the proposed Labor Party would be revolutionary. No, Jonas & Vaughan deny that such a party would be revolutionary. It should only serve as a rallying point of all workers "regardless of individual differences". Of course in the very next sentence, our theoreticians proceed to contradict themselves by insisting that such a party "will become more and more revolutionary in its outlook" in the process of the class-struggle. But let us pass in silence this vision of a party which although not revolutionary, will become more and more revolutionary. There is another and much more essential aspect to the question.

The Labor Party, not being revolutionary, cannot achieve the political separation (or divorce) of the working class from the capitalist class. Why then do the Lovestonites propose its formation? Because they represent the opportunist and not the revolutionary wing in the labor movement. Like all opportunists they drag at the tail end of events; and like all tail-enders the

Lovestonites minimize the elements of class-consciousness, and worship the elements of spontaneity.

They have revived the hoary Menshevik theory preached by Martynov—the theory of "organization-process"; the theory of the spontaneous growth of the revolutionary party; and of the spontaneous growth of class-consciousness. Today, on a different historical level, the Lovestonites are chewing once again the thrice-digested cud of Menshevism. They counterpose the Menshevik concept of the spontaneous political development of the class to the Leninist concept of the vanguard, organized as a party, permeating the working masses with class-consciousness.

After proposing to divorce the workers politically from the capitalists by means of the Labor Party, Jonas, Vaughan, Lovestone and all other Martynovs further propose to make the workers class-conscious by means of the same Labor Party. "It is obvious (!) that no progress can be made in building a revolutionary movement until workers have first BECOME politically conscious as a class. It is equally obvious (!!) that the tactics of the revolutionary parties have failed to accomplish this" (our italics). Ergo, most obviously, the Labor Party is needed.

In the period of civil wars and revolutions one must for the thousand and first time lecture to the American Branderlites the A. B. C. of Marxism. A politically conscious worker is a class-conscious worker. Workers do not become "politically conscious as a class" in the process of the class struggle by themselves, not even if they all joined or voted for a dozen Labor Parties. The revolutionary party is that historical organ by means of which the class becomes class-conscious. The workers as a class do not first become politically conscious and then build a revolutionary movement; just the contrary, only if a revolutionary party exists "which does not fail to accomplish" its historic task of mobilizing the overwhelming majority of the workers under its banner can progress be made in building a revolutionary movement.

In 1920, the Leninist Comintern said, "After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labor Congress which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of 'laborites' of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party."

In 1934, after the disastrous defeat of the German and Austrian proletariat, and the collapse of the Stalinist Comintern, the Lovestonites can only repeat the perspectives of the Menshevik in 1905, and of the "laborites" of England and America in 1920.

The task facing the revolutionist in America today is the building of a genuine Communist party. The historic need of the present moment is the formation of the Fourth International.

—J. G. WRIGHT.



All Together Against Reaction on May Day

Last year's May Day demonstrations were held under the slogan of solidarity with the German workers and against advancing Fascism. Since that time the heroic fight of the Austrian workers and socialists was drowned in blood and now murderous Clerical Fascism with its program of black reaction rules in Austria. Ominous signs of the advance of Fascism are to be seen in France, and to a greater or less extent in all countries in the capitalist world.

With the victory of Hitler it should have been apparent, even to the blind, that reaction would push forward in other countries. The need of the hour then was a united front of all labor organizations, political, economic, and fraternal, to crush the growing Fascist danger in their home countries and to give aid to their brothers elsewhere.

Decaying capitalism with no other way out of its crisis is resorting to the arming of murderous bands for the crushing of every semblance of independent working class organization. Faced with a divided working class it marches forward everywhere. The heroism of Communists, Socialists, and trade union members in Austria, in Italy and in the prison camps of Hitler serve but to show the devotion, courage and readiness to struggle in the ranks of the workers, which if united could smash the Fascist menace in one country after another.

Another May Day, the day of labor solidarity, is at hand. Shall it reveal to our enemies a working class unable to unite its forces in face of the Fascist butcher? That is the question for every worker in whatever organization he may be found to ask himself now.

War preparations go on at a feverish pace. Japan openly prepares for an attack on the Soviet Union. Europe is a powder barrel awaiting the spark. Conflicting imperialist forces have made a shambles of several countries of South America. The United States, while cutting off hundreds of thousands of unemployed from the relief rolls and refusing to make any attempt to provide unemployment insurance, is at the same time spending billions on naval, military and aerial armaments. Division of forces on this May 1st is a crime. To admit that a united front demonstration against Fascism and war cannot be formed is to admit the triumph of black reaction and the destruction of all labor organization.

Workers of New York, delegates to this May Day Conference, you must not and cannot admit such an outcome. Reports appear in the capitalist press of the arming of groups in New York akin to the Fascists in Europe. Nazi open air meetings, largely attended, are being held in New York. Brown shirts, Khaki shirts, Silver shirts, spring up in different parts of the country. Nazi bands are organizing and arming in all large cities. This rising danger must be crushed. One united front May Day demonstration against war and fascism will strike terror into their hearts. It will send a surge of joy and militancy into the breasts of workers throughout the land.

We propose:

1. That this conference elect a representative committee and propose a meeting with a similar committee from the united front May Day conference called by the Communist Party.
2. That a program for a united May Day demonstration be worked out covering all the details of the organization of the demonstration.

On Father Coughlin

Those who are interested in knowing how a government run by Father Coughlin under the guidance of the Holy Father in Rome would function, can take a look at Austria. A new constitution has been drawn up. "Laws are to emanate from God the Almighty." The Roman Catholic Church is to be a specially privileged state-supported institution. An agreement with the Pope will govern the educational and religious training. There will be no freedom of speech, the stage, the movies, the press, or the radio. Priests, professional men, industrialists, and government bureaucrats will compose the five chambers of the state which are being set up. The workers can work or starve, but in silence. This is the kind of state that stands behind the words of the demagogue, Coughlin.

Dryer Taken to Court by A.F. of L. Union Official

I. Dreyer, managing editor of the Union Pharmacist, official publication of the Pharmacists' Union of Greater New York, has recently appeared before Magistrate J. Goldstein on a charge of criminal libel. He is accused by E. Roy Denise, eastern representative of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, A. F. of L. and also organizer of the American Pharmacists' Union, organized by him six months ago in opposition to the Pharmacists' Union of Greater New York.

An article, exposing the anti-union activities of Mr. Denise, appeared in the March issue of the Union Pharmacist. Mr. Denise, in his attempt to stifle criticism not only of another organization but also of oppositionists in his outfit, has applied for help to the capitalist court.

Upon cross examination by the lawyer for the defense, Mr. Denise admitted something that throws a glaring light on the character of this individual. He refused an offer made to him by the Pharmacists' Union of Greater New York to publish his refutations of the charges made in the "Libelous article" and also their offer of a platform before the membership of both organizations. However, the fact that Mr. Denise has chosen the capitalist platform in preference to the workers' platform can only testify to the anti-working class makeup of this "great labor organizer."

This case is of great interest to all the advanced and militant elements in the labor movement. Attempts of reactionary elements to stifle criticism and establish a censorship on the radical labor press by means of court action must be fought bitterly. This case again illustrates the need of a genuine united front for non-partisan labor defense. It is high time to form it!

Committee Organized to Aid Anthony Bellussi

After a protracted struggle, Anthony Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist and active trade-unionist of Wilkes Barre, Pa., has won the right of voluntary departure from the United States. To assist him in financing his trip, the sole method of saving him from being turned over to Mussolini by the U. S. government, a Bellussi Anti-Fascist Dinner Committee has been organized. Sentenced to deportation to Fascist Italy, Bellussi is now enabled to escape from the clutches of the Mussolini regime which has for years desired to punish him for his working class activities in Italy.

Bellussi spent ten months in jail before his case could be settled. At first the I. L. D. pretended interest in his fate, but when Bellussi refused to repudiate his friendship to the Communist League of America, the I. L. D. lost its enthusiasm for the cause of this anti-Fascist. In the end the fight had to be carried on by the friends of comrade Bellussi with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union. After winning the right of voluntary departure, Bellussi was released on bail, bail money being provided by the American Civil Liberties Union.

His last month in America is being spent in New York. Bellussi plans to sail for South America before May 1. The members of the Dinner Committee are Roger Baldwin, Louis Budenz, James Burnham, James P. Cannon, Elliot M. Cohen, Max Eastman, Herman Gund, Sidney Hook, Rose Karsner, A. J. Muste, Elinor Rice, James Rorty, Herbert Solow and Carlo Tresca.

The Bellussi Dinner will be held Friday, April 20 at 7:30 p.m. at Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and 9th Street. Admission is 50 cents. The speakers of the evening, in addition to Comrade Bellussi, will be James P. Cannon of the Communist League; A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party; Quintin Howe, editor of The Living Age; Herbert Solow of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense; and Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello. Important new features of the general fight against Fascism and reaction and on behalf of political refugees will be taken up by several of the speakers. After dinner admission to hear the speakers will be 15 cents.

Tickets may be ordered and tables reserved through Elinor Rice, treasurer of the Bellussi Anti-Fascist Dinner Committee, 151 East 83rd Street, N. Y. or through the City Committee of the Communist League of America, 126 East 16th Street. The League urges all its friends to support the Bellussi Anti-Fascist Dinner Committee in every way. Those who cannot possibly attend are urged to send a contribution to the Committee for the fund to finance Bellussi's trip. Comrade Bellussi appeared at the Spring Festival of the League at Irving Plaza last Saturday and was given a rousing reception. Contributions to aid the expenses of his journey were made as follows:

Fein	\$2.00
Lieberman, B.	1.00
Beardsley, M.	1.00
Becker, J.	1.00
Sterling, M.	1.00
Jimmy	.50
Saul, G.	.25
Dollinger, A.	2.00
Bleeker, S.	1.00
Collection	2.45
Total	\$12.20

END OF THE NEW YORK TAXI STRIKE

The second general strike of the New York taxi drivers has ended in a second defeat for the workers and a victory for the bosses and reaction. None of the demands put forward by the Taxi Drivers Union has been won. The collapse of the strike—that is what it was—coming on top of the betrayal of the auto workers, has strengthened the chances of the company union which the auto bosses are seeking to foist on the taxi drivers here in New York.

The strike was defeated by the combined forces of the companies who imported gangsters from Chicago to supplement the home supply, the police who drove scab cars and rode in them to provoke attacks by pickets, the yellow press which tried to frame up bombings on the union, the Mayor and his mediators, the NRA doves of peace, Mrs. Horrick and Golden, the Socialist Party which sabotaged the strike and went in for a vicious red-baiting campaign in the union, and the mistakes of the leadership.

Politics in the Strike

On every one of these points there is much to say; from each lesson to be drawn for the future strikes of the taxi workers and the workers movement as a whole. Because of the limitation of space we want to confine ourselves here to one outstanding point of this remarkable strike: the extraordinary political nature of the situation in the union and its relation to the strike.

For years the New York taxi drivers have been the prey of racketeers and bourgeois politicians. The thinking of many of them stood closer to that of the underworld and the cop than it did to that of the working class movement. That they have now made great strides toward thinking and acting like militant workers is an enormous plus for them as well as for the whole movement. Our hand is extended to them in fraternal solidarity for common struggle against the common enemy.

When La Guardia was campaigning for the mayoralty he sent his agents into the ranks of the taxi drivers to line up their vote for his new deal. Through Gandall, he built an organization which served him well in the campaign. It was one of the four organizations which later merged to constitute the present union. Gandall became the leader of the first general strike in February.

Bloc with Stalinists

Following the scuttling of the first strike by Pinkas and Ernst a

struggle developed in the union. The Stalinists who came into the union through the merger of their paper Taxi Workers Union, formed a bloc with Orner and Green of the Workers Socialist Party, a group of former members and sympathizers of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Joe Gilbert became an organizer and leader of the second strike. In this fight the bloc received, at least, objective support from the Tammany elements in the union who had their own axe to grind against La Guardia. Gandall was dislodged from leadership. Orner became president of the Manhattan local, the largest and most important of the three units of the union. The Bronx and Brooklyn locals remained under the influence of the Socialist Party elements.

While the strike was in the ascendant all forces with the exception of the Stalinists in the Bronx and Brooklyn locals worked to push the strike forward. Orner, without organizational strength outside of the union to throw behind the strike, and involved in the bloc with the Stalinists, had to lean on the latter for support. The Stalinists tried to rally outside forces behind the strike but succeeded only in giving another demonstration of their isolation from the main stream of the labor movement. Their united front conference of working class organizations to support and spread the strike was the usual mass meeting of Stalinist outfits and friends.

Tammany and the Socialists
Tammany tried to use the strike as a club against La Guardia. The present Grand Jury investigation into the "failure of the municipal government and the police to protect life and property" is inspired by Tammany.

The Socialists tried to make factional capital of the strike in the union by inciting the workers against Communism and the Stalinists whom they represent to the workers as Communists. Because of the popularity of Orner and the strong Orner-Stalinist bloc in the leadership they were forced to carry on their agitation against the leadership in the middle of the strike by an undercover campaign.

All of these forces working through the strike and the union produced a POLITICAL situation in New York of great importance to all future strikes. In fact with the publication by the companies of full page ads in the capitalist press and the replies of La Guardia attacking the companies the strike became a major political issue in New York City.

Contradictions Come Out

The contradictions in the union did not appear in their full importance until the strike reached its peak and stopped growing. When it landed in the bog of capitalist politics the impact of the strike-breaking efforts of all the capitalist agencies caused the political lines in the union to be drawn very sharply. In the main the line was drawn over the issue of radicalism and its responsibility for the difficult position of the strike. First honors in the reactionary business of red-baiting go to the Socialist Party which seized on this moment to take its undercover campaign into the open. Under its guiding hand the Bronx local passed a motion calling for a fight against Communist influence in the union. Gilbert was dropped from his leading position and a Tammany lawyer took his place in the negotiations at City Hall. Orner's popularity saved him from a similar fate.

The collapse of the strike gave a great stimulus to the centrifugal forces in the union working through the political contradictions. The union now hangs by a thread. The influence of the Communist Party is almost all and that is a good thing. But the influence of the Socialist and Democratic parties has increased and that is a bad thing.

Future Lines

The solution lies on the road of building a broad left wing of all progressive elements in the union. The task of building a left wing in this union is a part of the larger problem of building a new left wing in the trade union movement. That is a task of the new party. The Communist League can make a beginning now.

The taxi strike was of the utmost importance for the labor movement. Had it been successful it could have given a great impetus to the struggle against company unionism, and encouraged the workers in the gigantic transportation industry in New York to organize and struggle for the betterment of their conditions.

As the situation stands now it is without positive gains. The two strikes will enter into the annals of the working class as splendid demonstrations of working class militancy. And if the union survives, even without recognition, it will be an important toe-hold for the labor movement in one of the most important domains of Wall Street's vast empire.

—T. STAMM.

Appeal to the Young Workers of the World

A conference of representatives of independent proletarian youth organizations was called for February 24th to 26th at Laren, in Holland. The object of this Conference was to draw the lessons of the catastrophe in the German labor movement, of the crisis of the international labor movement, and, particularly, the proletarian youth movement.

Unemployment and super-exploitation—evils which at the same time are contradictory and supplementary—are both the consequences of the terrible world economic crisis which effects especially the proletarian youth.

This youth, however, has not reacted to the blows of capitalism by revolutionary means. On the contrary. The crudest form of capitalist oppression, Fascism, threatens to attract to itself a great part of the youth and to submit them to two dangers: heightened exploitation and imperialist wars. The two international organizations claiming to represent the interests of working-class youth, the Young Socialists and the Young Commun-

ist International (Y. C. I.) are faced by these forces and these dangers. Their dependence on reformism and Stalinism has condemned these two organizations to impotence.

It was to find a way out of this situation, and to prepare and organize the consolidation of all revolutionary forces of the international proletarian youth that these assembled the representatives of independent revolutionary youth organizations and groups of Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Spain, United States and Australia.

But the Dutch bourgeoisie, reputed to be one of the most liberal on the Continent, is so afraid of the revival of the proletarian youth movement that, on the very first day of the Conference, it brought about the arrest of all the foreign participants and, after two days of imprisonment, expelled them. Four German anti-Fascists were carried to the German frontier and given up to the mercies of the paid butchers of Hitler.

Deeply conscious of the enormous importance for the world proletarian youth of the holding of this Conference, the representatives of various organizations and countries participating reassembled in Luxembourg in order to continue the Conference.

The present Conference calls upon the working-class youth of the world to support its protest against the actions of the Dutch bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the Conference declares that no step, however reactionary, whether taken by the bourgeoisie of Holland or any other country, can prevent it from carrying out its international tasks. And it addresses the following call to the world working-class youth: Beware of the danger of Fascism! Fight its abominable demagoguery, and understand its real role as the mercenary hanguard of capitalism!

Fascism destroys both the organizations and the social and political rights of the working class. It submits the youth, to working and living conditions like those of ancient slavery. Fascism intensifies to a high degree the contradictions of the capitalist system and makes possible at any time terrible explosions, destructive wars over whole continents.

It is necessary to see the whole extent of the danger. It is necessary to begin the struggle against these dangers on every sector, and on the basis of the broadest united front.

The undersigned organizations represented at the Conference of Luxembourg therefore propose to all organizations of working class youth, a campaign for:

1. The most relentless ideological and physical struggle against Fascism.
2. Against war, against chauvinism and militarist propaganda, against the militarization of the youth.
3. For the defense of democratic rights of the proletariat and its organizations.
4. For reductions in the working hours of proletarian youth without wage cuts.
5. Against forced labor of youth.
6. For the defense of the U. S. S. R. as the workers' State.

Signed:

Union of Young Socialists of Holland
Revolutionary Youth Union of Holland
Young Socialist Union of Germany
Young Workers Union of Norway
Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle (U. S. A.)
Bolshevik-Leninist Youth (International Communist League): International Communist Youth of Germany; Young Leninists of France; Young Bolshevik-Leninists of Belgium; Spartacus Youth (U. S. A. and Canada); Marxist Youth Action (Switzerland); Young Bolshevik-Leninists of Greece, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Australia
Mot Dag Group (Norway)
Federation of Young Communists of Sweden
Federation of Young Socialists of Roumania
Unitary Federation of Young Workers of France

Arrest Leaders of The Cuban Labor Movement

Through La Prensa, Spanish daily printed in New York, we are apprised of the arrest of the whole leadership of the Labor Federation of Havana. The police surprised a meeting of the Plenum of the Federation while in session, placing all of the members under arrest. Among these is Sandallo Junco, one of the most prominent labor figures of the island and one of the outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (Cuban Section of the League of Communist Internationalists) which has been extremely active in the heroic struggles of the Cuban proletariat.

The Mendieta government is undoubtedly determined to crush the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and the labor organizations in which they are actively participating and playing a leading role. The lackeys of imperialism hope that a blow at the revolutionary vanguard will cripple the workers in the sharp struggles that are now being waged.

A Veteran Militant

Comrade Junco, the only one of those arrested to be named in the dispatches, is a baker by trade and has long been prominent in the struggles of his own industry in particular and in the general labor movement. He affiliated with the Communist Party when it was first organized and was forced to flee to Mexico in order to escape the Machado terror. While in exile he occupied for a while the secretaryship of the Caribbean Secretariat of the RILU and participated in several international conferences. After returning to Cuba, Junco was expelled from the party following a series of conflicts with the irresponsible bureaucracy.

The Labor Federation of Havana, while in reality a provincial federation, has considerable influence throughout the island, and most of the democratic, militant and non-Stalinist unions of the island are associated with it in its mass activities. It was the Labor Federation of Havana that maintained the general political strike against the Machado regime in August of last year, at a time when the Stalinist controlled National Confederation of Labor capitulated to Machado, ordering the workers to return to their jobs, as soon as the economic demands had been granted by the dictator.

The smashing of the Cuban unions would infinitely strengthen the position of American imperialism, facilitating its attacks on the wage standards of the workers of the United States as well. The American workers must be roused to defend their class brothers in Cuba. Demand the release of Sandallo Junco and all Cuban class war prisoners!

THE PROGRAM OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Speaker:
ARNE SWABECK
1330 Wilkins Avenue
Sunday, April 15th at 8 P.M.
Admission 15c

Questions Discussion
Address: Bronx Branch C. L. of A.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Manulsky Blames Stalin

Ignoring the old saying that you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, all the flunkies of Stalinism are busy trying to paint Stalin as the loved and victorious leader of the world's proletariat. Manulsky over-reached himself in his zeal to praise, and actually placed the blame for Hitler's victory on Stalin. "His (Stalin's) appraisal and forecasts have determined the path which the Comintern has travelled during the last ten years without Lenin. His Bolshevik adherence to principle, as hard as granite—and his revolutionary tactics as pliant as high grade steel—teach the communists of all countries to fight and conquer."

Cutting out the usual blah blah about granite and steel, if these words mean anything at all, they mean that Stalin and Stalinism deserve the credit if any and the blame for the present condition in the C. I. and the present situation in the world, that is in-so-far as a revolutionary party could influence or change it. Let us see what Manulsky says on that. "... this shows the weak work of the Communist Parties who have not taken advantage of the world economic crisis to consolidate their positions in the world labor movement. If the Communist parties had not lagged behind in the winning over of the majority of the working class, the tempo of the development of the world revolutionary crisis would be different and the whole course of events in Germany and throughout the world would have been different too."

So, the results of "Stalin's forecasts, appraisals and teachings," are "weak work" ... "lagging behind" ... "not taking advantage" ... and finally the victory of reaction. Ten years without Lenin and with Stalin—ten years of Stalinism against Leninism, and the result can be summed up in one word—HITLER.

Senator Thayer and the Power Trust

The latest politician who was not careful enough in concealing his dealings with his masters is Senator Warren T. Thayer, chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of the New York State Senate—a rather fine looking, well liked member of the senate who was very influential in the legislature, though he spoke infrequently.

A cause for the potency of his influence was shown in his letters to the Associated Gas and Electric Company enclosing his expense accounts and hoping that his services in killing any bills that might interfere with the profits of the power trust were satisfactory. The paid spokesman of the power trust doesn't depend on his fine looks for his influence over the mess of "statesmen" spewed into Albany by the Tammany and Republican machines. And these are the most "honest" people known to Postmaster General Farley.

"Holy Joe" McKee

In the last election campaign in New York and for months before oceans of ink were used in popularizing the name of "Honest Joe" McKee. The Recovery Party with a key for a symbol and McKee for a candidate was organized by Farley and Roosevelt. That the "key to recovery" was just another Tammany Hall burglar's skeleton key for robbing the unfortunate unemployed and looting public funds is shown by the revelations of the Recovery Party's activities in the C.W.A. If Tammany could pilfer the pockets of paupers, the Recovery Party could arrange to push their favorites into C.W.A. jobs while heads of starving families begged in vain for the chance to work. Of a surety, promoter Farley chose a poor time to extol the honesty of his political friends.

The Police and the Taxi Strike

The Grand Jury and a group of Tammany and other politicians backed by the entire capitalist press are all hot and bothered because, as they say, news reel pictures show cops turning away when husky striking taxi drivers got the best of the company thugs and scabs. We don't know what the news reels actually show; we do know that strikers, wounded and beaten by thugs, scabs and police were to be seen daily at strike headquarters in the taxi, as in all other militant strikes.

And, more than that, we know of and have experienced police clubs, cracking down on the heads of peaceful, marching unemployed. We have seen news reels which clearly showed such unprovoked attacks, but we have never heard of a Grand Jury being called on to investigate, nor of any effort by any "public authority" to stop such attacks. The case of Senator Thayer, acting for the power trusts for a price—as shown by his own letters—gives the key to the investigation of the taxi strike "violence." General Motors, owner of the big taxi company,

Letters to the Editor

From a C. P. Member

Dear comrades:

I am a member of the "Communist" Party who has finally come to the conclusion that real working class unity cannot be achieved through the medium of the official "Communist" Party.

The German events first stirred me to the realization that there must be something radically wrong with a Communist party that could muster 6,000,000 votes in time of elections and then be decreed out of legal existence without even shaking its fist at the fascists—who only a day before were already being "defeated" on every front.

Recently I met a former party member who is now a member of the Lovestone group. After some persuasion on his part I finally consented to attend their National Convention which was then in progress to hear Lovestone's report on the international situation.

I won't take your time up with too many details. Suffice it to say, that with the exception of a criticism of the party's dual union policy "which it was gradually changing" and the fact that they (Lovestone & Co.) were not at the head of the party—nothing else differed essentially from any of the party's official pronouncements.

In Germany—said Lovestone—the defeat of the working class did not challenge the principles of communism, but only condemned the tactical line of the party. The solution of the conditions in which the working class finds itself today can only be solved by reforming the party "from below." That disposed of the German situation.

"The Menace of Trotskyism" The rest of the time was taken to discuss the menace of "Trotskyism." "Why do we bother so much with Trotsky?" asked Lovestone. "Because we have to admit that Trotsky bothers some of our comrades."

From here on all I gathered was that Trotsky was plaguing the international working class movement with his counter-revolutionary ideas. He was organizing a struggle against the Soviet Union. ...

The International Communist Opposition (Brandierites) had to break with the C. P. of Sweden because it went over to Trotskyist centrism. ... Trotsky was for a new party in the Soviet Union which meant Civil War. ... Trotsky says the Soviet Union is not a working class government ... etc, etc.

All these accusations were nothing new to me because I read them every day in the Daily Worker, and I became more and more puzzled as to why the party had to expel anybody who agreed so wholeheartedly with its own viewpoint.

From there on he discussed the question of a new party "which must lead to capitulation to Trotskyism and Centrism." ... "The S. A. P. and the L. O. were united by anti-Soviet and anti-communist sentiment" ...

He went to quite some lengths to explain away a resolution which was adopted at their Convention in September, 1932 that a new Communist party was justified under certain conditions.

Merely Tactical Differences

Needless to say, that to a worker who was nurtured on party literature for the past few years, there was very little new to be learned from Lovestone. Their differences as Lovestone made sure to emphasize, was merely tactical and not fundamental. I was at a loss to know the way to the hearts of public officials just as well as the power trusts. And stuffed shirt police commissioners are particularly amenable to the language which such corporations can talk. In brief, we see here one of the means by which the capitalist class exercises their rule through their own state and their own tools in its apparatus.

The C.P. Convention—A Forecast

Browder hailed Stalin as the iron-willed, granite principled, steely and loved leader (everyone rises, shouts hurrah for Stalin and sings the International). Browder tells Stalin's "famous story" about chatteringboxes. (All rise and cheer for "the leader.") Every other chatterbox repeats the "famous story" with examples from his own district. A resolution hailing the correct leadership of the C. I. with Stalin at the head is carried. (Everyone stands and cheers for Stalin and sings the International.) The tragic defeat in Germany is covered up by the reference to the heroism of the victims of their policies. Self-criticism, with variations ... reference to the open letter. Bureaucrats speak against the lesser ones admit their errors. Greetings are sent to Stalin while all stand and shout, "Hurrah for Stalin!"

(Written before the convention. We venture the above as a thumbnail sketch of the proceedings.) —BILL.

understand why the party refused to take back such a very valuable ally, especially in view of a recent appeal addressed to the Comintern by the I. C. O. for "the setting up of a working bloc" for the purpose of "carrying out united front tactics against reformism, centrism and Trotskyism."

I took the trouble recently to go through the literature of the Left Opposition, especially on the German Situation and the Soviet Union, and so have been able to see through the veil of lies and distortions that the C. P. and its Lovestone apologists have spread regarding Trotsky's position on these questions. I have just been roused from that stupefying and pious acceptance of the doctrines of the Comintern as gospel, and have learnt to look around me a little bit more.

And so, comrades, I pledge myself to carry this work of enlightenment into the ranks of the party so that the working class will not again have to suffer the same defeats as our German and Austrian comrades. Forward to a new Communist party. ... Forward to the Fourth International.

—PARTY MEMBER.

From a I.L.D. Member

To the Editor of the Militant: I chanced to go through some old copies of the Daily Worker recently and came across a story in the December 18th issue about Charles H. Houston, N. A. A. C. P. attorney who "Helped Lynch Court Sentence Crawford," negro worker, to life imprisonment (headline).

One would judge from this that Houston would be a good man to stay away from. On turning to the next page it is announced that Bernard Ades, I. L. D. attorney who defended Eul Lee was being brought before the Federal Court for disbarment. And who do you suppose headed the defense counsel? None other than the same Charles H. Houston who, in the same Daily Worker, "Helped Lynch Court."

It is about time that we had a Defense organization where crazy stuff like this would not be tolerated.

—I. L. D. MEMBER.

Pledge Fund

The Club plan sub drive was initiated with the view of reaching 1,000 new readers who were unable to pay the regular rates, but were anxious to read the Militant.

There are at least another thousand who want the paper at this low price, judging by the requests which have come asking us to extend the drive. This can be done only if we get a sufficient number of pledgers who will remit regularly.

We appeal again to our readers and sympathizers, to pledge definite weekly or monthly sums for this specific purpose.

Don't delay.

Send your pledge at once.

20 NEW PLEDGERS

Boston	
J. Chiplowitz	\$.50 weekly
W. Henderson	.50 weekly
C. Schechet	.50 weekly
E. Winer	.50 weekly
Newark	
G. Kotz	.25 weekly
Nagy	.15 weekly
Becker	.25 weekly
A. Clerk	.10 weekly
A. Social Worker	.25 weekly
A. Sympathizer	.10 weekly
Youngstown	
A. Friend	2.00 monthly
West Virginia	
A. Miner	1.00 monthly
paid for 10 months in advance.	
Brooklyn	
Edith Sher	1.00 monthly
Downtown, N. Y.	
A. Kujawsky	.10 weekly
M. Spithos	.25 weekly
A. Tamas	.25 weekly
Harlem	
Cochran	.10 weekly
Beecher	.10 weekly
Clay	.10 weekly
Marsh	.25 weekly

PREVIOUSLY REPORTED

Brooklyn	
1. Paul King	\$.25 weekly
2. Subway Worker	1.00 monthly
Manhattan	
3. G. Wright	.50 weekly
4. E. Konikow	.25 weekly
5. M. Beardsle	1.00 weekly
6. F. Victor	.50 weekly
7. J. Weber	.50 weekly
8. S. Gordon	.50 weekly
9. M. Kling	.50 monthly
10. S. Blecker	.50 monthly
Harlem	
11. T. Smith	.50 weekly
12. A. Teacher	1.00 weekly
(paid in advance for 16 weeks)	
Bronx	
13. A. Brandmarck	.25 weekly
14. G. Saul	.10 weekly
15. B. Ramloff	.10 weekly
16. M. M.	1.00 weekly
17. S. Egstadt	.25 weekly
18. I. Dryer	.25 weekly
19. M. Lipshitz	.25 weekly
20. P. Shulman	.50 weekly

1014 New Subs!

Over the Top!

Over the top, and more! The goal set for the Club Plan sub drive was 1,000.

Last week, the total reported was 992 new subs. This week we received 22 additional, bringing the total to 1014, which should bring the drive to a close. However, we received several requests for its continuation. The question is being considered and a decision will be announced in the next issue of the Militant.

Davenport, Iowa Branch writes: "Please see that we get the sub cards immediately. We would also like to extend this drive for our branch at least, till April 30."

Subs received during the past week:

Davenport Br.	12
Waukegan Br.	4
G. Kotz	4
Q. Parker	2

TOTAL 22

The complete record to date follows:

New York Local	404
Minneapolis Br.	128
Kansas City Br.	48
Boston Br.	32
Pittsburgh Br.	32
Davenport Br.	28
New Castle Br.	24
Youngstown Br.	20
L. Brown	20
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	16
Chicago Br.	16
G. Kotz	15
Q. Parker	13
Oakland Br.	12
Philadelphia Br.	12
J. Hamilton	12
A. Teacher	12
Los Angeles Br.	9
F. Berensmeier	8
F. Stimson	8
M. Steinbach	8
D. Marcus	8
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papoun	8
S. Hardy	8
L. Goodman	8
M. Hurwitz	8
Buffalo Br.	4
New Haven Br.	4
H. R.	4
M. Holland	4
G. Ellis	4
D. Fogel	4
M. Gendelman	4
C. Hoffman	4
T. Mill	4
Salt Lake City Br.	4
W. Toupin	4
H. Sukut	4
W. Sukut	4
D. O'Dwyer	4
M. McLeod	4
St. Louis Br.	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4
Waukegan Br.	4

TOTAL 1014

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

The schedule for the tour, in addition to the cities already covered, is as follows:

Sun., April 8th—San Francisco.
Mon., April 9th—San Francisco.
Tues., April 10th—San Francisco.
Wed., April 11th—
Thurs., April 12th—Los Angeles.
Fri., April 13th—Los Angeles.
Sat., April 14th—Los Angeles.
Sun., April 15th—Los Angeles.
Wed., April 18th—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Thurs., April 19th—Salt Lake City, Utah.
Fri., April 20th—Denver, Colo.
Sat., April 21st—Denver, Colo.
Sun., April 22nd—Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., April 23rd—Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., April 24th—Kansas City, Mo.
Wed., April 25th—St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs., April 26th—St. Louis, Mo.
Fri., April 27th—Stanton or Gillespie, Ill.
Sun., April 29th—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30th—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1st—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., May 2nd—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3rd—Detroit, Mich.
Fri., May 4th—Detroit, Mich.
Sat., May 5th—Detroit, Mich.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN

We are glad to announce that we were successful in securing a small number of additional copies of the Russian Opposition Bulletin No. 38-39 containing Comrade Trotsky's articles "On the Eve of the Congress," "Where are the Limits of Folly?" "Summary of the 13th Plenum of the ECCI" and others. Write or call for your copy at the Militant office, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

Organization Notes

New York City Conference

Delegates from the six branches, rendered by the organizer of the city Spartacus Youth Clubs, Manny Garrett. There are three clubs at present functioning in New York City, with others in the process of formation. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are at present national in scope, with the Young Spartacus the official organ of our youth section, improving its contents with each issue and winning a place for itself as a popular propagandist for communism among the young workers.

All the reports received the unanimous endorsement of the city conference. This conference, in reviewing the past activities, in analyzing the shortcomings and the tasks ahead for the League, has registered the fact that we have turned the corner, that from a propaganda organization we are developing along the line of agitation and action, broadening our base in the labor mass organizations, gaining increased influence and laying the foundations for a genuine Communist Party in this country.

Comrade Swaback, reporting for the National Committee, spoke primarily on our immediate perspectives and the tasks of the League in the building of a new party, a section of the Fourth International. The growth of the League in the past period, has not been confined to New York. New branches have been organized in a number of localities, and altogether the League has doubled its membership in this country and has taken the lead in important struggles.

The report for the youth was

Shachtman Tour Los Angeles
Boyle Heights Lecture
Sunday, April 15th, 8 P. M.
at
2526 1/2 Brooklyn Avenue
Speaker
MAX SHACHTMAN

Organized Labor Under the N.R.A.

The Auto "Settlement"

The auto settlement was a "compromise"—Roosevelt got the glory, Capital got the real concession and labor got the crumbs. The next day the New York Times headline said, "Auto strike ruling viewed as A. F. of L. set-back." Yes, the treacherous action of the labor fakers enabled the capitalists to strengthen their position and caused the working class to take a defeat without a battle.

Roosevelt's reactionary interpretation of section 7a of the NRA has laid down a ruling and a precedent that will always guarantee capital its company unions. The fact that a union has a majority of the workers organized in a shop does not give them the right to represent the shop under the new ruling. The president's formula gives minority representation. This favors the independent unions. But nine out of ten times it means the company unions.

The committee of three appointed to take up the grievances, like all other such committees established after strikes, is just a polite way of mopping up for the bosses. The bosses' strategy, with the labor fakers' help, stemmed the tide of the labor revolt. But it only postponed it, and in the very near future, with increased inflation, it will flare up anew—within the A. F. of L. if possible, outside, as outlaw strikes, if necessary.

NRA Tightens Grip to Prevent Str

An order for the reorganization of the NRA code authorities has been issued. This means that the period of forming codes is being left behind and the period of administering them is before the capitalists. Codes will continue to be formulated but they will be moulded into the pattern already laid out. Now the problem confronting the capitalists is to keep down the growing discontent within the working class while they continue to drive through their reorganization of American industry at the expense of the working class and the small producers.

A litigation division will be established to handle all court cases through the Department of Justice. The cartels being created need not fear this new department. It will be aimed at the small producer and at the outlaw strikes that are sure to develop in the coming period. The revision is primarily aimed at establishing machinery for labor disputes. Industrial relation boards will be established to the extent necessary in the different industries in order to confine the workers' struggles in the strait-jacket of class collaboration machinery. In Cotton, bituminous coal, railroad, garment and other industries, such boards, or labor representation on the Code Authorities, already exist.

Each Code Authority will appoint a Labor and Consumer representative. They will have no vote and will attend meetings on invitation. These representatives will have access to the minutes and can appear to make statements, which means, when boiled down, that the labor consumer representatives will be window dressing for the machinations of the exploiters against the workers. They will act as the agents of the capitalists in the class collaboration machinery.

The new order that revises the NRA means that the class relations in America are sharpening and that the bosses are preparing

the machinery in advance to hold the forces in check.

The workers' interests is not in the Code Authorities, nor in any class collaboration boards of the bosses. We must go to the NRA labor boards with OUTSIDE pressure of the ORGANIZED workers in their own organizations.

The Wagner Bill

Since the President has issued his new interpretation of Section 7a, and on the heels of this ruling, the Wagner Bill has been transformed. Wagner started out with the belly-hoo about passing a law to outlaw company unions. In the process of discussion on the bill he consents to amendments that safeguard and legalize company unions.

Legalizing company unions is not outlawing company unions. The howl about labor dictatorship being established if the Wagner Bill is passed seems to be the smoke screen that hides a move to strengthen the capitalist dictatorship.

Railroad Struggle Left to President

Eastman has been able to pacify and postpone the struggle of the railroad workers for a wage increase but was unable to settle the differences. This has been left for the President who will see the railroad managers and the labor fakers on April 9. Eastman says he has at least prevented a strike for the time being, and for that the capitalists should give him credit. If the railroad workers really mean business about a wage increase they have to fight the labor agents of the capitalists within their own ranks in a more energetic way and amalgamate the twenty-one unions into an industrial union.

Wage Increases Herald Further Inflation

The betrayal of the auto strike by Green and Company has been followed up by the granting of wage increases in the other basic industries where strike struggles threatened. The General Electric, the United States Steel and the Bituminous Appalachian coal operators have announced wage increases. The bosses' press openly admit that this action not only has prevented strikes of those effected by the pay increase but has had a soothing effect over wide areas on other workers in the same industries who have not yet received increases.

The agreement between the coal operators and the U.M.W.A. calls for the seven-hour day, the five day week and the five dollar basic wage, covering the Appalachian area.

Such action not only prevented a bitter national strike struggle but also is a forerunner to an increased inflation and price rise that will wipe out pay increases.

THE MILITANT

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MARCH OF EVENTS

The Period of Concessions Closing American capitalists, having gained respite thru a policy of apparent concessions based on the NRA, now breathe more easily and begin to show their bare fangs to the organized workers. The pretense that the NRA gave recognition to labor's complete right to organize trade unions, is being rapidly discarded. The drive is now on for the open shop. Even the A. F. of L. unions alarm the bosses, not because of any real accomplishment of its leadership for the working class, but because of its potentialities as a rallying force for the unorganized. The first steps to build up industrial ("federal") unions in the mass production industries, arouses the utmost fury of big business which proceeds without delay to open up a sharp counter-attack on the A. F. of L. The threat of the auto strike was the signal for this attack.

The Open Shop Drive

In the sharpening struggle, Roosevelt and Johnson obey the behests of the big capitalists and act as the spearhead of the attack. A meeting of fifty iron and steel companies, convened at Pittsburgh recently, hailed Roosevelt's leading statement on the auto industry: "The government makes it clear that it favors no particular form of employee organization or representation. The government's only duty is to secure absolute and unqualified freedom of choice without coercion, restraint or intimidation from any source." Quite correctly the companies interpret this statement as encouragement to build company unions, which will be recognized by NRA officials and will meet "collectively" with real trade union representatives in negotiations with the bosses.

Even the bourgeois press press labels the acceptance of the terms of the auto agreement as a major defeat of the A. F. of L. and therefore of the working class. Simultaneously the steel barons condemn the Wagner Bill, outlawing company unions, whereupon this bill, never intended seriously except to lull the workers into passivity thru the false hope that "government" would aid the workers in attaining their aims, is unceremoniously scuttled.

Dividing the Movement

Nor is it by accident or thru sheer generosity that the General Electric Co., the steel mills and the coal mines grant wage increases and concessions in hours at this time. Organized labor must be prevented above all else (for that might prove decisive in the struggles to come) from spreading in the steel mills, and workers must be pacified in the mines while the major offensive is conducted to halt the influx into the unions and to assure the open shop. Besides this, the ending of the CWA and the shutting off of all relief to millions of workers, makes it necessary to divide the employed from the unemployed. This movement of the unemployed workers will unquestionably take on a militant character in the present situation, and hence the preparations of the boss class to isolate it.

Clearly it becomes our task to help redouble the campaign for organizing the workers in the basic mass production industries; to expose the open shop and company union drive, aided by Roosevelt and also by the corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucracy; to unite employed and unemployed in a militant struggle on all fronts against the concerted drive of the capitalists to pauperize the working class.

Bourgeoisie Nightmares

The bourgeoisie cannot sleep well at night. It sees specters everywhere. It is acutely aware of the crystallization of the class struggle in one country after the other into such clear-cut forms as to make possible only one of two choices as the next step in social evolution: the road to communism or the road to fascism. Hence the uneasiness and the nervousness manifest on a national scale. The Hearst press utilizes these fears to prepare a new "anti-red" drive by means of the series of articles on American Communism by that arch-reactionary, Easley, of the Civic Federation. A large section of the capitalist class never accepted Roosevelt's strategy of "liberal" treatment for the workers even temporarily. They feared that Roosevelt's policy might stimulate and encourage rather than discipline and "control" the workers' movement. This section of the bourgeoisie has bided its time to open the attack against Roosevelt. The present blast against Roosevelt takes the form of an attack on his "brain trust." It is fitting that this blast should be opened by Wirt, founder of the factory school system at Gary, Indiana. He mistrusts "liberalism" and would prefer—and prepares the way for—outright fascism.

—JACK WEBER.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Movement in Behalf of Four Deported Germans Grows

Non-Partisan Defense Committee Initiates the Movement in the United States

Aroused by the recent deportations from Holland to Germany of four German workers, one a member of the International Communist League, American labor groups and advocates of civil liberty plan to ask the Dutch government through its local Consul General for asylum for political exiles. A joint statement of protest against the Dutch government's policy of acting as deputy for the Hitler Fascist police will be presented to the Dutch Consul General in New York.

The organizations signing the protest include, in addition to the Communist League of America (by its National Secretary, Arne Swaback), the Young People's Socialist League of America (Arthur G. McDowell, Chairman), the League for Industrial Democracy (Mary Fox, Secretary), the National Unemployed League (Louis Budenz, Organizational Director), the Spartacus Youth Clubs (Joseph Carter, National Secretary), the Communist Party Opposition (Jay Lovestone, Secretary), the American Workers Party (A. J. Muste, Chairman), and the Left Poole Zion. In addition, the statement was signed by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*; James P. Cannon, editor of *The Militant*; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union.

Protest Movement Grows

The statement will be presented to the Consul General by a deputation from the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a recently formed independent group supporting militant mass defense activities on a non-partisan basis. According to Herbert Solow, secretary of the group which drew up and circulated the statement, they will continue to seek further adherents to the movement on behalf of the four German workers and the demand for asylum for all future refugees from the Hitler dictatorship.

The movement of protest continues to grow on an international scale. Recently a mass meeting was called in Paris by a united front youth committee composed of representatives of the Young Leninists (formerly Left Opposition youth), the Young Socialists, the Socialist student organization, the youth organization affiliated with the P.U.P., and the anarchist youth organization. The Young Communist League was invited to participate but refused and called a competing meeting in another hall in order to draw workers off from the mass protest meeting.

Among the other European or-

ganizations which have lodged protests with the Dutch government are the Socialist parties of Germany, France, Italy and Holland; the British I.L.P.; the Norwegian Labor Party; the International League of the Rights of Man; the League of Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik Leninists); the French General Labor Confederation. The Dutch Independent Socialist Labor Party and the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party have jointly retained Attorney B. J. Stockvis to go to Germany on behalf of the four deported workers. Thus far, however, no information has been obtainable as to their disposition by the police.

A fund will be raised to aid in the defense fight.

Order May Day Special Edition Of the Militant

Bundle Orders. Now in preparation is the SPECIAL MAY DAY EDITION. It will be crammed full of high-powered political material most effective for the covering of May Day mass meetings, parades, demonstrations and all working class gatherings. Comrades should not wait but should plan their distributions now and send in their bundle orders immediately. Undoubtedly you will need more Militants this year than before especially with our urgent message of the New Party and the drive for the Fourth International.

We want a really impressive list of revolutionary greetings this year. It will add appreciably to the political force of the issue to see nation-wide expressions of revolutionary good will from the movement. Naturally we expect the branches to act first. There should be a sort of roster of Left Opposition units throughout the country. Then sympathetic organizations, those who appreciate the significance of our drive for the New International should be approached to send in their greetings.

And finally, we will make room for the host of individual comrades, friends and sympathizers who desire on May First to express their solidarity with the movement. Start immediately. Make a systematic canvass for greetings, explaining that pseudonyms or initials will be used on request.

Rousing Meetings On Shachtman Tour

The national tour conducted by comrade Shachtman has now reached the Pacific coast. There it will take in the cities of Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Since comrade Shachtman started out from New York on March 4th, practically every day has been taken up with meetings in a number of important industrial cities and new and valuable contacts have been gained for the League.

Chicago had a record audience at the main meeting where comrade Shachtman spoke on the New Party project. It was not like the meeting held on the previous national tour of comrade Swaback which had an extra large turn-out of Stalinist hoodlums who attempted for several hours to break up the meeting. It was in vain. But that failure, plus the good preparations now made by our three Chicago branches, prevented the repetition of such a dastardly performance and secured this time an excellent meeting. Various tendencies in the labor movement, the Stalinists, the S.L.P., the Yipsels' the United Workers Party and its minority group, participated in the discussion and all remained to the end.

Several Meetings in Chicago

Another meeting on the developments in Austria was held on Chicago's West Side. The audience numbered a little above a hundred, which was all that could be packed into the small hall. On the South side a meeting was addressed by comrade Shachtman on the subject "The future of the New Deal" with

AFTER THE C. W. A.

With official figures revealing that the supposed 4,000,000 on CWA jobs had dwindled to about 2,000,000 by March 22, mass dismissals since that date show that the Government program involves the almost complete liquidation of relief work. The local authorities were merely supposed to "take over" the CWA projects and payrolls; the liberal press, like the *New Republic*, pronounced the change merely "a change in name"; Hopkins, Federal relief administrator, declared about 2,000,000 would still be employed. But the first day the *La Guardia* regime in New York took over the payrolls, at least 40,000 out of 150,000 were fired. Similar wholesale dismissals are occurring everywhere. In sharp contradiction to Hopkins' promises are his own official estimates that \$85,000,000 would be the total cost for work and relief in April—just one fourth of the average cost for each previous month since CWA began.

The honeymoon of Roosevelt and

the unemployed is over. With the anniversary of the New Deal "celebrated" by an army of unemployed as large as that of the Old Deal, liquidation of relief work and cutting down of relief means a ghastly future for the workers, unless they fight back. New York figures indicate what the Government plans. According to Welfare Council statistics, 187,000 families were receiving home relief in February, and about 160,000 were on CWA jobs. That is, 350,000 families, numbering at least 1,500,000 persons, were living on relief or CWA wages. Even at this point, the peak of the Rooseveltian honeymoon, home relief (for the 187,000 families, approximating 845,000 persons) amounted to the meager sum of \$8.50 per person per month. (The total disbursed for home relief in February was \$7,216,000). Now, however, with no rise in employment in industry, both CWA and home relief rolls have been cut ruthlessly. During the past month in New York City at least 60,000 have been dismissed from CWA jobs and more than 50,000 dropped from the relief rolls, so that officially the "needy" have dwindled to less than 250,000 families. And these will now receive sharply curtailed relief wages or home relief. Even the social workers and figures indicate improvement in conditions. As Jane M. Hoey, director of the Welfare Council, cautiously puts it in her report: "It should not be assumed from these figures that there has been any decline in the amount of need; there has been a decrease only in the amounts available for relief."

Disproof of Roosevelt's Claims
This attack on the relief workers and unemployed is sufficient disproof of Roosevelt's avowed claims that he seeks to raise the wages of workers. One of the best guarantees of high wages for the employed is a decent standard of relief for the unemployed; this was, in fact, the basis of the reactionary objections to CWA when it was first begun. Roosevelt's new curtailment of relief means that the New Deal's have come to see eye to eye with the most reactionary industrial elements.

Undoubtedly among the reasons for hastening the dissolution of CWA was the fear of bosses and government that if millions of workers were permitted to be grouped together for any length of time they would become organized.

(Continued on page 4)

Cuban Arrests

The reactionary Mendieta government, in its service to American imperialism, has instituted a vicious campaign of terror against the organized labor movement in general and its revolutionary vanguard in particular. A direct result of this terror was the recent arrest of comrade Sandalo Junco (see last week's *Militant*) and other militant and leading comrades of our Cuban section. Those of Spanish origin are being deported to Spain. The fate of the others is yet unknown.

Our Cuban comrades who are playing a militant and leading role in the heroic struggle of the Cuban working class against American imperialism and its native lackeys find themselves in a desperate situation. We have just received an urgent plea for financial assistance. It is the duty of every revolutionary worker to help our imprisoned Cuban comrades who are in desperate need. Send funds immediately. The need becomes more urgent daily. Don't wait. All communications should be addressed to Communist League of America, 126 East 14th Street, New York City.

CLUB PLAN DRIVE FOR 1000 MORE SUBS

The Club Plan drive for a thousand new subscribers terminated last week with the gratifying results of 1014 new subscriptions, as reported in the last issue.

Today, in response to the many requests which came to the office, we begin a drive for a second thousand.

The rules are the same as in the last drive.

A Club consists of four new six-month subscriptions at 25c each, paid in advance. For every dollar you receive four prepaid sub-cards which you dispose of later and mail in as you secure them.

That this low rate does not pay for the cost of production, goes

Minneapolis Workers Fight Starvation Program

Important Notice

An important meeting of all members and sympathizers of the Communist League in Greater New York will take place this Sunday, April 15, at 8 P.M.

Comrade James P. Cannon will report on the developments in the movement for a new Communist Party in this country, our relations and negotiations with other groups and next steps. Discussion will follow the report.

The meeting will be held at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Sympathizers will be admitted on special invitation cards to be secured at the City Office of the Communist League, 126 East 14th Street. You can call for these cards at the office all week, prior to Sunday, April 15.

Militant Demonstration of Ten Thousand Unemployed at City Hall

Minneapolis, Minn., Friday, April 6.—In the largest and by far the most militant demonstration here in recent years, over 10,000 unemployed workers voiced their opposition to the starvation program of the Roosevelt NRA administration. This demonstration, which marks a new stage in the development of the struggle of the unemployed, came as the result of the ending of the CWA work and its replacement by the RWA scheme of work relief on a pauper basis. The endless red tape of investigations, the discriminations and the arrogant hostility of the welfare board, particularly of I. S. Joseph, a member of this

board, added greatly to the dissatisfaction of the unemployed.

Last Tuesday morning at the regular meeting of the Welfare Board in the Court House, some 5,000 unemployed led by the United Relief Workers Association gathered and sent its committee of 23 to present the following demands:

A 40% increase in relief; No discriminations; Continuation of the CWA on a cash basis; No RWA or other forced labor schemes; Immediate relief for all dismissed CWA workers formerly on relief without investigation.

Refuses to Receive Committee

The Welfare Board refused to receive the committee on the pretext that "23 were too many". The workers who crowded the corridors were infuriated at this reply and crashed through the locked doors of the Mayor's Reception Room, where the Board was in session, sweeping aside the police massed there and were greeted by the retreating backs of the Welfare Board members who had hastily adjourned.

The leaders then announced that on Friday morning a demonstration would take place at the City Auditorium, where the Welfare Board was asked to be present and hear the demands of the workers. If the Board was not present the workers would then march to the Court House and again attempt to present the demands. At 9 o'clock Friday morning a large number of unemployed gathered outside the Auditorium. The Welfare Board failed to show up. Orderly lines were formed and the demonstration proceeded. Although all traffic cops had been brought into the police concentration at the Court House the march throughout was characterized by its orderliness, attesting to the mood of the workers. As the demonstrators circled the Court House the police were much in evidence, massed inside and outside the numerous entrances.

The marchers and onlookers, by this time numbering over 10,000, completely surrounded the building which occupies a square block. Mounting the low stone wall which runs around most of the building, the leaders, after a short speech or two, called upon the committee of 23 to assemble on the wall. The committee then proceeded and entered the courthouse, without any interference from the police, to present the demands to the city council which was then in session. The crowd remained orderly and listened to the speakers.

Cops Throw Tear Gas Bombs
A few minutes later a file of cops began to push through the crowd to

(Continued on page 4)

N. Y. Conference Against War Is Pacifist Affair

Anti-war conferences, sponsored by prominent individuals, which substitute generalities and futile pacifist fulminations against war for a concrete program of united action by workers' organizations, are the order of the day. The Stalinists set the fashion for these mass-querades. Now they have encountered the rivalry of the socialists in this field.

Following the departure of the socialists from the "League Against War and Fascism", separate conferences, engineered by individual socialists and pacifists, have been formed in various cities. The New York conference held a three-hour session at Town Hall Friday, April 6th.

Like the Stalinist conferences on the same subject it had more the character of a ceremonial mass meeting than a gathering to discuss and plan a serious fight against imperialist war. Also like its Stalinist prototype, the Friday conference was consecrated to the spirit of pacifism.

Extending the collaboration of the Communist League and the American Workers Party a step further, the two organizations presented a joint resolution to the conference. In the resolution, read to the conference by James Burnham of the American Workers Party and in a speech on the resolution by James P. Cannon of the Communist League the Communist point of view on the question of war was briefly outlined and concrete proposals were made for united front action of the workers' organizations, with political parties and groups taking the initiative in their own names.

No action was taken on the resolution except to refer it to a continuation committee for consideration at its first meeting. In view of the provisional nature of the conference and the possibility that exists of securing a consideration of the resolution in the continuation committee, which will contain representatives of all the participating organizations, the Communist League decided to remain with the conference in order to bring the revolutionary standpoint forward.

A notable feature of the conference was the failure of the Left Socialists, in particular the Revolutionary Policy Committee, to appear and present an independent point of view on the question of war.

Cannon to Speak On War and the 4th International

"War and the Fourth International" will be the topic for a lecture by comrade James P. Cannon on Sunday, April 22, at 8 P.M. This is the first of a new series of lectures on the international program.

In his lecture on the program of the Fourth International several weeks ago, Comrade Cannon dealt with the question of war very briefly since the time did not permit an extensive treatment of the subject. Following that lecture, we have received many requests that the more important phases of Cannon's programmatic lecture receive special treatment in separate lectures.

In complying with these requests, we have chosen the question of war as the first lecture in the series. War is the primary touch-stone of a revolutionary party. The Second International was put to test in the World War and it revealed its complete bankruptcy. The policies of the Third International, in combating the danger of war through the so-called anti-war congresses, in which it uses all sorts of liberal intellectuals and pacifists as its front, reveal that there is nothing to be expected from this quarter in the fight against the impending war.

Other lectures to follow in the series will deal with the Trade Union question, Fascism and the United Front.

The lectures will be held at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. Questions and discussion from the floor will follow the lecture. Admission will be 15 cents.

Anti-Fascist Dinner For Bellussi

A dinner to Anthony Bellussi, trade unionist and anti-Fascist, who has been ordered deported for his activities by the Federal authorities, is to be given by a committee of his comrades and friends at Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and Ninth Street, Friday, April 20, at 7:30 P.M.

The committee includes Roger Baldwin, Louis Budenz, James Burnham, James P. Cannon, Elliot E. Cohen, Max Eastman, Herman Gund, Sidney Hook, Rose Karsner, A. J. Muste, Elinor Rice, James Rorty, Herbert Solow and Carlo Tresca.

Bellussi had to flee Italy in 1924 because of his opposition to Mussolini's regime. He came to this country and worked as a coal miner in Pennsylvania. He was active in the United Mine Workers Union.

Arrested June 17

On June 17 of last year, Bellussi was one of a crowd listening to an open air meeting held by "General" Art Smith in Wilkesbarre, Pa. Smith is the same khaki shirt leader who now faces trial in Brooklyn for his perjury attempt to railroad a worker, Terzani, to the electric chair.

Federal agents, scattered in the crowd, pounced upon Bellussi when he sought to argue with the speaker. He was "detained" for questioning. His home was searched and radical literature found. Bellussi was ordered deported.

Bellussi spent 10 miserable months in jail, and was finally ordered deported to Italy, where death or torture in the hands of the Fascist butchers awaits him. Through the intercession of friends and militant labor organizations, he is temporarily spared this fate.

He has been granted the right of voluntary departure to South America. Unless the fare can be raised, however, this right will be lost, and he will be sent to Italy. He must leave before May 1.

Speakers at Dinner

To raise his fare, and to protest against the deportation policy of the Government, the dinner is being held, under the auspices of the Bellussi Anti-Fascist Dinner Committee.

Bellussi—at present free on bail supplied by the Civil Liberties Union—is to speak at the dinner. Other speakers will be James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America; A. J. Muste, of the American Workers Party; Quincy Howe, editor of the *Living Age*; Herbert Solow, of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*.

Tickets are 50 cents each, and may be obtained through Elinor Rice, treasurer, 151 E. 83rd Street, New York City.

Foes of Fascism, enemies of reaction, friends of the working class, of whatever shade of political belief, are urged to attend.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The C. P. Convention

Judging by reports in the "Daily Worker", ovations and the singing of the International was the main purpose of the C. P. convention. From "loud and prolonged applause lasting several minutes" for "the leaders and disciples"—Stalin, Browder, Stachel, etc., down to a simple ovation for the "Martyr of Madison Square" (Hathaway), the delegation went through the whole gamut of ovations. They were finally so well trained that any mention of "granite and steel", brought the entire convention to its feet. They knew that meant Stalin. And by the way, after Hathaway's ill-fated exploit at Madison Square, he is considered such a pushover that even Browder has pushed him to page 5 of the Daily Worker.

Convention Highlights

(Extracts from the Daily Worker's report of the Convention)

"When we make mistakes let them be new ones"—A Delegate
 "A tremendous ovation greeted Browder. His clear simple words were listened to with bated breath."—Olin.

"After applauding and cheering Stalin for several minutes, the delegation sang the International."

"It was only when we opened fire on the Social Fascists in Southern Illinois, especially the Muskettes, that we made the first inroads among the miners."—Bill Gilbert.

"With Comrade Browder leading us we can and will go forward to win the masses of the American workers. We will go forward to Soviet America."—delegate Hudson

"To some the Open Letter is a secret letter"—A Delegate
 "The entire party must have a daily consciousness of control tasks and concentration points"—B. Gebert.

"I don't know whether I have a parliamentary deviation or not, but I really have an ambition to go to Congress. I think we can find five or six who ought to be convinced of the necessity of making a really serious election campaign."—E. Browder.

"The largest number of delegates joined since the Open Letter was issued last summer" (And will no doubt be out in time for next summer's self-criticism.)

The "D. W." reports that "Browder's masterly report lasted for six hours." We pass by the "masterly report". What interests us is the masterly endurance of the delegates. Despite the recesses given to cheer Stalin and sing the International this six-hour record undoubtedly sets a new mark for collective endurance and discipline.

Horse Thieves and Politicians

Assemblyman Lawrence M. Hamilton, nephew of J. P. Morgan, denied last week that the legislators at Albany were "horse thieves". We are ready to accept his denial and, furthermore, we do not believe they are cattle rustlers either. The letter of Senator Thayer to the Associated Gas and Electric Company show that at least one senator didn't have to do any small time stealing. Times change and so do customs. The horse thieves of yesterday become the "honest" politicians of today.

LaGuardia—S. P.—C.P.

Thanks to the leadership of the S. P. and C. P. the working class of New York is shown the edifying spectacle of the mayor being called in to settle disputes between these two "revolutionary" parties on the question of the use of Union Square on May Day. Last year the police arbitrated the difference. This year an impartial committee appointed by LaGuardia is to serve as arbitrator. The "united front from below" certainly leads to strange maneuvers as Stalinism trails the name of Communism in the mud.

Suicide

"The problem of unemployment, the constant anguish of increasing poverty, the losing struggle to keep a home for his children ended today for Richard Fairservice. He had lost his job, his money, and saw his two children sent to live with relatives. Today he was handed an eviction order—He stretched himself on the floor and fired a bullet through his brain"—N. Y. Evening Post, April 3.

Another one in the endless stream of suicides, workers driven to despair by the insane capitalist system. Is it not about time that "the problem of unemployment, the constant anguish of increasing poverty, the losing struggle to keep a home for his children" be ended for us all? Not by stretching out on the floor and firing bullets into our own brains but by standing up on our feet and collectively blowing out what passes for brains in the insane head of rotting capitalism.

SEND A DOLLAR FOR FOUR PREPAID SIX-MONTHS SUB CARDS ON THE CLUB PLAN.

Letters to the Editor

The Furriers Again

To the Editor of the Militant:

The majority of fur workers loathe the International not only because its leadership is (or was) corrupt, stupid and ineffectual, but because the Union was FORCED UPON THEM BY THE BOSSES. This is an undeniable fact, and once it is recognized, the mystery of why the Industrial Union has the furriers and not the cloakmakers or dressmakers, is explained. Since the day the dual union, the International, was formed, fur workers considered it an appendage of the Association. And with justification. For without the aid and backing of the bosses, the union COULD NEVER HAVE EXISTED.

Today, for the sake of argument, I'll grant Koenig that the leadership is more honest, but this does not negate the fact that once again the council had to depend on an agreement with the Association to FORCE workers into joining it. They did not represent the workers. And today, as in 1927, furriers rebel against being coerced into a union against their will, a union they had never wanted, never liked, and, given a free choice, would never vote for in a referendum.

The question, then, centers down to this: Should the Communist League be a party to herding workers into a union they correctly regard as a bosses' agency? To do so, I think, would be a fallacy, for any group which proposes such a step, will be viewed with suspicion by the more class-conscious elements among the furriers. Just what policy the International Communists SHOULD adopt, I cannot say; measured from all angles, the situation becomes complex and difficult.

I think, however, that a more correct attitude would be to take the position that: Party-controlled unions, so far, have proved ineffectual; they did not succeed in winning over the masses. What "Red" union is successful? Even the Industrial Union has the following of only one section of the needle trades, the furriers.

The duty of class-conscious elements, it can be argued, is to form the vanguard of wherever the masses are. If they are in the A. F. of L., then that is where the Left Wing should also be, not divorced from the masses, but in its midst.

With this premise, I think all factions, including the Party, will agree. Speaking of the Party, it is possible that from the current Cleveland convention, such an orientation will be more clearly developed. In that event, the troublesome situation among the furriers will be cleared up instantly. For, if the Industrial Union proposes unity with the International on the basis of free elections, it is a 90 to 9 bet that the Communist-led slate will be swept into office. Then and only then will the seemingly impossible One Union be achieved.

—JACKSON.

Expulsion from I.L.D.

To the Editor of the Militant:

Following is a report on the expulsion of Sam Silvers from the Newark I. L. D.

Sam Silvers, one of the two I.L.D. delegates to the Newark branch of the League Against War and Fascism, was expelled from the I.L.D. for demanding that the party substantiate the false charges on which it excluded the Communist League of America from the L. A. W. & F. The main charge was anti-Soviet activities.

At the first Executive Committee meeting of the League Against War following the exclusion of the Communist League, Silvers and others raised the demand that the party introduce evidence to support its charges. This demand was carried and referred to the next Executive Committee meeting. The party failed at the next meeting to introduce any evidence and Silvers' motion to recommend to the Credentials Committee that the C. L. be cleared of the charges was passed by a 7 to 6 vote with the I.W.O. and Jack London Club delegates supporting the motion.

When news of this rebellion with-

in the party's ranks spread Silvers

was immediately withdrawn from the League and brought up on expulsion charges. The charges

claimed that he had misrepresented the I. L. D.; supported an anti-Soviet group; sent a report to an enemy and used the I. L. D. to support an enemy's plans. Silvers in his defense pointed out that the party had been unable to substantiate its charges; that as an I.L.D. delegate he had every right to protest against injustice to another working class organization, and that the I.L.D. had no right to expel him for opposing a charge so false that even one party member on the League's Executive Committee had voted against the expulsion attempt and continued his opposition until the motion to refer to the credentials committee was passed.

A new member of the I.L.D. stood up and stated that when he had joined he understood that the I.L.D. was a non-partisan organization. The vote to expel Silvers soon convinced him that he was mistaken.

—NEWARK WORKER.

Los Angeles Milliners

To the Editor of the Militant:

In their sectarian antics the Stalinists do not consider the interests of the workers.

Altho several hundred workers belong to the local of the International Millinery Workers Union, Local 48, the policy of the Stalinists has steadfastly been to estrange and isolate the handful of active unionists at their command from the workers of the International by maintaining the Millinery Branch of the N.T.W.I.U. in a sectarian form.

The criminal results of this policy came out most clearly in the one day general strike called by the International Millinery Workers Union, Tuesday, March 21, 1934. Instead of furnishing leadership to the workers on strike the members of the Stalinist union were in many cases excluded from shop-meetings of the strikers.

In the pen shop town of Los Angeles the conciliatory policy of Zaritsky did not arouse any enthusiasm among the bosses until several hundred workers walked out on a one day strike.

Disruptionist Policy

The disruptionist policy engineered by Miller of the N.T.W.I.U. weakened the strike. The dragging of workers to the Industrial Union hall instead of strengthening the picket lines was the result of Miller's directives. Most of these workers joined the International and turned against the Industrial Union.

The settlement registers a slight gain for the workers that can be greatly improved upon by the workers in the shop if they will take a stand to enforce the provisions of the Agreement, which include: Equal division of work, Recognition of the shop committees, raises of from one to four dollars and

no black-list.

These provisions will only be strictly enforced in those shops where there are a sufficient number of the union members to enforce them.

—SAMUEL MEYERS

A Pacifist Morass

New Haven.—The New Haven League Against War and Fascism held an anti-war meeting on April 6th in Central Parish Church. This meeting, together with the entire program of the "anti-war" week, was endorsed by various ministers and rabbis of the town.

The usual Stalinist argument for the League is that it gives the Communist Party a chance to present the revolutionary program before a larger audience to the discredit of the pacifist program. Such an argument, however, would never suffice to justify this meeting as no "Communist" speaker was allowed to present his position.

The chairman, B. P. Murphy, a divinity student at Yale, opened the meeting and introduced the main speaker, Dr. Mendenhall of Columbia University. The latter gave a plea for anti-war activity, intimating that wars were caused by armaments manufacturers, and asserted that we could prevent war if we followed the program of the League. The concluding speaker, M. Sapir, chairman of the New Haven League, and a Stalinist supporter, reiterated the last remark. In short, the meeting was entirely a pacifist one.

In the question period, originally scheduled to be a discussion period, Murphy ordered a young worker to sit down because the latter had expressed disagreement with the tenor of the meeting and had said "what we need is a revolution." The audience, mostly Stalinists, did not protest the chairman's peremptory action.

A member of the Communist League then arose and asked Mendenhall if he thought that war could be prevented without the overthrowing of capitalism, the breeder of wars; and if capitalism could be overthrown by any other means than by a civil war. Refusing to give a direct answer, the speaker returned the questions and asked what our comrade thought. The latter answered his own questions in the negative and said that the spreading of the idea that war can be prevented without the ending of capitalism was harmful to the workers and should be condemned.

A C. P. war vet then stood up and urged that we take the capitalists' bullets and use them against them. Evidently he doesn't know the new Party line. He will probably be reprimanded for his tactlessness in embarrassing the C. P.'s new pacifist allies. After this, the chairman, red in the face, hastily adjourned the meeting.

The pacifist talk of the meeting which only served to confuse the class-conscious workers, was made all the more ridiculous by the fact that there were scarcely two dozen non-Stalinists at the meeting.

—M. G.

Shachtman on Tour

Williston, N.D.

Williston, North Dakota.—Comrade Shachtman delivered a lecture in the courthouse at Williston, North Dakota, April - at 8 P. M. Over two hundred city workers and farmers listened attentively for more than two hours while he delivered his lecture on "America Heading Toward Another War." He also dealt with Fascism which has destroyed the workers' organizations of several countries of Europe.

He blamed the official Communist party (Stalin group) for its false policy and indifference while the Fascist bloodhounds were organizing their forces to crush the workers.

Comrade Shachtman showed how inactive the nationalistic Stalinists were in this fight. The next morning we heard he was hired by Wall Street to fight the American C. P. This of course came from a bit mind of the party. We want Comrade Shachtman to come back to Williston again in the near future.

—A. G. MILLER

Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—The meetings arranged by the Minneapolis branch for comrade Shachtman were very successful. Three public meetings were held, two in Minneapolis and one in St. Paul. All three meetings were well attended and were followed by interesting discussions, testifying to the increasing interest of the workers in the program of the League.

The house party was attended by 70 people among whom were several new contacts. Comrade Shachtman gave a short talk on the history of the Communist League of America and its perspective for future developments of the labor movement as a whole, and the need for a new international party in America. The talk was well received; those present showing their sympathy with the work of the C.L.A. by contributing liberally to the collection.

Speech on "Austrian Events"

Sunday morning, March 25th, comrade Shachtman spoke at the Labor Lyceum. The subject of this lecture was the "Lessons of the Austrian Events". This meeting was sponsored by the Labor Lyceum Open Forum Committee. About 75 people listened attentively to the lecture. Shachtman traced the history of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and its leadership, showing how at the crucial moment it was unable to defend even the most elementary "rights" and the very existence of their organizations themselves which the workers had built up through many long years of struggle.

He also demonstrated how the pernicious theory of the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism, when applied in practice, led to the blackest reaction. Several S. P. members and sympathizers were in the hall but only one was so unaffected by the arguments as to defend and try to justify the Socialist policies. It was quite clear to the audience, however, that despite the heroism of a small minority of the Austrian leaders who stood beside them on the barricades the leadership and policy of the Austrian Social Democracy stand condemned once again in the eyes of the world's working class for this colossal betrayal of 1934.

Downtown Meeting

At the downtown mass meeting comrade Shachtman addressed an audience of 250. Speaking on the subject of "Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America", he went into a detailed description of the birth, the life, and the death of the last two Internationals and gave the reasons for the necessity of building a new revolutionary 4th International. The lecture was followed by a question and discussion period which lasted till 12:30 A.M. with approximately 100 workers remaining in the hall until finally the caretaker threatened to turn out the lights and the meeting was forced to adjourn.

Once again, we had the good fortune to have with us a certain Walter Frank, who attempted to discredit the work of our comrades in the recent coal strike by some cheap demagoguery and factual dis-

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The Militant
 126 E. 16th St.

UNDER THE NRA

Federal Unions and Company Unions

The two outstanding types of new organization forms developing under the NRA are the Federal Unions of the A. F. of L. and the Company Unions.

The labor agents of the capitalists are attempting to use the Federal Union to prevent the crystallization into genuine industrial unions. The Company Union is composed by the bosses to the trade unions of the workers. It is the instrument of the dominant capitalists who feel strong enough to reject the class collaboration program of the conservative labor leaders. The struggle for industrial unions under class struggle leadership is the order of the day for the class conscious workers of America.

Dr. Wirt and the NRA

The sensation mongers have found their "revolutionary plot" in Dr. Wirt's story to Bulwinkle's House Committee, which charges Tagwell and other members of the "Brain Trust" with conspiring to destroy the social order.

We know nothing about the conversations of these "Brain Trust" reformers and defenders of capitalism. But we do know that a social change, from decaying capitalism to socialism, cannot be brought about through the NRA and the other machinery set up under the "New Deal". We know that the working class will have to raze the bourgeois state to the ground, along with the class collaboration mechanism now being constructed under the codes, through a social revolution.

Talk of "revolution" by a few reformers and parlor pinks like Lawrence Todd has no significance in itself. But the investigation and ballyhoo about these conversations is good propaganda for the opportunists and social reformers who tell the workers that the NRA is an instrument that can be used by the workers for their own interests.

Open Shop and Company Unions

Already throughout the country signs indicate that the capitalists are taking full advantage of President Roosevelt's interpretation of Section 7a in the auto strike settlement. The interpretation guarantees the open shop and the company union. In the new period of labor struggles that we have already entered such a guarantee is a powerful weapon in the hands of the capitalists. Especially when this is coupled with the existing NRA straightjacket and the "outlawing" of strikes under the codes.

If the bosses can be assured of such a labor policy from the "liberal" Roosevelt for the coming period they will be satisfied. However, the workers have not yet spoken. When they do, the Roosevelts, Johnsons, Hillmans and Greens had better run for cover.

Mrs. Pinchot Says Wall Street Rules Johnson

Mrs. Pinchot says Wall Street rules Johnson and that the general is using his high office to thwart the workers and small business men.

We think it is best to tell the whole story. The NRA and all that goes with it is the attempt of the American imperialists to reorganize the internal economic structure, to eliminate the weak and small sections, to consolidate and centralize industry and capital through cartels and, at the same time, to hold the changing class relations in the straitjacket of class-collaboration.

The NRA is of, for and by the capitalists. Johnson and all the others, down to Green and Hillman, are their lackies. The friction in the camp of these enemies of the workers, from Wall Street's direct representatives to the A. F. of L. leaders, is not over the question of exploiting the workers or not exploiting them. They disagree, rather, as to how to exploit the workers in such a way as to create as little friction and class war as possible.

The champion sub getter of the New York local, Harry Ross, is touring the country, on his way to California. He will continue his excellent work wherever he goes, and comrades are asked to cooperate with him, so that the Militant sub drive goes over the second thousand mark.

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An Appeal to Our Sympathizers

It is easy to be a sympathizer of a movement if all it means is "platonic friendship". We feel, however, that our readers and sympathizers are more than that. That they are ready to participate actively in the life of the organization, whenever and wherever possible. One way of doing this is to help in our efforts to stabilize the Militant. To make it possible for us to broaden the circulation. To enable us to send the paper to all who want to read it regularly but cannot afford to pay the full rates.

In the sub column we print a letter from a worker that tells this story better than we could. We have many more such letters.

Help us send the Militant to all of them.

Demonstrate concretely that you are interested in the life of the Militant.

MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION OR PLEDGE TO-DAY.

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The Cuban Situation After Grau

Grau's government has crashed, and with it all the "groups" and "sectors" that chorused its shouting for the four hectic months. In spite of its war apparatus, in spite of its menacing gestures, in spite of its appeals for "Law and Justice," it was displaced from power without a serious attempt at resistance on its part.

A simple diplomatic maneuver by Caffery with Batista's avowed complicity was sufficient to sweep out, like a little heap of refuse, the Government of the "True Revolution." All the demagogic adulation of the people, all its desires for the "nationalization of labor," all of its criminal legislation dealing with the famous 80 per cent move, was of no use to Grau's government. Upon the first threat of a change, the groups directed by Brangier and the "National Reconquest" mob, the loud-mouthed legion of professional "Cubansists," which, backed by the armed forces, made a practice of attacking workers' centers, decamped leaving to its fate the "authentic revolutionists." And the lumpen proletariat, always ready to back new masters, is again going thru the contortions ordered by the old politicians of the bourgeois parties.

The Petty Bourgeois Farce

The first act of the petty bourgeois farce is ended. As the curtain falls, new political experimenters appear before us. There are Menocalists, clever at all sorts of tricks and ready for all crimes, old Machadistas, unscrupulous nationalists, in short, the entire assortment of political dabblers, who are now repeating the escapades they tried in the days of Cespedes, who are now walking arm in arm with Caffery as they did yesterday with Welles. At their head is old Colonel Mendieta, who bends his knee loyally in the service of Yankee finance in the name of "peace and friendship." Behind these puppets is the omnipresent American ambassador and Batista with his iron hand, utilizing the U. S. ambassador for the imposition of his designs on the country. Camp Columbia rules today more effectively than in Grau's days. Usciano is in the Palace; Colonel Mendieta reigns but does not govern.

The liquidation of the Grau government is complete. It is our task now to draw up a balance sheet for the Cuban proletariat, indicating the lessons to be drawn from the tragic experience with the petty bourgeois rulers. These lessons will be of value in future battles.

Position of the Bolshevik-Leninists

From the very first days of September, we Bolshevik-Leninists said that the insurrection of September 4 had a profound revolutionary content. The very technique employed, bringing the intervention of the soldiers and classes, and the demagogic program flaunted by the petty bourgeois of the Junta of Five obliged the government to certain measures that might have made possible the broadening out of the revolutionary movement. We affirmed that the hegemonous role of the petty bourgeoisie led the government to an indecisive policy of zigzags. The ascendant march of the Revolution, the formidable strike struggles of the proletariat forced the Government to aggressive acts against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. This did not exclude, as we said a hundred times, repression against the proletariat, and even barbarous acts, against which we should always fight.

The correct position of the vanguard of the working class hinges on an understanding of a situation. The tactics followed had to be conditioned by living reality, and had to follow the ascendant rhythm of the revolution.

The Fight for Revolutionary Juntas

To ardently continue the work of regrouping the proletariat, to exact from the petty bourgeois Government the fulfillment of its own demagogic program (Revolutionary tribunals, the distribution of land, the Constituent Assembly, etc.); to fight for the constitution of Revolutionary Juntas, as a step to the organization of Soviets, and at the same time carry on intensive work among the masses to prepare the latter for defense against the aggression of the Government, such were the tasks set for itself by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party.

We continued to maintain that such tactics would maintain the movement on the upgrade, and as a result the Government would soon pass from words to compromising acts. The day would come when the cowardly petty bourgeoisie would have to turn against the masses. The entire effectiveness of our tactics lay in that we insisted on making use of this period to give the workers the force necessary for further advance.

But stupidity and the inability to understand is characteristic of Stalinism. Devoid of any critical judgment of reality, they launched the slogan of Soviets as soon as the

DeCespedes government fell. They screamed against the "murderous Grau-Batista-Carbo government" describing it as a "bourgeois-feudal landowners-imperialist block." And then they called for the insurrection. The official Communist Party, taking a schematic and sectarian stand, led the proletariat to massacre, and caused it to lose confidence in its own revolutionary capacity. The 29th of September was the culmination of that political imbecility. The day of Melia's burial was decided on as the day of the insurrection, and then the army, which had already begun to fraternize with the workers, massacred the latter in the streets of Havana.

C. P. Loses Its Bearings

Then the Party, losing all its bearings, launched the call for a general strike. This would have led to the most complete rout of the workers if the Labor Federation of Havana, foreseeing the disaster, had not then shown the way. The Bolshevik-Leninists succeeded in having the workers returned to their positions, and this is the reason why the present period of struggle is not closed.

But this was not sufficient to heal the wound made by the adventurers. The disorder provoked in the proletarian ranks enabled the Government to stop short the workers' offensive. The sectarian adventures of the Stalinists explain in part the harm produced by the 50 per cent law and other decrees of fascist nature. The weakness of the proletariat in opposing such decrees, and the cowardice of the official party are results of the adventure of September 29th.

The Duty of the Vanguard

Therefore the displacement of the Grau government by a rightist block, manufactured by Caffery finds the proletariat in a defensive attitude. It is the duty of the revolutionary vanguard to take careful cognizance of this fact: The immediate task of the day is a fight without quarter against the fascist laws and in defense of the conquests won such as the eight-hour day in all industries. In these battles, which will assume gigantic proportions in the sugar mills, it is possible to build more firm resistance for the beginning of greater struggles by the union organizations. A realistic acquaintance with our past acts and methods are essential in guiding our future revolutionary activity.

—Translated from "Rayo" organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba.

A Centrist Attack on Marxism

LEON TROTSKY

Dear Comrade Sneevliet:

I was much interested in the theoretical article of Comrade de Kadt ("A few Remarks on the Program of the New International") as it represents a very important theoretical avowal of one of the leaders of the O.S.P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland—ed.). I thought at first of waiting for the completion of this article in the "De Nieuwe Weg." But as I note this article still remains unfinished. But even what has appeared suffices. We know that centrism always holds back with its strength from entering the field of "gray theory" precisely because it does not want to reveal itself clearly. De Kadt found himself impelled by the whole situation to take a stand on the programmatic problems of the New International, and this step of his can be regarded as nothing short of ominous.

In this letter I wish to touch on only a few points which, though lying in different planes, are equally characteristic of centrist thinking.

A Non-Orthodox Point of View

"It is not our task," de Kadt writes, "already to present today the formulations which we consider necessary. The aim of these remarks is to establish in advance our right (!) to defend a non-orthodox point of view in the coming programmatic discussion." Here it is a question—is it not?—of working out the fundamental principles of the New International. It would be difficult to conceive in this epoch of a more important document. Under the circumstances what should be the most urgent, immediate, deepest need of every Marxian revolutionist? At the least, the formulation of the most important observations, generalizations, statements and slogans which should be incorporated in the program precisely because it concerns the vital matter of giving the uprooted, disoriented, disappointed, groping workers the answer to the burning questions of our period. At least so the question appears to us, "orthodox" Marxists.

Not so, however, to de Kadt. He approaches the problem in a purely individualistic, subjective, dilettante fashion. For him it is not a question of formulating definite ideas, but of reserving the "right" to present a "non-orthodox" point of view in the future. The question of program is however not a question of right. What needs to be presented is the point of view

and not the right to the point of view. Nobody in the working class world is particularly concerned about whether anybody has the "right" to bring to light at some later day a non-orthodox point of view. What one wants to know is the point of view itself so as to test its real content. But the secret lies in the fact that the centrist has in general no definite, clear-cut, well-thought-out point of view. Therefore, he remains content with the right . . . to have no point of view.

The Class Theory of Society

Immediately following the above words of de Kadt, the latter continues as follows: "To give an example: must we continue to speak of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' when in reality the dictatorship can be exercised only through the socialist portion of the proletariat and the non-proletarian elements that are devoted to socialism? In reality we have to deal with a 'socialist dictatorship,' a dictatorship exercised through socialists for socialism." Well said indeed: "to give an example!" The critic does not notice at all that by his "example" he attempts to sweep away, in passing as it were, the whole structure of Marxism. For here it is not a question of the name dictatorship of the proletariat but of the essence of the class theory of society. Marx who at any rate was not satisfied with the mere right to ideas but had many a good one, considered the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as precisely his most important contribution to the science of society.

Back in 1852 Marx stated to Weydemeyer that the class theory of society had been discovered and formulated long before him by bourgeois scientists, that he—Marx—applied this theory to the further development of capitalist society, carrying it to its final conclusion, that is to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin wrote his book "State and Revolution" in which he clarified this fundamental Marxian tenet and freed it from the "non-orthodox" revisionist fog of Kautsky, Otto Bauer, etc.

Now comes de Kadt with his "right to a point of view" and makes plain to us "for instance" on the dictatorship of the proletariat: "Nothing of this sort exists at all," since in reality "the dictatorship is realized only through the socialist portion of the proletariat" and what is more, non-proletarians participate in it too. In other words, it is not a matter of the dictatorship of a class, but of a rule of a like-minded group, a gathering of people around the idea of socialism. Thus we see that not classes decide in history but ideas. It follows therefore that every self-respecting person must safeguard his right to ideas. De Kadt counters to Marxism "for instance" a through and through idealistically metaphysical philosophy of history. A dozen lines suffice for him to break from the fundamentals of Marxism.

Ideas and Classes

We poor "orthodox" ones believe even today that not ideas determine the fate of society but classes; that social ideas—as the old, wise Italian Antonio Labriola said—do not fall from heaven, but give expression to immediate or historic interests of classes. The "idea" of socialism is the theoretical expression of the historic trend of the proletariat coordinated with the logical development of capitalist society. The relation between class and "idea" is not mechanical but dialectic. The class attains self-consciousness not through revelation but through difficult struggle which takes also the form of an internal struggle within the proletariat itself. So—by your leave—our struggle against centrism is an important component part of the struggle of the working class for self-knowledge. It is inevitable.

The Austrian Constitution

The new Austrian Constitution, according to recent press dispatches, is basing itself on the papal encyclical issued by "His Holiness," Pope Pius on May 15, 1931.

There will be a "legislative" chamber composed of 59 delegates—all elected by State officials and the church. The duties of the "legislature" will be limited to accepting or rejecting measures submitted by the government.

Correspondent Gedge, of the N. Y. Times, summed up the situation as follows: "Other autocracies, even Hitlerism, preserve the outward form—however worthless it is in practice—of a popular vote. In the new Austrian autocracy general elections find no place in the constitution."

The Dollfus government has also issued a decree that anyone is liable to detention in a concentration camp for an indefinite period merely on suspicion of having worked for a forbidden political party.

therefore that in the process of development of the proletariat a crystallization of the most advanced, far-sighted, courageous, of the elite, of the real vanguard, should take place. And only through the aid of this, its most important organ, can the proletariat fulfill its historic mission, that is to conquer power and maintain it in the form of a dictatorship until the complete liquidation of all antagonisms. That it is a question of a dictatorship of a class is proved by the relation between the class and its vanguard: without the support of the vast majority of the class the establishment of a workers' state would be impossible. That the proletarian revolution is however accomplished through the intermediation of the vanguard is explainable by the heterogeneity of the proletariat as it is given us by history. Marx operated not with bare abstractions ("Class," "Socialism") but with historic realities, their actual interrelations and their effects on each other.

Historic Role of Classes

That deserters from other classes participate in the dictatorship is explained by the fact that we deal with living social matter in which classes merge into one another, affect one another, and not with the druggist's compartments in which each preparation has its special packing and label. It is precisely the decisive historic role of classes that imparts to the progressive class the ability to carry along with it the best elements of other classes. To declare the class theory null and void on this account, as de Kadt does, is the same as denying the law of gravity because a balloon travels up and not down.

De Kadt takes next another "example," this time not against Marx, but against Lenin: "Why must we," he asks, "accept in our program the 'Soviet principle,' since not even a trace of proof exists that the 'Soviets' were anything (!) else than temporary (!), improvised (!) forms of organization in which the masses unite immediately prior to and immediately after the struggle for power." The idealist and metaphysician is not inclined to attribute to the "Soviet principle" any great importance, for Soviets are nothing more than "temporary" forms of organization; they serve the proletariat only "immediately prior to and immediately after the struggle for power." We Marxists are not at all set upon including in our program "eternal," "everlasting" values; we are satisfied just with "temporary" things like Soviets, which—and de Kadt admits this too—are instruments of the seizure and maintenance of power by the proletariat. So far that is completely sufficient for us. We are willing to grant the "right" to de Kadt and his co-thinkers in future to invent far more "eternal" forms of organization; first however let them try at least to create "temporary" soviets and to conquer power.

Echoes of Bernstein

In this fashion I could take up the whole article sentence by sentence to prove that—excepting for meaningless platitudes—de Kadt's article consists only of horrible mistakes against the fundamentals of Marxism. De Kadt never mentions the lights that have given him inspiration. Certainly they are not Marx, Engels and Lenin. But in his latest, revisionist revelations we find only echoes of Bernstein, of the German Neo-Kantians and also of the Austro-Marxists. And all that should serve for the setting up of the program of the New International? Oh no! De Kadt will have to look for some different application for this.

Our critic is very harsh with regard to Bolshevism, even the genuine—Lenin. He does not want to "idealize" it. That is not at all necessary. But what de Kadt says on Leninism is truly lamentable. We are faced here not with principled criticism but with distorted facts, anachronisms, misunderstood relations, false, personal estimations, etc. Refuting all this would, without being of any great value, take up too much time. It is sufficient to establish here, that de Kadt criticizes most severely the "system of Lenin-Trotsky," in order to attach himself to the system of . . . Trammell. Hand in hand with the Norwegian social-democracy which is only the diluted edition of Austro-Marxism de Kadt wants in a "revolutionary" manner to reconstitute the international working-class movement . . . on the basis of principles which will be revealed to us only later.

We do not want to dispute anyone's "right" to a distorted point of view. But to the Dutch workers we want to say with full conviction: To build a party on the philosophy of de Kadt is to build on sand. Beware of doing so; build on Marxian granite!

—L. TROTSKY.

March 16, 1934

A Year of Roosevelt's New Deal

Article III

Industrial recovery is now under way with "irresistible force," says Alfred I. Sloan Jr., president of the General Motors Corporation, in his report of the corporation's business for 1933. He also added that the labor section of the NRA must be clarified "or there is the certainty of industrial strife the equal of which this country has not yet seen."

Nobody needs to doubt that Sloan spoke from the point of view of his class. As the president of the General Motors corporation he represents the most hard-boiled section of monopoly capitalism. They definitely oppose union organization in any form, save the company union, as long as union organization can possibly be prevented. But that is not exceptional. All employers; do; only they are not all equally able to resist as the General Motors corporation is. Yet in face of this fact—which nobody will deny—Section 7a of the NRA, which was sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, recognizes the right of collective bargaining to the workers. Does this mean a conflict of viewpoint and policies within capitalism?

The NRA Illusion

From official A. F. of L. circles this is actually the way in which the matter is presented. According to these labor agents of capitalism, the Roosevelt New Deal is a new deal for labor. According to them the policies of his administration are friendly to labor and fighting for its rights against such hard-boiled concerns. At the inception of the NRA this presentation was accepted among the broadest working class strata. They had implicit faith in the NRA.

Now practical experience teaches them something else. The automobile workers learned to their regret that there were no great differences at the recent Washington conference. The automobile manufacturers and President Roosevelt, together with their special agents, Green and Collins, succeeded in spiking the automobile workers' strike for a union, at least for the time being. And since then the President appointee on the automobile labor board cooperated consistently with the manufacturers to stall the movement further until the busy season is over and thereby disorganized its attempts to get action.

Unionism the Issue

Throughout the whole of the NRA experiences so far the main issue of ever sharpening conflicts concerns the question of union organization. Today it is most acute in the automobile industry, tomorrow it will come to a head in other industries. Everywhere the mechanism created by the New Deal program, the industrial codes, the labor boards and the arbitration schemes, appear in operation as means to harness the labor movement within definitely laid out channels. In that there is a specific function assigned to the reactionary trade union leaders.

During the crisis the general wage standard had become vastly reduced, as was the standard of living for the working class as a whole. How to maintain this crisis level—or keep near as possible to this level—while advancing commodity prices in order to restore the profit increment and finally set the wheels of industry into motion—this was the problem which the owners of capitalist monopoly concerns set out to solve in their reorganization for "recovery."

Peaceful class relations would be the main prerequisite. Restlessness from the millions of unemployed had to be allayed, actual convulsions ensuing from their desperate position had to be prevented. Some measure against a resurgence of labor militancy had to be found. But the general leveling process by which the formerly privileged skilled sections became further reduced, left the conservative unions, composed almost exclusively of these skilled crafts, almost entirely out of the picture.

Role of Craft Unionism

In the past their officials could be relied upon to uphold their end of the system of cooperation with capitalism. They had been able to turn the conservative craft unions into an instrument to hold the rest

of the working class in subjection by attaining special privileges such as higher wages for their specific crafts, by keeping the unskilled without organization and, thereby, also on a much lower wage level.

These officials have not changed; but on the old narrow union basis they could no longer furnish the guarantee of holding the masses in check—a condition required for capitalism to issue out of the crisis on the backs of the workers. It therefore became necessary to permit a broader scope of the conservative unions in order to make possible the extension of the system of class collaboration and make of it a permanent institution. That is what is really meant by Section 7a of the NRA. The labor agents of capitalism were given a wider field in which to function as salesmen for the New Deal.

Basic Policy of Capitalists

It is this social relation feature which is the most fundamental aspect of the New Deal Program. While the hard-boiled monopoly concerns, such as now the General Motors corporation, put the most stubborn resistance to union recognition—for that is what Sloan means when he demands "clarification"—this cannot shield the fact that there is agreement in the main amongst the various capitalist representatives in the matter of basic policy towards labor. While each section will fight for special advantages and special modifications for their own benefit, in principle they will support the idea of recognizing and extending the conservative A. F. of L. unions as a means of preventing more militant organization and action.

In permitting the general extension of the conservative unions it is hoped thereby to draw a line of division more effectively between the employed and unemployed workers. The class collaboration system of which these union officials are to be the guardians is to become a more effective instrument to check the unemployed and keep them in subjection.

Force for Union Organization

But intent is one thing, the realities of life may be another. With the first steps toward a turn in the business cycle the economic pressure upon the workers increased enormously and rapidly. That itself was a powerful motive force for union organization. The workers entered the unions in masses but for quite different objectives than those intended by the NRA. For them it was a matter of regaining a standard of living.

And while today the masses from the very heart of basic industry flock into the existing unions, at the same time, due to the changes in the business cycle, the NRA regulations begin to impose severe restrictions upon them. Resentment is held back only by still lingering hopes, or it is diffused by the various mechanisms of arbitration. But this can succeed only in postponing the decision of what course the working class will take. The resentment is bound to accumulate and is due to be let loose in a series of explosive class battles. The longer they are postponed the more turbulent the explosions will be.

Unions at Crossroads

The conservative unions will be at their crossroads. Recently they have had a big influx of proletarians from the heavy industries. Their composition is being transformed. In that same measure the general working class interests will become more directly reflected within the unions. The more this is held back the more the resentment will accumulate within the unions.

At the same time every collision with the NRA code regulations and every conflict with the state forces, which are now much more integrated with the economic organs of capitalism, will be reflected within the unions in collisions between the rank and file workers and the reactionary officials. To the extent that the unions fail to adjust themselves, in objectives, in policy and in organization forms and methods, explosions will occur within them. But with that also a formidable basis for new unionism will develop.

—ARNE SWABECK.

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Minneapolis Workers Fight Hunger Program

(Continued from page 1)

the corner of 5th St. and 3rd Ave. where the speakers were. With little resistance from the workers the cops cleared a small space in front of the speakers. Suddenly a shower of tear gas bombs came sailing down from the upper windows of the courthouse. The workers, taken by surprise, began to fall back to escape the fumes.

But now it was the cops' turn, and they got the surprise of their lives! Instead of dispersing the demonstration, which was the purpose of this deliberate attack, the workers, giving way to the feelings of anger and indignation, brought about by five years of misery and the shattering of NRA illusions, began to fight back. Seizing the hot bombs with their bare hands they dug them back at the cops with such telling effect that the police ran like scared rats into the courthouse. The battle continued for some time with the workers bravely repelling the tear gas and completely defeating the attempts of the cops to disperse them.

Bombs thrown back by the militant workers crashed through windows of the building, forcing judges to adjourn their courts. These judges, according to newspaper reports, demanded that the police use machine guns and a number of these were set up inside the entrances. Fire apparatus, which was called to the scene, was not used as it was feared that the demonstrators would wreck it. The firemen clearly showed a reluctance to join in this despicable assault upon working men and women.

Arrest of Committee

In the meantime the committee of 23 had presented the demands to the City Council and after much wrangling the Council voted their approval. Upon leaving the Council room the committee was arrested. Outside, the workers, not knowing the fate of the committee, were now waiting for its return. The police, failing miserably in their attack, adopted the policy of watchful waiting. The leaders now made a serious mistake. Instead of raising a demand for the committee which had been gone two hours, and making preparations for an orderly adjournment, they allowed the demonstration to drag along for an hour more. By this time the crowd was tiring and getting restless.

A committee of five was selected to find out what had become of the committee of 23. Two of these men were arrested. Seeing that the workers were restless the cops started to drive wedges into the crowd and succeeded in splitting it up. But not without fierce hand to hand fighting in which more cops than workers were injured. Cops who were foolish enough to leave the protection of their squads were severely beaten. Once separated, the demonstrators were quickly dispersed. 38 workers were arrested, including most of the leaders, on charges of disorderly conduct. Seven workers and 8 cops were injured in the fight.

Fighting Qualities of Workers

This demonstration which again reveals the admirable fighting qualities of the American workers, once aroused, indicates that a new stage of the struggle of the unemployed has been reached. These workers in ever-increasing numbers are beginning to see that the "New Deal" is even worse than the old one. They are beginning to realize that the unemployed army is a permanent one under capitalism and that it is necessary to organize to defend their interests. To every serious worker the question of HOW to organize the unemployed is surely the most important one.

In this period, in which one of the greatest strike waves in the history of the American workers is developing, the greatest need is that of united action of all workers, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, on all fronts against the boss class. The only means of achieving this united action is through the policy of the UNITED FRONT. The united front tactic is simply the joint action of various labor organizations, trade unions etc. on a specific issue, such as for example, increased relief for the unemployed. These organizations, irrespective of their different opinions on other questions, come together, agree on a common program and carry it out.

Such a policy can weld the employed and the unemployed here in Minneapolis and elsewhere into a solid front to the advantage of both. Workers can readily understand this idea and should subscribe to it.

Stalinist Policy

From this point of view it is imperative that we examine the policy of the United Relief Workers Assn. and the Unemployed Councils. These organizations, controlled by the Stalinists, reject the united front tactic. Their method of organizing the unemployed into organizations without connections with the labor movement in general, results in a division of the working class. Many workers are deceived by the Stalinist policy of "United Front From Below". This policy is false because it prevents labor organizations as such from participation and calls upon individual workers to leave their organizations and leaders. Further, they demand absolute control of their "united front" and the acceptance of their policies in advance. This is a perversion of the genuine United Front in which all organizations collectively, decide what policy shall be pursued.

Here are two concrete examples of this perversion: Last Thursday morning a delegation from the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers went to the United Relief Workers Assn. and proposed united action of the two organizations in the demonstration. The M.C.C.W., which represents a number of labor organizations in the city working on a united front basis for the unemployed, asked for representation on the committee of 23 and a speaker at the demonstration. These were logical and fair requests, the granting of which would have been of great aid in broadening the representation from the labor movement as a whole. They were turned down.

For the United Front

The U.R.W.A. demanded that the M.C.C.W. sign a statement endorsing the U.R.W.A. policy and its demands. The M.C.C.W. delegation stated that it could not sign such a statement since the policy of the U.R.W.A. was not that of the united front.

ed front. They stated that the members of the M.C.C.W. would, nevertheless, participate in the demonstration in support of the demands.

At the demonstration a member of the M.C.C.W. volunteered some information to one of the speakers. Instead of welcoming the information, which was valuable at the time, and asking the support of all organizations of workers, the speaker launched into a violent and slanderous attack on the M.C.C.W. This is the Stalinist "united front from below" in action.

The Minneapolis Central Council of Workers has as its corner stone the idea that the interests of the organized and the unorganized, the employed and unemployed workers are identical. It is convinced that the policy of the united front will enable the workers to cope with the problems that confront them. It believes that the struggle of the unemployed has only begun and it attempts to bring the entire working class movement to the active support of the unemployed.

Trade union workers especially, should urge their organizations to action in building a united movement of this character. The instinctive desire of every worker is for unity of the class and the united front points the way.

—W. K.

Brownsville Branch

OPEN FORUM

"The United Front from a Socialist Viewpoint"

Speaker: HAROLD LUXEMBURG

Friday, April 13, 1934

SOCIAL AND DANCE

To celebrate the opening of our new Headquarters at 1776 Pitkin Avenue.

Extra, Comrade Sarah Meyer, formerly secretary to Leon Trotsky, will give her impressions of the life and work of the Exiled Revolutionist.

An apology to our comrades. The social and lecture by comrade Meyer scheduled for April 7th was called off due to conditions beyond our control. Comrade Meyer will positively appear Saturday, April 14th. You are cordially invited to attend.

The Labor Front

Reports from every section of the country seem to indicate that a new strike wave, unprecedented in the history of American labor, is in the process of fermentation. Whether this movement will take on a militant character or will be bottled up by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy depends on how effectively the conscious elements work in the mass trade union.

Canteleupe pickers in Imperial Valley are refusing to load melons unless their wages demands are met. The bosses' "Protective Association" has organized vigilante bands to break up workers meetings and have kidnapped and beaten up active organizers in an attempt to stem the discontent of the workers.

In Camden, N. J., the bosses' company union was unable to intimidate the 2,300 workers of the Campbell Soup Co. who voted to strike for recognition of their union and increase in wages.

7,300 C. W. A. workers in Syracuse and Onondago County won a wage increase from 40 to 50c after being out 3 days. While strike leaders were meeting with the Administration the strikers were preparing to march on Welfare offices and demand direct relief if their demands were not met. Similar walk-outs have been reported from Utica, Auburn, Rome, Birmingham, Ontario County and Seneca Falls.

10,000 newspaper workers in Canada are demanding a 6-hour day with no reduction in wages upon expiration of their agreement with the bosses April 30.

In Cleveland 800 workers of the Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation and 500 workers at the Sherwin-Williams plant are on strike. The situation was described by an A. F. of L. organizer as "like a charge of dynamite with fuse already sputtering."

While the auto workers' strike was temporarily headed-off by the NRA-Roosevelt-Green combination, the workers will soon learn that they can get nothing from this crew and will take matters into their own hands. The experience of the auto workers will be a lesson for the whole American labor movement. The NRA, the Labor Boards and the Greens will be exposed in their true colors—as strike breaking, reactionary outfits to be shunned by all workers.

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N.Y. MAY DAY CONFERENCE

The New York May Day conference held in the Rand School April 7th, after a lengthy discussion, elected a broad Arrangements Committee, representative of all major organizations and political tendencies present to arrange for what promises to be the largest May Day demonstration ever held in New York.

The call for the conference which was issued by the S. P. was addressed "to all trade union and fraternal organizations," thus ignoring all other political parties and groups. The delegates of the Communist League of America, the Spartacus Youth, and the American Workers Party were stopped at the door and not allowed to enter the hall until the credentials report was made at 10:15 P.M. A motion to seat all delegates was then carried.

The early part of the conference revolved around a discussion over an indoor meeting or an outdoor demonstration. The I.L.G.W.U. and some other unions had decided in favor of holding an indoor meeting at Yankee Stadium. The decision of the Conference was to go ahead with preparations for an outdoor demonstration and at the same time to try to convince the I.L.G.W.U. to take part.

A motion was made by a delegation to meet with the Conference called by the Communist Party. The chairman ruled, amid some disorder, that one speaker for and one against would be allowed. Wm. Matheson, a delegate of the Communist League, offered as a supplementary motion a series of proposals for a united demonstration in line with the statement issued to the delegates and published in the last issue of the Militant.

The chairman ruled this out of order. The motion was then put and defeated by the overwhelming majority composed of Socialist and trade union delegates. A motion by Zimmerman of the I.L.G.W.U. that the name of the conference should be "The Labor Committee for May Day," was defeated. An amendment by Hendin of the Socialist Party that the Conference should be known as "The Socialist and Labor Committee for May Day" was carried. With the passage of this motion the Conference became a bedlam, many delegates demanding the floor. Representatives of the trade union movement withdrew from the Conference, many others were striving to get the floor as the Conference adjourned.

At a meeting of the Arrangements Committee held later, it was unanimously decided to drop the name "Socialist" and to call the Committee "The Labor Committee for May Day." Committees were elected to draft the program, draw up banners, make complete arrangements for the demonstration, etc. Despite the continued refusal of the majority of the Committee to make an effort for a real united front, with the Stalinist Conference, they were compelled to elect a committee to meet with the C. P. and work out an amicable settlement for the use of Union Square without the "mediation" of the mayor, if at all possible.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

Wed., April 18—Salt Lake City, Utah.

Thurs., April 19—Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fri., April 20—Denver, Colo.

Sat., April 21—Denver, Colo.

Sun., April 22—Kansas City, Mo.

Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.

Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo.

Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo.

Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo.

Fri., April 27—St. Louis, Mo.

Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.

Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.

Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.

Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.

Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill.

Thurs., May 3—Chicago, Ill.

Fri., May 4—Waukegan, Ill.

Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.

Sun., May 6—Detroit, Mich.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN

We are glad to announce that we were successful in securing a small number of additional copies of the Russian Opposition Bulletin No. 38-39 containing Comrade Trotsky's articles "On the Eve of the Congress," "Where are the Limits of the Party?" "Summary of the 13th Plenum of the ECCI" and others. Write or call for your copy at the Militant office, 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

After the C. W. A.

(Continued from page 1)

into powerful unions. As in the factory of an individual capitalist, so in the government's relief set-ups, there is a systematic and conscious aim of keeping the workers in changing relationships, uncertainty and flux, instability and demoralization.

As workers in the factories fight this aim by organizing and stabilizing their status, regulating the amount and cost of wage labor available to the bosses, so the unemployed must take as their chief task of the immediate future the regulation and legalization of their status. Instead of shifting relief schemes, with changing schedules of amounts of relief, there must be a stable form of Federal unemployment insurance at living wages for all those to whom capitalist industry and government do not make work available.

Need of Unemployment Insurance

For this task there must be unity of workers and unemployed. The best immediate assurance that the workers on the job can have that the unemployed will not be driven to unbidding them or scabbing on them is Federal unemployment insurance. If the employed workers fight for the interests of the unemployed, the unemployed will help them when they strike, by fighting scabbery and joining on the picket line.

The fight for Federal unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the government, at living wages for the duration of

Brownsville Relief Demonstration

On Saturday, April 7, the streets of Brownsville and East New York resounded to the march of 500 indignant unemployed workers. Most of them having been recently fired as a result of the discontinuation of the CWA dole agency. The demonstrators, enraged against the "New Deal" government and its hunger program, marched through the streets, shouting militantly for adequate relief, an anti-eviction law and unemployment insurance.

The demonstration having reached Loew's Square, it halted and held an open air meeting, which was addressed by the delegates who were elected to visit the assemblymen and aldermen of the community. The spokesman for the delegation, a member of the Communist League of America, properly exposed the fake "representatives of the people" for what they really are: capitalist flunkies, who neither can nor will take up the struggle in behalf of the workers.

The demonstration had been consciously sabotaged by the Stalinist Unemployment Council which arranged a counter-demonstration for the same day only a few blocks away.

The demonstration was arranged by the Workers Unemployed Union of Brownsville and East New York. A number of working class organizations cooperated, including the Communist League of America, Spartacus Youth Club, Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L., Workmen's Circle, etc. This demonstration was only the beginning of an extensive organizational campaign inaugurated by the Workers Unemployed Union which aims to bring in every unemployed worker in Brownsville into its ranks.

Harlem Workers Club

We have just received word that a general Workers Club is being organized in Harlem.

"The workers in Harlem are always constituted some of the lowest paid labor in this country," the announcement reads, "and now, after five years of unemployment, living off charity and home relief bureaus, thousands of workers are feeling the need, as never before, of belonging to an organization of their own kind, which will enable them to study their problems and needs and to spend their spare time in closer company with their fellow-workers."

The Harlem Club plans to conduct forums on all events of interest to the working class, invite well known speakers of the labor movement for lectures, hold classes on the important problems of the labor movement, and conduct general social and educational activities.

"We hope," the announcement concludes, "that this club will become the headquarters of the Harlem workers, and will become a decisive factor towards uniting all of the working class men and women of Harlem, irrespective of creed, nationality or religion."

All those interested in participating in this club or aiding in its work, may send in their communications to the Militant.

job anywhere else, this means that the numbers will probably continue almost as large as ever, despite Mr. Hopkins' assurances that only 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of the 4,000,000 will continue to need help."

Not only does the editorial completely ignore the actual facts, of mass dismissals from relief work and home relief, of curtailment of relief funds, but goes to the length of wondering why—since, by its own theory, the change from CWA is no real change—

"The President and Mr. Hopkins certainly knew when they made their dramatic announcement, that the CWA workers would still be cared for, and that no one would be allowed to starve. Why was it necessary, then, to frighten all these men and their dependents nearly out of their wits by neglecting to emphasize this important fact?"

"The President neglected to emphasize the important fact" that everyone would be taken care of, for the simple reason that they are not going to be taken care of. But what has happened is that the New Republic has invented a character for Roosevelt which does not resemble him in the least. No wonder, then, that the New Republic ends on the fantastic note of calling the country to learn from the President:

"The important thing is that the country should realize, as the President and his advisers now do, that to go on muddling through with the unemployed is a crime," etc. etc.

The New Republic's editorial is worth quoting at such length in order to emphasize to what extent the fight for immediate relief and for a real system of unemployment insurance is bound up with the task of exposing the Roosevelt demagoguery and showing the workers the realities behind the Roosevelt program. As the workers feel the effects of the Roosevelt program in their bellies and bones, the illusions will disappear—despite the liberal-capitalist chromo of Roosevelt—but we must not wait until then. By the remorseless facts, first of all, we must expose the Roosevelt program against the unemployed.

—RELIEF WORKER.

FASCISTS IN N.Y.

It is reported that Nazis of both German and home-grown varieties are holding open air meetings in Yorkville, expounding their reactionary anti-working class, anti-Semitic, "Nordic" doctrines. Symptoms of that Fascist scourge which is destroying all progress and all progressive thought as well as all working class organizations in Europe, are increasingly seen in America.

A solid united front of all working class organizations is the only road to save our organizations from complete destruction. A divided front today means the hangman's noose tomorrow. The infantile chattering of the Stalinists about the "united front from below," "Social Fascism" and "Only under our leadership" means no united front at all. Along that road lie the concentration camps, the tortures and the beheadings of an American Fascist state. Socialist Party reliance on capitalist democracy, on bourgeois laws, on this or that "friend of labor" or this or that "foe" of Fascism, in a word the road travelled in Germany by the Social Democratic Party, leads to the same result here.

The leadership of the Stalinist party, part and parcel of the Stalinist bureaucracy, will not budge from their disastrous united front from below line unless compelled to. The leadership of the Socialist Party cannot see anything ahead but chances for fat jobs either through "winning an election" at the polls as Mayor Hoan in Milwaukee, or going over to a "Fusion" party as Blanshard in New York. They do not want to take any kind of militant action which might endanger this "respectability."

Between Socialist respectability on the one hand and Stalinist infantile nonsense on the other, the bridge for Fascism to ride to power is being created here. Workers: Communists, Socialists rouse yourselves in time. Compel your leadership to move or get out of the way. Organize the united front of labor. Crush the rising Fascist monster. The opportunity is ours today.

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REACTION HOUNDS TROTSKY!

Organize a Fight for the Right of Asylum in the U.S.

The deportation of Trotsky by the reactionary government of France and the campaign of hounding and incitement which puts his life in imminent danger at the hands of Russian White Guards or inspired Fascist assassins, raises sharply before the advanced workers of the United States the question of a fight to secure the right of asylum for him here. At a mass meeting Sunday night, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, the Communist League will raise this demand and will appeal to the various workers' organizations to join in a united front movement to fight for the right of asylum for Trotsky as well as for other political refugees. Cannon, Swaback and Garrett will be the speakers at the mass meeting.

In view of the sweep of reaction in Europe which compels thousands of working class militants and opponents of fascism to live in emigration, the question of the right of asylum in the United States becomes an issue of direct concern for every political tendency in the labor movement, and particularly for the fighters against fascism. The case of Trotsky has dramatized the issue and raised it concretely. But

in fighting for his right of asylum here we can be true to the proletarian spirit of comrade Trotsky only if we join with other workers' organizations and parties and fight as resolutely for their partisans as for our own immediate comrades.

While appealing first of all to the class solidarity of the workers, and seeking a common front with the various organizations and political tendencies in the labor movement, the fighting movement for the right of asylum ought to include all advocates of civil liberty and all elements of the population willing to aid the struggle. It goes without saying that the Socialist Party should be invited to take a prominent place in the movement and that all groups and factions in the political movement should be enlisted. Beginning with the political organizations and radical groups the movement, according to the opinion of the Communist League, ought to be driven deeply into the trade union movement, accompanied by a campaign of enlightenment as to the meaning of fascism and the need of a united front against it and a common support of its victims in other countries.

[The United Front--For and Against Asylum]

The fight for the admittance of Trotsky will meet with support and resistance from the very start. This was indicated in the report of the New York Evening Post, April 18th, on the initiative taken by the Communist League and its interviews with prominent people. The Daily Mirror of the same date contained a rabid editorial against the admittance of Trotsky.

The united front against the admittance of Trotsky is the same bizarre combination witnessed in the campaign against Trotsky in France and other European countries. The extreme nationalist reactionaries lead the way and the Stalinists follow. General Lee Bullard, retired president of the National Security League, spluttered with indignation when the Evening Post reporter asked his opinion about Trotsky coming to the United States. He is quoted as follows:

"May as well invite . . . what's this man who sets fire to your house? . . . well, may as well be inviting a crazy man to come in and set fire to our house. An incendiary, that's the word."

General Bullard was reinforced in his antagonism to Trotsky by Earl Browder, recently appointed leader-in-chief of the American

Stalinist Party. By way of payment for his appointment, Browder delivered himself of the following sage remarks in the same issue of the Post:

"Leon Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist. We're not interested in where he is except to isolate him from the working class wherever he happens to be."

The New York Daily Mirror echoes Browder's sentiments and advocates that Fourth Internationalists be deported from the United States as Trotsky was deported by Stalin and now by Doumergue. "No Haven for Homeless Trotsky," screams the Mirror. "There is no reason on earth why he should be allowed to come here, and some very good ones why he should be barred." After advising the Department of Justice to look into the activities of the Communist League and asserting its "meeting places are breeding spots of unrest and disloyalty," the Mirror concludes:

"Among the Fourth International disciples there are undoubtedly many aliens. They should be promptly sent back where they came from. If Trotsky should undertake to set foot on American soil he should be given the same medicine. As for the rest, they should be rounded up and tried for plotting against the Government."

U. S. Once a Refuge for Exiles

Despite the imposing combination of the admission of Trotsky to the United States we intend to start the fight and to broaden it, with the help of other organizations, into a united front movement for the reestablishment of the right of asylum for political refugees generally. There was a time when this country was a haven for the exiles of Europe who were driven from their native countries by reactionary governments, and was proud of the distinction. This is one of the richest traditions of the country. We ought to appeal to all who take pride in that tradition and invoke it in our fight today.

Sunday night's meeting, where the campaign will be opened, will be a preliminary test of the sentiment of the radical workers of New York on this highly important question, as well as an indication of their sympathy with comrade Trotsky in his great difficulties and dangers. We strongly urge every reader of the Militant to attend the meeting and to exert special efforts to bring others.

A rousing demonstration Sunday night will be a notice to reaction-

aries of every shade that the militant workers of New York are on guard against the danger of fascism. It will be a sign that they stand shoulder to shoulder with the anti-fascist fighters of Europe and mean to fight unitedly against the menace of fascism in the United States.

50,000 MANIFESTOES

The Pioneer Publishers plan to publish for free distribution 50,000 copies of the manifesto of the International Communist League for the Fourth International.

The manifestoes will appear in the form of a four page bulletin with a short statement about the Communist League of America and the Militant.

Every member of the organization, every sympathizer and friend of the Fourth International should help us in this effort. Every dollar that you send will enable us to print 500 bulletins for free distribution.

RUSH your contribution without delay. We want at least part of the bulletins to be distributed on May first.

A Picture
of Comrade
LEON
TROTSKY
Taken at His
Desk in Prinkpo



How Trotsky Lived and Worked in Exile Before And Was Deported from Country to Country

Leon Trotsky's expulsion from Paris is only the latest of a long series of expulsions and exiles forced upon him for his revolutionary activity since his early youth.

His first exile was to the Siberia of pre-revolutionary Russia. Arrested in 1898, at the age of 19, as one of the leaders of the South Russian Workers Union, Trotsky was exiled after two grim years in Moscow Prison.

Coskovskaya having been smuggled to him in Siberia, Trotsky resolved to take part in this important work. He escaped from Siberia and, at the urging of Lenin, made his way to London to begin his work with Lenin.

London Congress

Writing regularly for Iskra and lecturing on the continent for the Iskra group, Trotsky became a recognized leader of the Russian revolutionary vanguard at the age of 23. He was chairman of the 1903 Congress in London at which the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took shape. The split, and the awakening events in Russia, decided him to go back; he went to become the President of the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905 and the most popular leader of the first Revolution.

Reaction brought prison, and again exile to Siberia; but exile had scarcely begun before Trotsky made a daring and dangerous escape across Siberia behind a deer-steam, back to St. Petersburg, by steamer to Scandinavia and thence once more into the revolutionary stream of Western Europe. This time his exile lasted ten years—until the February Revolution brought him back to Russia as leader with Lenin of the October Revolution.

Ten Years of Exile

Trotsky had the advantage over most of the Bolshevik leaders of direct participation and leadership of the Revolution of 1905; for him, this was a rehearsal for October and prepared him fully for his historic role. Ten years of exile from 1907 to 1917 not only completed his preparation for October, but prepared him for the leadership of the world revolution. In those ten years, travelling in Europe and America, exiled and expelled many times, he learned at close range the many forms that reformism and centrism can take, and the varieties of capitalist dictatorship which must be overcome.

Exile also gave him positive riches: his acquaintance with Luxemburg and Liebknecht and Mehring, the direct links with the re-

volutionary heritage of Marx and Engels. In Vienna, in 1908, Trotsky began to publish Pravda, while throughout his exile he continued to write, under instructions from the Central Committee, for the Russian democratic press. It was as military correspondent for one of these papers that, in September, 1912 he went into the Balkans as the prelude to the World War being played. What he saw with his own eyes led him to predict and prepare for War and Revolution.

War and More Deportations

War again brought exiles and expulsions. Ordered to leave Austria on the outbreak of war, Trotsky went to Switzerland and thence, as military correspondent for the same Russian democratic paper, to France. Nashe Slovo, a daily paper published in Paris, was Trotsky's monument to his French sojourn. It kept alive, as many of the Zimmerwald delegates testified, the internationalist anti-war spirit. But Trotsky's participation in Zimmerwald's famous anti-war conference of the revolutionary Socialists, and the growing power of Nashe Slovo, led to further exile. On the request of the Czarist government, Trotsky was ordered to leave France; when Switzerland refused him admittance and England refused him the right of passage to Scandinavia, Trotsky was forcibly put across the French border into Spain.

A look at the Museums of Madrid while waiting for the secretary of the Socialist Party to be released from prison—and again arrest and again expulsion, this time to Cadiz, where he was to be put on a boat bound for Havana. As Trotsky has written of the continuous route of expulsions and exiles: "From Berezov by deer via the Urals and St. Petersburg, thence by a circular route to Austria, from Austria through Switzerland to France, from France to Spain, and finally across the entire Iberia peninsula to Cadiz, the general direction being from Northeast to Southwest. There the Continent ends and the ocean begins." But it was not to Havana as the police wished, but to New York that Trotsky this time journeyed, fortunately accompanied by his family who, despite similar difficulties, had managed to reach him in time for the westward journey.

New York in 1917

While this is not the story of Trotsky's thought and deeds, but merely the bare itinerary of his enforced exiles, his stay in New York deserves a few words, for most of the legends told about Trot-

sky have their locale in New York. Half the restaurants and tailor shops in New York claim Trotsky as a waiter or presser. Actually, his sole profession in New York was that of a revolutionary socialist. Articles and lectures predicting America's entry into the War—he arrived here January 13, 1917—assiduous studies in New York's libraries of the economic history of the United States, editorial work on Novy Mir with Bukharin, Volodarsky and Chudnovsky.

Through the many members of the various national federations of the Socialist party who read Russian, and the English-speaking members of the Russian speaking, Novy Mir made powerful inroads into the pacifist philistinism of the Socialist party. The German, Russian and Lithuanian federations were under its intellectual leadership; the Finns were coming over; the powerful Jewish federation "with its fourteen-story palace from which two hundred thousand copies of the Forward were daily disgorged—a newspaper with the stale odor of sentimentally phillistine socialism, always ready for the most perfidious betrayals" (Trotsky) was being penetrated—when the Russian revolution intervened. At that moment Trotsky and his comrades were preparing to launch an English-language Marxist weekly to undermine the innocuous Call.

1917 Revolution

The preparations for the American weekly were in full swing, when the cables brought the first confused reports of the uprising in Petrograd. Working class New York celebrated the hoisting of the red flag over the Winter Palace with meetings which Trotsky, even after revolutionary Petrograd and Moscow, recalled as "extraordinary for their size and enthusiasm." Revolution in Russia meant the end of exile; Trotsky and his family set forth for the scenes of his revolutionary boyhood.

But between America and Russia lay a British concentration camp at Halifax. Trotsky and other Russian revolutionists were forcibly removed from shipboard and interned at Amherst, Canada, among German prisoners. Here a valuable month—April, 1917—was dragged by the British being egged on by secret instructions from the "democratic" Provisional Russian government. At last Lenin spoke in Pravda, the Soviets spoke, and Miliukoff had to bow. Trotsky was released and sailed for Russia—for October, for his great work with Lenin.

Spectre of Communism in The Fourth International

With a fury and venom reminiscent of the mad campaigns against the Bolsheviks in 1917—and identical with them in content—the attack of world reaction is concentrated today against Trotsky.

In France, where the forces of fascism on the one side and the working class on the other are speedily moving toward the decisive struggle that will have fateful consequences for the entire world, the reaction is striking with full force against the leader who personifies revolutionary struggle and victory of the proletariat.

The summary order deporting Trotsky from France, the closing of the doors of other European countries and the rabid incitement against him—in all this there is to be seen not only a reactionary political campaign but also a direct and immediate threat on the life of the organizer of the Russian revolution and the herald of its international extension. World re-

action wants the head of Trotsky! Let the workers take heed and raise the alarm!

French Fascists, Russian White Guards and reactionary forces everywhere cry out against Trotsky and the dread spectre of Communism, rising again on the world arena in the Fourth International. And the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has facilitated the march of fascist reaction throughout Europe, joins in the chorus. This infamous representative and carrier of corruption and treachery in the labor movement reveals its perfidious function once again in the united front of reaction. For the mortal danger to Trotsky's life in the present circumstances, and for whatever may befall him at the hands of a White Guard, a Fascist or a Stalinist assassin, the revolutionary workers, taking stock of all the events which have led to this climax, will not fail to place the responsibility where it belongs.

The Political Meaning of the Attack

The accusations against Trotsky, which have been made the basis of the deportation order, have undoubtedly been manufactured by the extreme reactionaries to serve a momentary political interest. But this manoeuvre is only the superficial expression of powerful motive forces for the reactionary attack. The Fascist movement of France, which advanced with seven-league boots after Hitler's effortless victory in Germany—thanks to the shameful capitulation of Stalinism—has taken alarm at later developments and feels impelled to strike quickly.

The heroic resistance of the Austrian Socialist workers, the great French general strike and united front demonstrations against Fas-

cism, and the emergence of a movement for the Fourth International—these three events, each separately and all together, have contributed mightily to the revival of the will and capacity of the workers to fight against Fascism. They constitute an assurance that the French workers will take the road of the united front and of struggle to the death against French Fascism. The ideas of the International Communists, and of Trotsky in the first place, were expressed and verified in these events. The blows of reaction dealt against the person of Trotsky, and the screams of rage and fear directed against the Fourth International, have, therefore, a logic and a profound significance in the French and international struggle of the classes.

Why They Fear the Fourth International

The fact that the Austrian workers were defeated does not suffice to reassure the French reactionaries, nor is the circumstance that the Fourth International is as yet only in the formative stage, and without a broad organization basis, very consoling to them. They have seen the spirit of the Austrian socialist workers mirrored in the menacing demonstrations of the French proletariat and have taken alarm at them, especially at the unity as well as the militancy which the French workers have displayed. And they remember all too well—when they witness the first appearance of the Fourth International—how revolutionary socialism, that is, communism, reduced to a small spark during the war, was rapidly kindled into a gigantic flame in 1917.

They dread the prospect of a combination of the heroic spirit of the Austrian workers with the United front policy which gains ground every day in the French

labor movement, and the fusion of this movement with the revolutionary aims and international organization. 'This is the spectre that haunts them. This is what they strive to exorcise when they strike at Trotsky and the Fourth International.

"The authorities", who have no reason to fear a bureaucratized and degenerated "communism" that capitulates without a fight, as in Germany, fly into a panic at the bold manifesto of the Fourth International, summoning the workers to the struggle for power. Charging Trotsky with a "plot" to set up a dictatorship in France, "the authorities" quote the demand of the manifesto for the creation of a workers' militia and its clear, sharp warning to the workers:

"The two forces have begun measured sword. There is no possible peace but in a fight to the death. In the street, by force, will be decided the future."

No Refuge in Capitalist Countries

The United Press dispatch comments significantly that "there was some indication that the government was anxious to get Trotsky out of France before May Day" and adds:

"Though secret police said they believed that the Fourth International was largely in the formative stage, European governments seemed to fear it, and were reluctant to give the exiled Communist shelter."

None of the capitalist governments offers a refuge to the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, as Trotsky is described in the precise and felicitous expression of Stalin (who expelled him from the Soviet Union). Says the United Press:

"Flight to Italy, Germany, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain or

Austria is definitely closed because the governments distrust his activities.

"England has not been approached because it was said at the British Embassy that London would refuse. Turkey will not tolerate his return. France will not permit him to go to Morocco, Algeria or any other African colony. . . . Belgium and Switzerland, because of their sympathy with France, are not believed likely to grant him asylum."

Meanwhile, the incitement to drive him out of France in "the shortest possible time", if not to assassinate him, proceeds with unabated fury. "He reeks with the blood of our soldiers," says La Liberté. "His residence in any part of France would be a scandal. He

(Continued on Page 4)

Mass Meeting IN DEFENCE OF LEON TROTSKY IRVING PLAZA 15th St. and Irving Place Sunday April 22 - 8 p.m. Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK

UNDER THE NRA

Injunction Based On NRA

Some of the first fruits of the NRA are ripening in sunny California, where Judge Collier of the Supreme Court issued an injunction restraining the officials of the Central Labor Council and Waiters Local number 17 from picketing the Brown Derby Cafe in the Hollywood district of Los Angeles.

The injunction says the closed shop is illegal under the NRA. In part the Judge said, "it would be contrary to the provisions" of both the NRA and the Restaurant Code and "would be in effect prohibiting an employee the right to join or not to join a labor organization as such employee might see fit. It would be an agreement upon the part of the employer that would compel said employee to join the labor union."

Green and Company issued a circular some time ago which states that Labor's Declaration of Independence was signed June 16, 1933 when the National Industrial Recovery Act was signed, especially referring to Section 7a. This is the section which now becomes the basis for the legalizing of company unions and the open shop and outlawing the closed union shop.

Trust Busters Plan Fight

The small industrialists, the trust busters and the middle class plan a fight against the powerful centralizing effects of NRA on industry and economic life. They hoped to open their big guns through Borah's Anti-Trust Plan and other amendments to the NRA when it would be up in the Senate for a renewal of the Licensing Power which expires this June. In this fight they counted on the support of Green and the other class collaborationists who, they hoped, could drag along a good share of the workers support.

The Monopolists and their henchman in the NRA apparatus understand what is before them. They aim to avert any difficulties by a maneuver to keep the NRA out of the Senate at this critical stage. To do this they will "sacrifice" the Licensing power vested in the President and rely on public opinion and injunctions for enforcement. If the injunction issued in California is a forerunner of what is coming the big capitalists have all the weapons they need.

The sweeping reorganization in the NRA, the change from the stage of formulating codes to administering them, through the Department of Justice, will more than compensate for the dropping of the Licensing power.

Profits Increase Under NRA

As part of the middle class campaign against the big business leadership of the NRA, Senator Nye is stumping the country, telling a few facts about it. He says that the present program helps the monopolists. "It's administration has been such as to increase profits of capital far beyond any increase enjoyed by labor," he says. "Industrial Recovery under the New Deal was to be won through the breaking up of the forces of greed and monopoly. Under the NRA, monopoly has been more strongly entrenched than ever before."

This information is not new to us, but we can at least see that it is soaking into different layers of the classes in America. The working class must be on guard against these middle class reformers who have behind them an increasing number of restless followers. The workers' interest does not call for reform of the NRA. It can only be served by building our labor organizations outside of and in opposition to the NRA apparatus of the capitalists.

Social Origin of Crime

Results of a detailed study of 2,500 prisoners made by Dr. James L. McCartney, director at Elmira Reformatory showed that 88% of the parents of the prisoners "were tradesmen or laborers who made a very small wage and consequently were forced to exist on a low economic scale". 55% of the prisoners came from families of more than 5 children and 10% from families of 10 to 21 children.

THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL BOARD
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Bundle rates one cent per copy.

"Triple Unionism"

The Draft Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the C. P. projects a trade union policy that should be fool-proof. They are taking no chances this time. Since the A. F. of L. unions "have organized in them millions of workers and today takes on greater importance than heretofore, because of the influx of new members and the efforts of the government to force workers into the A. F. of L. unions in many industries. Any underestimation of work in the A. F. of L. unions is incompatible with the line of the party." (Daily Worker, March 28.)

Very good! But does that mean that the T. U. U. L. rival unions should be liquidated so that the Communists can again work in the mass trade unions and be a force in exposing the bureaucrats and winning the workers over to a class struggle program? No! Not at all, answer the Stalinists. "The building of the T. U. U. L. unions must receive the greatest attention."

What, then, is the purpose of having the communists work in the A. F. of L.? There can be but one reason, if one is to be logical, and that is to split and disrupt.

Lenin on Trade Union Tactics
Lenin, already in 1920, polemized against the attempts of the German Communists to set up "new" and "pure workingmen's unions." "In order to be able to help the masses," wrote Lenin, "and to win their sympathy, confidence and support, it is necessary to brave all difficulties, attacks, insults, evils and persecutions by their leaders (who being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases, directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and police), and to work by every possible means wherever the masses are to be found." (our emphasis). And further: "Not to work within the reactionary trade unions means to leave the insufficiently-developed or backward working masses to the influence of

reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labor aristocrats—'bourgeoisified workers'." "The party," the C. P. Resolution continues, "must conduct a sharp struggle against any liquidatory tendencies and expose the slanders and maneuvers of the renegades who call for the liquidation of the T. U. U. L. unions." "A decisive turn towards the work in the A. F. of L. (for what purpose?) greater attention to the work in the independent unions," says the resolution, "implies not a weakening but a strengthening of the work in the T. U. U. L. unions."

New Method of Disruption

By what new form of reasoning it is deduced that by working in the A. F. of L. and independent unions you are thereby strengthening the T. U. U. L. is not revealed. The only conclusion one can draw from this tactic—which is well substantiated by history—is that it is a new method of disrupting and splitting bona-fide trade union organizations which are not Stalinist controlled and therefore, ipso facto, in the last analysis "company unions."

After making this brilliant "analysis" the Resolution comes out for an "Independent Federation of Labor." Evidently things are not going so well with the RFD trade unions. It is even whispered that they have severed their affiliations with the R.I.L.U. So a new leaf is needed for the discredited "Industrial Unions." And since our philosophers of the "Third Period" have never had much difficulty in creating new organizations they now proceed to build an Independent Federation of Labor. This of course in no way conflicts with working in the A. F. of L. or independent unions. Quite the contrary. All this merely "strengthens" the T. U. U. L.

This is the new trade union line of the party. They have forgotten nothing and learnt nothing.

Nazis Violate Tomb Of Eckstein

Breslau (T.I.S.)—The indescribable moral destruction which Nazism brought in its wake, is borne out once more by facts. Nazi criminals have violated and partly destroyed the tomb of the leader of the Socialist Workers' Party, Dr. Eckstein, who was murdered last May in a concentration camp.

The tomb of Eckstein's wife, the former Socialist municipal councilor Clara Ziels-Eckstein who died three years ago, was treated in a similar vandalic fashion.

Strict official orders to the press forbid any public mention of the matter "in view of unwanted repercussions abroad." Word of the unspeakable deed became nevertheless miraculously known in the workers' quarters and led to considerable excitement and open mutterings which the Nazi authorities preferred to overlook.

Austrian Fighters Sentenced

Vienna (T.I.S.)—128 participants in the four-day Austrian civil war were brought before the summary courts of Vienna, Graz, Leoben, Poelter, Steyr, and Linz, a statement of the Austrian Ministry of Justice says. Twenty defendants were sentenced to death. Eight were executed on the gallows while the death sentences of the remaining twelve thanks to the outspoken criticism abroad, were commuted to life long incarceration. 23 persons received prison sentences ranging from five to twelve years; five were freed. The charges against the remaining eighty have been turned over to the ordinary courts which will try them together with thousands of other arrested Socialists.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

ST. LOUIS

Max Shachtman will speak in St. Louis Wednesday evening, 7:30 P.M., April 25th, at the Crunden Branch Library auditorium, 14th and Cass Avenues, on the subject: "Why We Need a New Revolutionary Party."

On Thursday evening, April 26th, a banquet will be held with Shachtman, for the benefit of the Militant, at 1719 Lafayette Avenue for all sympathizers and friends of the Left Opposition.

Davenport Meeting
THE COMING WAR
Fascism or Communism?
Lecture by
MAX SHACHTMAN
Member of the N. E. C.

at
Unity Center Hall, 3rd floor
Whitaker Bldg., 3rd and Brady Sts.
Davenport, Iowa

Monday, April 30, 1934 at 8 p.m.
Admission 10c. Tickets obtainable from Betty Rowland, 2224 Rockingham Road, Davenport, Iowa.

Shachtman Tour

Schedule

Sun., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.
Mon., April 23—Kansas City, Mo.
Tues., April 24—Kansas City, Mo.
Wed., April 25—St. Louis, Mo.
Thurs., April 26—St. Louis, Mo.
Fri., April 27—Stanton or Gillespie, Ill.
Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.
Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3—Chicago, Ill.
Fri., May 4—Waukegan, Ill.
Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.
Sun., May 6—Detroit, Mich.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

HELP THE CUBAN STRUGGLE

The puppet government of American imperialism established in Cuba upon the backs of the workers through the defeat of the revolution is endeavoring to stamp out the militant labor and revolutionary organizations. Trade unions are suppressed, the workers' press smashed and prohibited, leaders killed and jailed. The terror of the agents of American imperialism against the Cuban workers and peasants is increasing.

Reports from the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Cuban section of the International Communist League, inform us that many of our leading comrades have been arrested. In Havana alone over a dozen are in jail.

The heroic struggle and the establishment of Soviets in parts of Cuba in the revolutionary upsurge have not been in vain despite the treacherous middle class action and the betrayal by the Stalinists. The Stalinists issued instructions to their Cuban section not to seize American property. This means to

betray the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because over 80% of the property is owned by American imperialism.

A period of struggle against reaction is ahead. A period of retrenchment. A period of building of a strong foundation. This the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba is preparing. They need, above all, the financial aid of their American comrades and friends.

Now is your chance to do more than the average toward revolution in America. Help the Cuban comrades prepare for the coming revolution, to oust American imperialism and establish Soviets.

The class war prisoners in Cuba need your aid. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, which carries on our struggle against our own imperialists, must have your financial support.

Send your contribution at once to the Latin American Department of the Communist League of America, 126 East 16th St., New York City.

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The First of a New Series of Lectures on the International Program with Special Reference to America

By

James P. Cannon

At

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th Street and Irving Place

SUNDAY, APRIL 29th at 8 P.M.

ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Other lectures to follow on successive Sundays: Fascism; the Trade Union Question; the United Front.

The Stalinist Conference

The May Day Conference held in Webster Hall last Saturday afternoon, was another monument to the "united front from below" policy of the Stalinists. 716 delegates representing the C. P. and unions and auxiliaries under C. P. control received the cut-and-dried reports of the officials with an attitude approaching boredom.

The election of credentials and resolutions committees proceeded smoothly from lists proposed by the chairman. The "discussion," by a prearranged schedule of speakers, of George Siskind's report, monotonously repeated the stereotyped phrases and slogans of Stalinism.

Comrade Carl Cowl, one of the delegates of the Communist League, got the floor and read a statement (printed in another column) appealing for the establishment of a genuine united front for May Day, to include all mass organizations and political groups not under the influence of the Communist Party. He proposed specifically the election of a committee to confer with the Socialist-controlled May Day Conference in order to establish the basis for a single May Day demonstration.

This speech injected a flicker of life into a conference which would otherwise have died on its feet. The delegates responded to this proposal with applause and enthusiasm. In dismay the machine lumbered. "Communist League!" shouted Tallentyre. "Do you know what that is? That's the Trotskyist renegades! These are the people who refused to join our Anti-

War Conference. They say we are too conservative for them. But our Anti-War Conference is a genuine united front including churches, American Legion Posts, Y.M.C.A. and Y.M.H.A., and so forth. Can we speak as Communists before these people? No, we can not. Yet they want us to make united fronts with the Norman Thomases. . ."

Koretz, the Stalinist needle trades specialist, declared that Trotskyist contraband was being smuggled into the conference. Then came the finished pronunciamento by Carl Brosky which clinched the question, "We are glad that the social-fascists have their own united front. It clears the air. We can now build our united front in solidarity with the working class."

A few resolutions were read and passed by acclamation including a manifesto "to all members and followers" of A. F. of L. unions, the S. P. and so forth. Due to shortness of time, the chairman announced that the rest of the resolutions would be mailed to the respective organizations. The motions of the Communist League were ignored. Repeated attempts of delegates to take the floor on the question were hammered down. When finally the representative of the Left Poale Zion proposed that A. F. of L. and S. P. locals be directly invited to participate, the motion was defeated by the Stalinist clique.

The credentials committee reported shortly before adjournment "seating" 716 of the 1800 or more people in the hall who had already voted the business of the conference.

League Statement to Conference

In the face of the rising Fascist danger in this country, and with the tragic examples of Germany and Austria before us, we find the two dominant parties of the working class, the Socialist and Communist Parties, making no serious efforts to build up a genuine united front of workers organizations. Instead of a united front, we are confronted with the spectacle of the Mayor of New York and the police department acting as arbiters between the two parties over the use of Union Square for two "united front" demonstrations against war and Fascism.

The same policy that led in Europe to the destruction of all working class organizations by the Fascist beasts are being followed in America by these parties. We propose a policy that will prevent such catastrophes, a policy of the real united front—organization to organization—for the fight against Fascism and for the defense of all workers' organizations.

The Communist Party which dominates this conference proposes, instead of such a united front, the "united front from below" under C. P. leadership. Such a false "united front" can be built only with its own subsidiary organizations such as are represented here in this conference. But the Fascist menace rides roughshod over such criminal masquerades.

The Labor Committee for May Day, dominated by the Socialist Party, containing a large section of the trade unions, as well as other political groups, is preparing for a huge May Day demonstration. The policy followed by the Communist Party—the "united front from below," based on the infantile theory

of "social fascism"—negates the possibility of reaching broad masses in organizations not under Communist Party influence. The disgrace of the Madison Square Garden was seized upon by the Communist Party bureaucracy to marshal support against a real united front.

Despite this, the Communist League of America believes that there is still a chance for one united front demonstration on May Day. We propose that this conference should now take the initiative, not by empty appeals to "followers and members" but by adopting the following course:

1. Elect a representative committee at this conference to meet directly with the Labor Committee for May Day and propose the merging of the two existing May Day conferences into one United Labor Committee for May Day for the building of one united May Day demonstration.

2. That this conference and participating organizations go on record as ready to make mutual pledges to the Labor Committee for May Day not to interfere with or attack the marchers, banners or speakers of other participating organizations, and that the same guarantee for a real united front be asked of the Labor Committee for May Day.

FOR THE REAL UNITED FRONT OF ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS ON MAY DAY!

FOR THE UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM!
FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

—New York Local,
Communist League of America

MARCH OF EVENTS

All Eyes To France!

The lessons of the victory of Hitler and the tragic defeat of the German proletariat are eagerly absorbed by the bourgeoisie of other countries. The "pattern" of bloody reaction once supplied in the present epoch, it becomes all the easier for the capitalist class in any country, faced with the danger to it of radicalization of the masses and a militant proletariat, to hasten the process of establishing a Fascist dictatorship. It is in this sense that a wave of reaction spreads from country to country, just as a successful revolution brings the workers to their feet everywhere. It is in this sense too that the defeat of the proletariat of one country, is a defeat of the working class of the entire world.

In France reaction moves apace. The Doumergue government of "national concentration", to which has been assigned the task of ushering in Fascism, prepares as its first step to get rid of parliament so as to rule by decree. A measure is about to be proposed to permit the President to dissolve the House of Deputies at will. Doumergue is to receive the entire initiative in matters of finance also. Thus the executive arm of the government is to be strengthened before the open offensive against the working class.

Uniting of the Forces of Reaction

The strong resistance of the workers to the attempted Fascist coup d'etat during the March riots, has served to unite the entire reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie. Such organizations as the Action Francaise, the Jeunesses Patriotes (Patriotic Youth), the Solidarite Francaise (the armed bands of Cote), and the Croix de Feu, reactionary veterans under the influence of the notorious munitions makers, the Comité des Forges, have closed ranks against the working class. The Croix de Feu, in accepting the cuts in pensions imposed by Doumergue, has given him an ultimatum to take clear steps toward Fascism before July 1st when the cut is to become effective. Weygand and other Generals of the Clerical persuasion, are playing identically the same role as the Italian and German Fascist generals in arming and drilling reactionary sections of the middle class. And Doumergue has already begun to disarm the workers.

Fascist or Proletarian Dictatorship?

The French workers have shown splendid readiness to unite to defeat fascism. It was their revolutionary outpouring into the streets that shut the door to an immediate Fascist coup d'etat. But the question now resolves itself into one of organization and leadership. Only Soviets, guided by a militant policy, leading the workers from a defensive struggle for workers' rights to the transformation of this struggle for the seizure of power can save France from the fate of Germany.

The Farmer and American Imperialism

American imperialism is faced with the dilemma common to the capitalists of all the advanced industrial countries. That dilemma involves the imperialist policy of monopoly capitalism for the native farmers. The home farmers are the competitors of the farmers of the backward and the colonial countries to whom the imperialists must sell their surplus production over and above what can be sold in the home market. The backward agricultural countries can only buy goods if they in turn can sell to the advanced nations their farm products. The American capitalists would like to arrange matters so that this happy state of exchange is brought about at the expense of the American farmer. Roosevelt and Wallace are engaged, underneath all their programs of immediate farm relief, in carrying through this aim of monopoly capitalism. They would like to cut down the export crop acreage as much as possible.

The Farmers as Social Anchor

But here is the rub. In England this process was carried to completion by the wiping out of the farmer class. If this occurred in America, what class in society could the capitalists depend upon for support in case of proletarian revolt? The capitalists are few, the workers many. The farmers, if handled properly, can be made a bulwark of reaction for the defense of "social stability"; that is, for the defense of capitalism. Hence the imperialists are forced to compromise in this dilemma. They would like nothing better than to establish a peasant class living on a subsistence level and not producing capitalist crops. But this is not easy to accomplish.

—JACK WEBER

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Once More on Centrism

Editor's Note—The following article by comrade Trotsky was written in reply to a criticism of his previous article on "Centrism and the Fourth International" (*Militant*, March 17) which appeared in *De Fakkel*, organ of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O.S.P.). *De Fakkel* disputed comrade Trotsky's contention that centrism has replaced reformism as the main tendency in the international labor movement. *De Fakkel* also defended the adherence of the O.S.P. to the London-Amsterdam Bureau and its relations with the Norwegian Labor Party (N.A.P.).

"De Fakkel" on Centrism
De Fakkel's criticism of my article (Centrism and the Fourth International) is highly characteristic of the make up of the leadership of the O.S.P. as well as of left centrism in general. It therefore deserves to be analyzed.

Is it correct that the main tendency of the working class movement of the world consists in the transformation of reformism into centrism? *De Fakkel* disputes it. It believes that everywhere is to be observed simultaneously the striving to orient the movement towards the right. It points thereby to the French Neo-Socialists, the Belgian Workers' Party, the English Labor Party and the Dutch Social Democracy. The facts indicated by *De Fakkel* only confirm—when one knows how to interpret them in Marxian fashion—my assertion.

Why were the Neo-Socialists ejected from the old party? Because it was clothing itself with centrism. The right wing changes into a conservative, nationalistic clique that has nothing more to do with the working class movement. The Belgian example is also a case in point. *De Fakkel* reminds us of Vandervelde's recent avowal of allegiance to the King. But there is nothing new in this. The plan of de Man is new. In substance as well as by its author's admission the plan is but an attempt to obliterate the line of demarcation between reform and revolution. In this precisely consists the essence of centrism.

Centrism and Reformism

Monarchistic servility indicates only that we must distinguish between centrism and reformism. There are honest centrism moods of the masses and there are consciously lying centrism designs of old parliamentary cheats of the masses. But such designs have become necessary precisely because of the shift of the party base to the left. In essence the matter stands no differently also with the English Labor Party although in tempo and in phenomenal form it is quite different. The going over of the MacDonald clique to the reaction, on the one hand, the expulsion of the I.L.P. from the Labor Party on the other, are two very significant symptoms of the above mentioned processes.

In the coming period we will inevitably observe a new development of centrism currents in the Labor Party. That the German S.P. leadership with Wells, as well as the leaders of Austro-Marxism, now clothe their philistine prejudices in the language of "revolution", is widely known. In countries with a backward political development the social-democratic apparatus can afford, in the face of threatening dangers—the growth of Fascism and simultaneously of internal centrism opposition—the attempt to hold its positions by clinging to the right, to the state, and by repression against the left, against its own opposition. The formation of the O.S.P. in Holland was the first step in the open decomposition of the old Dutch social democracy. The development will proceed in this direction.

Stages of Development

As a matter of practical policy in every country it is naturally very important not only to keep track of the general tendency of development but also of the stages through which it passes. For Holland as well as for every other country it is of importance, however, to recognize in time the centrism disguise of former reformism so that reformism itself be combatted not by centrism but by Marxian methods.

Viewed historically reformism has lost completely its social basis. Without reforms there is no reformism, without prosperous capitalism, no reforms. The right reformist wing becomes anti-reformist in the sense that it helps the bourgeoisie directly or indirectly to smash the old conquests of the working class. It is false to consider the Neo-Socialists as a working class party. The split did not weaken the old French Socialist party, it strengthened it since, after the cleansing, the party enjoys greater confidence on the part of the workers. But it must adapt itself to this confidence, and the form of this adaptation is called centrism.

Left Centrist Groupings

Left centrist groupings such as the O.S.P. are not conscious of this process of which they form a com-

Trotsky Answers the Criticism of Dutch O.S.P. Paper

ponent part. Precisely because they feel their principled weakness and their inability to give the working class a clear answer they must divert the attention of workers from centrism sickness to reformist danger. In this they resemble old liberalism which always scared the workers with reaction in the fight to hold them back from the fight against liberalism itself. Therefore, for instance, the declarations of the O.S.P. and S.A.P. to the Youth conference contain nothing or almost nothing on centrism. However, it is well known that precisely those parties that did not permit themselves in the past to be held back from a merciless fight against liberal vacillations, always proved to be the bravest fighters against reaction. The same holds true now. Those revolutionists will fight reformism best who are absolutely independent of centrism and view it critically and intransigently.

The London-Amsterdam Bureau

The London-Amsterdam Bureau is unable to fight against reformism since it is a mutual aid society for the vacillating and hesitant. *De Fakkel* says: "The aim of the Bureau is to win for the Fourth International as many adherents as possible". The O.S.P. could have joined the Second International with the same justification. That we must fight for the Fourth International wherever possible is clear. This task, however, means an irreconcilable struggle against the treacherous policy of Trammels and certainly not a brotherhood in

arms with him. That they "criticize" Trammels meanwhile makes matters worse, since he is criticized only to the extent that the working agreement with him remains unbroken, that is, apparent criticism is made which only serves as a cover for the out and out reactionary bloc. The gallant Shakespearean actor who was supposed to play the lion at the court feared to frighten the beautiful ladies and therefore roared as softly, as tenderly as a dove. Our highly respectable left centrists become very gruff to Bol-shevik "sectarians"; to the Trammels they coo like doves.

Old Arguments of the Stalinists

De Fakkel acknowledges our characterization of the Comintern as that of bureaucratic centrism. This, however, is only lip service, since the whole working alliance with the Amsterdam Bureau is nothing else but a willed, sickly edition of the infamous Anglo-Russian Committee. There also were found British "lefts" of the type of Pinn Moe who were used as bait by the real leaders. In defending their brotherhood with Trammels *De Fakkel*, as well as the *Neue Front*, repeats all the old arguments of Stalin and Bucharin ("Masses", "Masses", and again "Masses") but in a worse form if anything.

Thus, I cannot recognize the validity of a single argument which *De Fakkel* brings against my article, by which, however, I do not want to say that there are no flaws in the article. Thus, for instance, one could point out correctly that the article does not reveal sufficiently the practical and organizational

* Besides its left Finn Moes who face the O.S.P. and the S.A.P. Trammels has also his right Finn Moes, whose face is turned towards the King's palace.

Discussion Article

On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee

The resolution of the National Youth Committee was received with a certain amount of disagreement. None of it appeared in print, therefore the delay in the appearance of this article. We propose to deal here with several disputed points. At a later date we hope to return to a more thorough discussion of these points and their ramifications.

I.

Among some of the comrades of the Communist League there appears a certain tendency to the effect that the Spartacus Youth League should not be subordinated politically to the L. O. Some go further and state "that the youth should never have been subordinated to the Party." These latter comrades forget that during the World War the International Union of Socialist Youth was the center of the European revolutionary anti-war fighters. They forget that the Socialist youth organizations were political parties in their respective countries. They forget that as late as the Third Congress of the Comintern, in reality, two parties existed in several countries, divided only by age. For that reason it was decided that one organization, the adult, be recognized as the political leader of the working class.

The other comrades contend that at the present time a youth organization should be formed upon a minimum program, but with no political subordination. The result would be a mass organization, built up by the Opposition youth, but being used as a battleground by all the existing political youth organizations (Y. C. L., Y. P. S. L., P. Y. L.), each of which would have its own front, conduct its operations from there, and eventually destroy the organization. Furthermore, the idea of constructing a non-political youth organization is merely an involuntary support to the slogan of the bourgeoisie and their socialist agents: "The youth must stay out of politics."

II.

A year ago comrade Martin Abern wrote an article in the *Militant* (2-4-33 & 2-11-33) in which he called for the liquidation of the National Students League. No one with an understanding of the functions of a revolutionary youth organization (S. Y. L.) could oppose such a position. The reason we bring the question to the fore again is because it becomes now a more urgent task than ever to define our policy towards the N. S. L. When Abern wrote his article, the N. S. L. still called itself a "revolutionary" organization. Now it is a "mass" student organization based upon immediate demands of the students. Its main appeal has shifted from the "proletarian" students to the petty-bourgeois. It is now beginning negotiations with the Inter-collegiate Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, a petty-bourgeois "Socialist" organization, for amalgamation. The N. S. L., built by the Communists, can easily

become an overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois organization. In a revolutionary crisis, in which a strong, demagogic Fascist movement exists, the probabilities are that the N. S. L. would come under the control of the Fascists. The N. S. L. can perform no good. It may render immeasurable harm. It must be destroyed!

III.

The resolution rejects the idea of peripheral organizations, and in the same paragraph speaks of the formation of sports teams by the S. Y. L. No one can object to either idea, but putting the two so close together suggests (and it is so understood by certain comrades) that we are opposed to a Workers' Sport Federation, contending that the S. Y. L. will perform that function.

The overwhelming majority of the organized American proletarian youth is in a sports organization of one form or another. The overwhelming majority of these are under bourgeois influence. At the present moment these organizations are a recruiting ground for the bourgeois militarists. We must wrest the workers from their control and organize them into their own class sport organizations. One of the main purposes of this Sport Federation will be to fight against reaction, militarism, and Fascism. The main task is to organize class sport organizations, with Communist nuclei working within, and, if possible, directing these organizations. The main slogan in the process of organization is: "Class against class!"

IV.

On the question of industrial work the resolution is very ambiguous. It states that the economic work of the youth must not be separated from that of the adults and must be politically subordinated to the latter. That is undeniable. The comrades (and also the Y. C. L.) subscribe to that. Some of the comrades (and also the leadership of the Y. C. L.) see no contradiction between supporting the above proposition and building youth trade union fractions and shop committees, even where such adult groups exist. To this we are opposed. Separate youth shop committees and trade union fractions presuppose urgent demands of the youth that are quite different from those of the adult workers. But no such conditions exist.

In 1930 (according to the census bureau's report that year) there were approximately 33,000,000 workers over the age of fifteen. 22,422,485 of these workers were from the ages of 15 to 24 inclusive. Out of approximately 48,000,000 workers over the age of ten, 36,723,069 were from 10 to 24 years old inclusive. The quantitative increase in highly concentrated and centralized large scale industry in America has resulted in a qualitative change in the workers engaged in this industry (their wages, ages, hours and conditions of work, etc.)

inadequacy of centrism. The centrists like to speak of illegality, of conspirative, underground methods. As a rule, however, they do not take their own words seriously. They like to poke fun at bourgeois democracy; in practice however, they always show naive trust in it. For instance, when they call together an international conference it is handled as though it were a matter of a picnic; and the result is a catastrophe with a toll of heavy human sacrifices. If the matter should be looked into a little closer it will invariably be found that such organizational slovenliness is connected with the ideological looseness of centrism. Woe to those who cannot learn from experience!

From Marxist Quality to Mass Quantity

It is true that the organizational base for the Fourth International is as yet very narrow. In 1914, however, the basis for the Third International was even narrower. The work of building up did not consist, however, of groveling before opportunist organizations of the type of the N.A.P., but on the contrary, of struggling for the liberation of the workers from the influence of such organizations. The real initiators of the Fourth International begin with Marxist quality to turn it afterwards into mass quantity. The small but well hardened and sharply ground ax splits, hews and shapes heavy beams. We should begin with an ax of steel. Even here the means of production is decisive.

With regard to the O.S.P., as in all other cases, we draw a distinction between the centrism of the workers, which is only a transition stage for them, and the professional centrism of many leaders among whom there are also incurables. That we will meet with the majority of the O.S.P. workers on the road to the Fourth International of this we are quite certain.

—L. TROTSKY.

March 23, 1934

So now a condition exists where there is no great gap between young and old workers; a gap which must be bridged by youth fractions and economic organizations. Virtually the same difference exists between men and women as between young and old. Why not women's shop committees and trade union fractions?

The logic of a position that supports youth trade union fractions is to go over to the support of the idea of youth trade union sections and youth trade unions. And this idea is not as far fetched as it sounds. It has its precedent. The Young Communist International, which promoted the idea of trade union youth fractions, had to deal with the logical results of its policy.

The Tasks of the National Youth Committee

The entire development of our organization from its very inception, has been an abnormal one, not only by virtue of its political character, but even from the point of view of the elements composing the movement.

Coming from an organization (the Y. C. L.) isolated from the masses of American young workers, the offering necessarily set about the task of converting the father to the cause of the Left Opposition (Marxism). For two or more years we strove in this way. For two or more years we concerned ourselves, and inevitably so, with faction activity with regard to the Y. C. L. and with the education of our membership in the spirit of orthodox Marxism.

When the vicissitudes of time demanded a change of character of our organization, we looked about and beheld a ghastly sight.

Sectarian Organization

Not only was the organization itself a sectarian one, devoid of all contact with the masses of young workers, but its membership, through its long isolation in a sectarian Y. C. L. and a more sectarian S. Y. C., had lost all of its connections with the American young workers; had lost the pulse beat, the temper and the mood of the young workers. And more, our comrades had forgotten how to work among the proletarian youth. This matters stand today. We are sectarian—our members have forgotten the elementary laws of work among the masses of youth—we have, so to speak, "developed" "above" the American working youth.

We have given our membership a good education, oftentimes, I believe, "too good". We have introduced our comrades to fields of polemics in which only trained Marxists had heretofore dared to enter; we have offered our members good company to satiate their literary and musical appetites; all of which is good—excellent, were it not so. Every radical and "intellectual" youth has learned to look up to us—whilst our members have learned to look down upon every individual who cannot create six metaphors and eight similes in every paragraph of his writing. That is what we mean when we speak of

Who Lost the National Income?

In 1929 the national income was \$1 billion dollars; in 1930 it was \$5 billion; in 1931—\$3 billion; in 1932—\$4 billion. Who lost the income?

Labor income, which includes both "salaries" and wages, decreased 40% in the three years. Incomes to entrepreneurs, which includes farmers, decreased 44%. But incomes from property, including dividends and interest, decreased only 30%. As it will be shown further on wages actually decreased 61%.

Taking 1929 to represent 100 we find that in 1930 wages paid to labor in industry had fallen to 83. On the other hand salaries paid in industries (that is to the big shots, the owners) remained practically stationary, being listed at 99.3. Incomes from real estate stood at 84.4; Dividends at 97.2 and interest at 102.4.

Wages in 1931

In 1931 wages fell to 61 and income from real estate to 65. Hooverville cities, two and three families of workers moving together, account for this decline of income of the real estate sharks. The wages of the workers have been driven down more than one third. "Salaries" in 1931 find the same level as wages found in 1930, recorded at 83. Dividends drop to 72 and income to farmers to 76. Interest remains at 99, having suffered very little.

In 1932 wages went to a new low level—37%. "Salaries" fell to 50, dividends to 43, farmers 59. Interest held its own at 98.

While bourgeois economists separate dividends, interests and salaries and try to make us believe that they represent three different "classes" of income it is done only for the purpose of confusion and to throw dust in our eyes. "Salaries" are in many cases in reality only

An Analysis of Facts and Figures Regarding Wages and Dividends

the amount which the boss decides he is going to pay himself for being the boss. While rent, interest and dividends are three different things and are derived differently, they are, nevertheless, the three categories into which the surplus value extracted from the hides of the workers is divided. In this light it would be well to reexamine the figures given above and see what they mean.

Dividing the National Income

It is in fact necessary to divide the national income into the two classes belonging to it—the amount that went to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois class, constituting about 32% of the people, and the amount that went to the workers comprising the remaining 68%.

Thus we find that while wages decreased in 1930 to 83% of the 1929 level the share of the boogie which went to the bosses decreased to only 95.5%. In other words the workers suffered a 17% loss while the bosses suffered only a 4.5% decrease. In 1931 the wages of the workers were driven down to 61% of the 1929 level. Not so the bosses. Their average income stands at approximately 80% of the 1929 figure. But in 1932 while the wages of the workers dropped to the starvation level of 39% of 1929 the average income for the boss class still remains relatively high at 61%.

It can safely be said that the income for the exploiting classes as a whole remained at 61% of what it was in 1929. Yes the bourgeois economist will admit and immediately try to say that the workers income level has sunk to 39%. But this is a falsehood as he no doubt knows. When we consider that at the end of 1932 at least one-third of the workers are unemployed, and that about one half of these were already out of a job in 1929 then it can be seen that the income level of the class as a whole has sunk to 32%. This is the unpalatable truth which even such "liberals" as Walter Lippmann prefer not to see.

Bosses' Income Stood Up

For the three years 1930-31-32 the income of the boss class averages approximately 80% of the 1929 level. On the same basis it could be argued that the workers for the same three years averaged 61% of their 1929 income. However, if we accept that 25% will represent the average unemployment during this period (and it is, all in all, a conservative estimate) then the average wages of the working class as a whole has sunk to 45% of what it was in 1929. But these gentlemen will howl, this loss represents not a "real" loss but merely a monetary loss. The argument is that the real average wages of the workers has not sunk 39% (their figures); in reality

once discussion, reflects also the failure to comprehend the difference in youth age from the physical point of view as distinguished from the intellectual. A youth in the revolutionary movement remains a youth notwithstanding his age only to the degree that he is inexperienced intellectually. When once he advances to the stage where he can comprehend problems from a Marxian point of view, his period as a youth is "terminated" and he is ready for the adult movement. (I regret that I cannot elucidate.)

Necessary Steps

The steps necessary to accomplish our tasks are two fold:—

1. Training our members to act as young workers; training them to interest themselves in the problems of the young workers; training them to work with and among the young workers. That is the process of the Americanization of our organization.

2. Making contact with the masses of American youth. The success of all of our work, economic as well as anti-militarist (the resolution had not a word to say about anti-militarist work); depends largely upon our ability to make contact with the masses of youth. This can be realized only by advancing the slogan "Into the opponent mass youth organizations." This is the single slogan that can fill the gap of our transition period. Opponent work departments must be established. Comrades must be sent into mass youth organizations where they will be able to contact young workers, and where their knowledge can be utilized in winning over young workers to our point of view.

It is not easy to enter large factories or to contact young workers from the outside of the factory; it is easy to enter mass organizations where youths working in large factories gather. Draw them into our organization and you have a real base for collaboration with the adult organization in the economic field and the execution of the duties of a youth organization in every other field. —NATHAN GOULD.

55%). This is, of course, true and no doubt Mr. Lippmann is correct when he says that the \$7 billion loss for the years 1930-31-32 was, in terms of prices, only \$3 billion. However, it must be recorded for their sake that the two staple commodities for which the worker spends a large part of his wages, bread and milk, bear about the same price tag in 1932 as they did in 1929.

Commodity Prices

It is, however, true that the commodity prices by 1932 had found low levels which they had not struck for years. In terms of commodity prices it would be hard to say to what point the real wages of the workers had been depressed, since we have not on hand any figures on 1929 commodity prices. If by 1932 the monetary wages of the workers had fallen to 61% it would be safe to say that the cut in real wages amounts to about 35 to 40% at the end of the third year.

It was on the basis of the 1932 dollar and its commodity purchasing power that the codes of the NRA were based. The NRA was supposed to do three things. First, increase the purchasing power of the workers by increasing wages. How this was accomplished may be read in the history of one of the biggest strike waves which the American boss class has ever faced. Secondly, it was supposed to increase production as a result of the increase in purchasing power. It has also failed to do this, due to the third thing the NRA was supposed to do and actually has done—increase prices of commodities. Since the price increase has exceeded the wage increase (wherever such wage increase has been obtained) the result is that the worker has accepted another wage cut. And, of course, we are speaking in terms of real wages which the bourgeois economist over emphasizes when he is apologizing for the Hoover regime, and which he doesn't like to mention at all when defending the Roosevelt "New Deal".

The 59 Cent Dollar

But the end is not yet here. The 59 cent dollar, they tell you glibly, was designed primarily to force our dollars into foreign markets where the pound and the franc could not go, i.e., to increase our exports. This is true and leads to what the bourgeois economists are wisely silent on—the next imperialist world war for the purpose of repartitioning the world market. But the American worker, too, will feel the effects of the 59 cent dollar and when he begins to draw his pay in 59 cent dollars he will speedily realize that what he most of all needs is a substantial wage increase to offset the devastating wage-cut of the devaluated dollar. And he will find the NRA and its complicated legal machinery in his way.

Wages and Interest

There are two significant things brought out by the statistics quoted in the previous paragraphs which we will call to your attention. First, that the actual wages of the employed workers dropped to 39% of the 1929 level, and that if you take the class as a whole, wages dropped to about 32%. But the bosses will say, we "feed" the unemployed. Not so. Even the miserable relief wages given out to the unemployed was made up in large part out of the pay envelopes of the workers already receiving starvation wages.

The second thing we would call to your attention is the high income level held by interest during the worst year of the depression. It never sunk below 95. The one % of the people who own 33% of the nation's wealth, the handful of banks dominated and controlled by the Rockefeller, Morgans, and Mellons, who in turn dominate through finance and credit the nation's industry—they must have their pound of flesh. The income of the 1% as expressed in interest, sunk less than 5%.

—G. ROBERTS.

Dutch Aid Hitler

That the Dutch Government is favorably inclined toward the Nazis or at least underestimating the extent of poisonous Hitler propaganda in Holland, is amply proven by an investigation of Nazi activities by T. I. S. correspondents.

Official rules forbidding political activities of foreign residents in Holland are enforced only against the German emigrants, while the activities of the Nazis and their sympathizers are benevolently overlooked. The incident at Laren, the recent prison sentence against the German emigrant writer Helmut Lippmann for alleged insults to Hindenburg, and many other instances are cases to the point. Nazis, on the other hand, are free to indulge in systematic propaganda. Recently German Nazis were permitted to cross the border in military formations and visit the Dutch border town Toetnecht. Nazi meetings and street parades were held under the protection and escort of the Dutch police.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The expulsion of Leon Trotsky from France, and the attack which has been launched against him by the entire reactionary and counter-revolutionary press is dealt with elsewhere in the *Militant*. The press attack reveals that the "united front from below" is not the only kind practiced by Stalinist jackals.

L'Humanite and Liberte

In the yelping chorus of attack the blood hounds are led by the Stalinist *L'Humanite* and the Fascist *Liberte*. "He should be driven from France like a cur!" howls the reactionary organ. "A despicable character and a renegade, waxing fat on his writings," seconds *L'Humanite*. The hirelings of Stalin who could not stomach a united front with the Social Democracy to prevent Hitler coming to power are not so squeamish when it comes to attacking and driving from France Lenin's co-worker—the organizer of the Red Army.

In 1918 the reactionary press denounced both Lenin and Trotsky as "despicable characters waxing fat on German funds". In this attack at that time, they were joined by many Mensheviks who are now on the Stalinist payroll. The list included, in America, the hireling Mofseye Olgin.

Stalin and Kemal Pasha

In 1928 Stalin, fearing the reaction to the murder of the best known and most capable of Russian revolutionists, decided instead to deport him. By a united front with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, murderer of Turkish revolutionists, Stalin secured an agreement to confine Trotsky to the island of Prinkipo. The motion for his exile was carried against the votes of the few remaining members who had served on the Party's Politburo with Lenin.

Later when all of Lenin's co-workers were removed from the leadership and only Stalin, of all those who served on the Politburo in Lenin's day, remained, Trotsky's citizenship was taken away. He who had made Soviet visas possible found himself without a Visa by Stalin, the one member of the Politburo, who in Lenin's estimation was disloyal, overbearing, an abuser of power and unfit for leadership.

H. George Invents a Plot

In 1931, when Trotsky applied for permission to visit Czechoslovakia, Harrison George, in the vegetarian mess which he served to the readers of the *Daily Worker*, attacked Trotsky with a viciousness exceeded only by the White Guard press of Czechoslovakia. George, using his imagination to concoct a story that would gain him prestige with his masters, stated that the Czechoslovak Government, Kerensky and Trotsky were meeting in Prague to prepare an attack on the Soviet Union. The White Guard press in Prague denounced Trotsky as a murderer and an enemy of civilization. Trotsky was not granted a visa. Stalinism and the White Guards again saved civilization.

"Vanguard of the Bourgeoisie"

Wrecks of what once were revolutionists, like Bill Dunne, and spineless chatterers who never could be revolutionists, like Sam Don, again and again denounced Trotsky as the "advance agent of imperialism". That snivelling Uriah Heap, Earl Browder, whose belly-crawling to Losovsky and Stalin won him the leadership of the American Party at the recent convention, cautioned new members of the Party from considering Trotskyites as "a branch of Communism". "They are rather a police agency of the capitalist class". By his interview in the *Evening Post*, Browder shows himself to be part of the united front with the "capitalist police agency" that is hounding Trotsky from France.

"Against Fascism—for the Fourth International"

Quotations published in the capitalist press, from the stirring manifesto of the Fourth International, should be enough—if anything was needed—to show, that Leon Trotsky today, is the self-same revolutionist, the organizer and leader of the revolutionary proletariat, as he was when he organized the insurrection in Petrograd, when he organized and led the Red Army to victory and as he was when Lenin in his last message to the Party called him "the most capable man on the Central Committee".

Even if murdered by White Guards, or assassinated by Stalin's agents as was the sterling revolutionist Blumkin, of one thing both Stalinists and White Guards, in their united front, can be sure—the International Communist League which Trotsky organized and inspired will go forward in the building of the Fourth International that will lead the workers of the world to final victory.

—BILL.

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE HISTORIC DECLARATION OF THE FOUR ORGANIZATIONS AT PARIS

In full realization of the great historic responsibility which devolved upon them, the undersigned organizations have unanimously decided to combine their forces for joint work for the regeneration of the revolutionary proletarian movement on an international scale. As the basis for their activity they lay down the following principles:

1. The mortal crisis of imperialism, which has taken the form of world war, is the product of the capitalist system, the Second International, the bureaucracy of the International Federation of Trade Unions, poses imperatively the question of the break with reformist policy and of the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means for the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society.

2. The problem of the proletarian revolution bears, by its very nature, an international character. The proletariat can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of the world division of labor and world cooperation. The undersigned categorically reject, therefore, the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines the very foundation of proletarian internationalism.

3. No less energetically must be rejected the theory of the Austro-Marxists, centrists and Left reformists who, under the pretext of the international character of the socialist revolution, advocate an expectant passivity with regard to their own country delivering thereby the proletariat in reality into the hands of Fascism. A proletarian party which evades the seizure of power under the present historic conditions commits the worst of betrayals. The victorious proletariat of one country must strengthen its national dictatorship by socialist construction, which remains of necessity incomplete and contradictory until the working class seizes political power in at least a few advanced capitalist countries. Simultaneously, the victorious working class of one country must direct all its efforts to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. The contradiction between the national character of the seizure of power and the international character of socialist society can be resolved only by courageous revolutionary action.

4. The Third International, which grew out of the October revolution laying down the principles of proletarian policy in the epoch of imperialism and giving the world proletariat the first lessons in the revolutionary struggle for power, fell victim of a chain of historical contradictions. The treacherous role of the social democracy, the immaturity and inexperience of the Communist parties led to the breakdown of the post war revolutionary movements in the East and in the West. The isolated position of the proletarian dictatorship in a backward country gave an extraordinary power to the ever more conservative and nationally limited Soviet bureaucracy. The slavish dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the Soviet tops led, in its turn, to a new series of grave defeats, to bureaucratic degeneration to the theory and practice of the Communist parties, to their organizational weakening and more than that, the Comintern proved not only incapable of fulfilling its historic role but became more and more of an obstacle in the way of the revolutionary movement.

5. The advance of Fascism in Germany put the organizations of the working class to a decisive test. The social democracy once more confirmed the designation given it by Rosa Luxemburg and revealed itself for the second time as "the stinking corpse". The overcoming of the organizations, ideas and methods of reformism is the necessary prerequisite for the victory of the working class over capitalism.

6. The German events revealed with no less force the collapse of the Third International. Despite its fourteen years existence, despite the experience gained in gigantic battles, despite the moral support of the Soviet state and the plentiful means for propaganda, the Communist party of Germany revealed its incapacity under conditions of a grave economic, social and political crisis, conditions exceptionally favorable for a revolutionary victory, and thereby showed conclusively that despite the heroism of many of its members it had become totally incapable of fulfilling its historic role.

7. The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working masses into unheard of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of

Fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture—these are the conditions which imperatively demand the welding together of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International. The undersigned obligate themselves to direct all their forces to the formation in the shortest possible time of this International on the firm foundation of the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin.

8. While ready to co-operate with all organizations, groups and factions which are actually developing from reformism or bureaucratic centrism (Stalinism) towards revolutionary Marxian policy the undersigned at the same time declare that the new International cannot tolerate any conciliation towards reformism or centrism. The necessary unity of the working class movement cannot be attained by the blurring of reformist and revolutionary conceptions or the adaptation to the Stalinist policy, but only by combatting the policies of both bankrupt Internationals. To remain equal to its task the new International must not permit any deviation from revolutionary principles in the question of the insurrection, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet form of the state, etc.

9. By its class basis, by its social foundations, by the incontestably prevailing forms of property, the U. S. S. R. remains also today a workers' state, that is an instrument for the building of a socialist society. The new International will inscribe on its banner as one of its most important tasks the defense of the Soviet state from imperialism and internal counter-revolution. Precisely the revolutionary defense of the U. S. S. R. places upon us the imperative task of freeing the revolutionary forces of the entire world from the corrupting influence of the Stalinist Comintern and of building a new International. Only under the condition of complete independence of the international proletarian organizations from the Soviet bureaucracy and the tireless unmasking of its false methods before the working masses is a successful defense of the Soviet Union possible.

10. Party democracy is a necessary prerequisite for the healthy development of revolutionary proletarian parties on a national as well

as on an international scale. Without the freedom of criticism, without the elections of functionaries from top to bottom, without the control of the apparatus by the rank and file, no truly revolutionary party is possible.

The need for secrecy under conditions of illegality changes completely the forms of the internal life of a revolutionary party and makes wide discussions and elections difficult, if not altogether impossible. But even under the most difficult conditions and circumstances the basic demands of a healthy party regime retain their full force: honest information of the party, freedom of criticism and a real inner unity between the leadership and the party majority. Having suppressed and crushed the will of the revolutionary workers, the reformist bureaucracy turned the social democracy and the trade unions into impotent bodies despite their membership numbering millions. Having stifled democracy, the Stalinist bureaucracy stifled also the Comintern. The new International, as well as the parties adhering thereto, must build their entire inner life on the basis of democratic centralism.

11. The undersigned created a permanent commission of delegate representatives and assigned the following to it:

- (a) The elaboration of a programmatic manifesto as the charter of the new International;
- (b) the preparation of a critical analysis of the organizations and tendencies of the present-day workers' movement (theoretic commentary to the Manifesto);
- (c) the elaboration of theses on all the fundamental questions of the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat;
- (d) the representation of the undersigned organizations before the outside world.

SIGNED:

E. Bauer—International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

J. Schwab—S.A.P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany)

J. P. Schmidt—O. S. P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)

K. Suvetlet—K. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland)

Labor Groups Protest Action of Dutch Government

Aroused by the recent deportation from Holland to Germany of four German workers, refugees from Hitler persecution, American labor groups and advocates of civil liberty yesterday asked the Dutch Government through its local Consul General for guarantees of asylum for political exiles. A joint statement of protest against present Dutch policy was presented to the Consul General's office, 17 Battery Place, by Herbert Solow George D. Heron and James Rorty for the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense which drew up and circulated the protest.

The statement read in part as follows: "For a worker to cherish opposition to the Hitler dictatorship is to risk prison, concentration camp brutalities, even the executioner's axe. . . . We wish you to forward our demand that your government immediately and publicly guarantee to all German political refugees safe conduct through and asylum in Holland. Until such a guarantee has been made, we will do our utmost to acquaint the masses of America with the attitude and activities of the Dutch government and to arouse them to effective expression of the profound horror and anger we know they will feel."

Organizations Signing Protest

Among the organizations endorsing the protest are, besides the Provisional Committee, the Young People's Socialist League, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Unemployed League, the American Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Communist League of America, the Communist Party Opposition, and the Jewish Workers Party. In addition it is endorsed by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello* and anarchist leader; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union; James P. Cannon, editor of the *Militant*; Alex Ball, editor of the *Workers Age*.

Solow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee, said the refusal to transmit the protest will cause a further intensification of the protest movement. Many European organizations, Solow said, have registered protests and a fund is being raised to help defend the four victims. An attorney has been sent

to Germany from Holland to seek information about their fate. The deported workers were delegates to a conference of independent Socialist and Communist parties and groups at Laren, Holland. When the police dissolved it, two American delegates were also deported.

Labor Conference Sends Protest

Aroused by the hostile attitude of the Dutch authorities against exiled German workers and Socialists, the "Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism" has sent a sharply worded letter to the Dutch Minister in Washington, Jonker H. M. van Haersma de With, protesting against persecutions and asking that necessary guarantees be given to the "victims of a regime which is a constant threat to humanity, freedom, peace and progress". The action follows the initiative taken in the case by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The letter, protests specifically against the breaking up of a conference of representatives of young workers' organizations at Laren, Holland, foreign delegates to which were arrested and deported. Four delegates were sent to Germany although they were refugees from the Hitler tyranny and were wanted by the Nazi authorities.

The "Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism" is composed of workers' organizations and trade unions in the United States. Its headquarters are in New York. David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is chairman; B. Charney, vice-president, and Bela Low, secretary. The executive council consists of Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the A.C.W. of A.; M. Danish of the I.L.G.W.U.; M. Zaritsky and N. Spector, President and Secretary, respectively, of the International Union of Cap and Millinery Workers; S. Weinberg and J. Baskin of the Workmen's Circle; R. Guskin and M. Finestone of the United Hebrew Trades; Ph. Zausner of the Painters District Council 9; A. Miller and L. Hollander of the Amalgamated Joint Board; Norman Thomas, Socialist Leader; I. Nagler of the Cloak Joint Board, and other labor leaders.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Robins and Gras Sentenced

Following the conviction of Herold Robins and Andres Gras, two militant workers active in the hotel strike, on a framed-up charge of assaulting a scab, the labor-hating Judge Corrigan, who presided over the trial and who used all the means in his power to secure the conviction, passed sentence on the 16th of April. Harold Robins was given the maximum sentence under the charge, from two and a half years to five years in the penitentiary. Gras was sentenced to serve from one to two years.

The whole case was a conspiracy of the Hotel Association in the attempt to terrorize the hotel workers and to stem their militancy. Attorney Jacob D. Fishman has been engaged to appeal the case on the grounds that the two workers did not get a fair trial. The judge refused to allow testimony in favor of the accused, while he permitted the jury to be prejudiced by the testimony of detectives that Robins was a Communist and a strike agitator.

Immediately after sentence was passed, both Robins and Gras were transferred from the Tombs to Sing Sing penitentiary.

THE INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

The English edition, printed form, eight pages, is now off the press and can be ordered directly from the national office. It is 10 cents a copy and cash must accompany all orders.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

Pledge Fund

The Pledge Fund for the stabilization of the *Militant* took a big leap forward at a closed meeting of sympathizers and members, held at Irving Plaza on Sunday, April 15th. At this meeting comrade Cannon reported on "Developments in the Movement for a New Communist Party, our Relations and Negotiations with Other Groups, and Next Steps". Following the questions and discussion, an appeal for *Militant* supporters was made and met with gratifying results. Seventeen of those present made definite pledges for regular weekly and monthly sums to the *Militant*.

We urge other branches to follow the experiment made by Local New York.

In the last issue we reported 40 regular pledgers in addition to three new ones, making a total of 43. Today we report another 20 pledgers, of which 17 pledged at the meeting as stated above.

THE PLEDGERS

- 43 Previously reported.
- 44. A. Toven, Bay Ridge \$1.00 monthly
- 45. F. Becker, Manhattan .50 weekly
- 46. A. W., New Haven .25 weekly
- 47. J. Tonasin, Bronx .25 weekly
- 48. Sydney M., Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 49. Pauline M., Manhattan .25 weekly
- 50. A. McCabe, Bronx .25 weekly
- 51. Geltmans, Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 52. A Sympathizer .50 weekly
- 53. Samuel E., Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 54. Cyril W., Manhattan .25 weekly
- 55. N. P., Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 56. Lillian G., Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 57. Corbo, Manhattan .25 weekly
- 58. E. C., Manhattan 1.00 monthly
- 59. E. J. C., Manhattan .50 monthly
- 60. Clara D., Manhattan 1.00 weekly
- 61. Anna E., Brooklyn .25 weekly
- 62. E. A., Bronx 1.00 monthly
- 63. A Friend, Manhattan 1.00 weekly

(paid 25 weeks in advance)

Once a month a complete list of all pledgers will be published.

Reactionaries Strike at Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

must be driven away like a dog".

How clearly and forcefully the political issues eventually become! How unmistakably, through all the fog of slander and falsification, the essence of the eleven-years struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists makes its way in these expressions of the bourgeois governments and newspapers! In the above quotations the capitalist spokesmen of Europe testify to their unalterable conviction that Trotsky is the veritable representative of the revolutionary program which they hate and fear.

The treacherous policy of Stalinism, exposed already in a long chain of events, is demonstrated once again before the workers of the entire world in the present case. The false face of Bolshevism is torn aside; the ordinary standard of labor ethics espoused by every simple and decent trade unionist, which dictates an attitude of labor solidarity with a victim of capitalist persecution—even this is lacking in the conduct of the cynical bureaucrats of Stalinism from Moscow to Paris and from Paris to New York.

Not a united front of the working class against the class enemy, but a united front with fascist reaction—this is the essence of the Stalinist practice in the campaign against Trotsky. Frothing at the mouth, every jackal of the apparatus, every corrupt functionary of a regime that is corrupted to the core, barks at the heels of the international revolutionist.

"Drive him away like a dog", demands the Fascist newspaper. And the spokesman of the Soviet Embassy in Paris adds: "The Soviet Government is making no effort to interfere. We assume the French Government is capable of handling him". (United Press, April 18).

"He advocates a revolution by an armed workers' militia", say the French "authorities" in announcing his deportation (Associated Press, April 18). *L'Humanite*, organ of French Stalinism, replies: "He is a renegade and a despicable character generally". (Herald Tribune correspondent, April 16).

"During the February clashes between the police and mobs", the French police charge, "he sent agents to the Socialist and Communist leaders urging a 'monster joint meeting' to prepare for mass actions". (Associated Press, April 18). And the New York *Freiheit*, which is against that kind of a united front, explains in an editorial on April 19th, that "Trotsky . . . is a man whom the revolutionary workers the world over hate and despise. . . . For the class-conscious workers the Trotsky matter is no more than an incident among capitalist governments and their servant."

Yes, Stalinist perfidy is revealed once again and it is not by accident that they direct it against the chief exponent of the revolutionary doctrines which they trample in the mud. They deported him from the Soviet Union; they dickered with the Turkish police to immure him on an island as in a prison; they connived with capitalist governments to keep him out of Europe; under the guise of calling attention to his lack of adequate protection at Prinkipo they incited White Guards (if not Stalinist agents) to assassinate him; they organized demonstrations against his admission to France and now they salute his deportation by a reactionary government that paves the way for Fascism! And all this cynical cooperation with the class enemy is passed off as revolutionary Bolshevism! Revolutionary workers, learn to despise this bureaucratic canaille which defiles the very name of Bolshevism!

The Real Issues Break Through. The advanced workers all over the world in increasing numbers are beginning to see the issues as they really are and to draw the necessary conclusions. They are breaking out of the circle that has been drawn around them—the devil's circle of lies and calumnies, of perversion, fakery and disorientation.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

In the hall of persecution and slander directed at the person of Trotsky, first by war mongers and social patriots during the war; then by the whole camp of reaction in the Kerensky days and in the first period of the Bolshevik revolution; later taken over and magnified by the Stalinist bureaucracy after the death of Lenin; and now unfolding again under the leadership of the blackest forces of capitalist reaction, with the Stalinists in their train—in these campaigns of rage and hate and persecution concentrated on Trotsky the advanced and thinking workers of the world are beginning to see what is really involved: the struggle of the classes.

And, more than that, the eleven-years' campaign of the Stalinists, sandwiched in between the two great world crusades of the bourgeoisie, and fusing more or less openly with the latest one, stands out now more clearly in the same light. Trotsky, the person, is the target of the attacks of capitalist reaction because he, more ably and consistently than any other, has pointed out the way to the revolutionary struggle and victory of the workers.

The campaign of Stalinism against him personally was a campaign against his ideas, and that, in turn, has been at bottom a fulfillment of the commands of alien classes. The whole "anti-Trotsky" course of Stalinism, studied along the path for eleven years with disorganization and defeat of the workers' movement in all countries, is true to itself and more self-revealing than ever now. And the conclusion is clearer and more inescapable than ever: Stalinism is a reactionary force in the labor movement of the world.

The accusations brought against Trotsky by the French police reveal the whole essence of the matter in a few compact sentences. They accuse him of working for a united front of Socialists and Communists "to prepare for mass action". They charge him with advocating the formation of "a workers' militia" to repel the Fascist attacks and to take the offensive against them. They indict him for his solemn warning to the workers that they must "fight to the death". And they drive him out of France because he summons the workers to reorganize their ranks under the banner of the Fourth International.

That, in brief, is indeed a program to strike terror to the hearts of all exploiters. In those clear, simple words there is the prescription for the workers' struggle and victory. If the workers will heed these words in time, and carry them out in deeds, they can reform their ranks and halt the march of reaction. The can smash the dread menace of fascism and clear the way for revolutionary victory.

In these issues, so fateful for the future of humanity, capitalist reaction has taken the offensive. Driving with breakneck speed toward the establishment of a fascist regime in France, they scent danger in the program of Trotsky and launch a furious campaign against him. By the same token the workers of France and of all countries ought to rally to his aid without delay. The defense of Trotsky's life at the present moment is a duty enjoined upon the labor movement in order to defend itself.

WILL FASCISM COME TO AMERICA?
Lecture By
JAMES P. CANNON
Friday, May 4, 1934
at 8:00 P.M.
Elm Hill Building, 532 Warren St.
Opposite Waumbek St.
Roxbury, Mass
Admission 15 Cents

Auspices: Boston Branch Communist League of America

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All Out to Madison Square on May Day!

Revolutionary Workers! March Under the Banner of the Communist League of America!

May Day

Important Notice!
League members and sympathizers mobilize on May Day at 126 East 16th Street at 11 A.M. sharp.

May Day, the workers' holiday born in the great struggle of 1886, baptised in the blood of the Haymarket martyrs!

May Day has witnessed mighty demonstrations of the marching hosts of labor throughout the world. It has witnessed the dark days of the World War and the miserable capitulation of the Second International. It has seen the glorious days of the Russian Revolution when the workers, rising in their might, overthrew their oppressors and marched in triumphant processions through the streets which they had won.

Through bitter struggles, through defeats and victories, sometimes the few stalwarts of the vanguard, again the marching millions, have proclaimed to the world on May First their international solidarity and their determination to be free.

The Record of the Past Year
Again we meet on May First to look back on a year of defeat. Our comrades in Germany lie prostrate under the bloody Fascist heel. Our comrades in Austria, who fought a heroic struggle, stand defeated. In a capitalist world, rotten to the core, long over-ready for its grave diggers, we see Fascist bands, the scum of the nation, rising and striking down the powerful workingclass organizations one after another, and with them every progressive institution and every progressive thought.

Italy! Germany! Austria! And now the barbaric monster raises its head everywhere throughout the world!

In the face of this danger we see the dominant parties of the working class, the Second and the Third Internationals, following in one country after another the policies which lead to defeat. When the Nazis organized and armed themselves, and when the whole situation cried aloud for a united front of all labor organizations to crush the rising menace, we saw on the one hand the Stalinist German C. P. with its insane policy of the united front "from below" and its so-called theory of "Social Fascism" refusing to make any effort for a united front and disdainfully rejecting the feeble overtures made by sections of the Social Democracy. On the other hand the German Social Democracy, relying on the "friends" of capitalist democracy in the enemy class, refused to take action of any sort to arm and to prepare the workers who in their majority followed Socialist leadership.

Result of False Policies
The result of these policies was, as could have been and was again and again foretold, the victory of black reaction and, worse than that, the ignominious capitulation, without any struggle, of the powerful German labor movement. For this defeat, for the tortures, humiliations, exiles and death sentences heaped on the German working class, the treachery of the Social Democracy and the criminal blunderings of Stalinism bear the blame.

Refusing to learn by the bitter experiences of Germany the leadership of the Austrian Social Democracy followed the same treacherous and cowardly course, until the wrath of the aroused working class forced action. It was then too late for a victorious battle. But to the everlasting credit of the Austrian proletariat, they went down fighting, fighting heroically, men and women side by side, and by their action awakened again the militant spirit of the workers throughout the world.

The French Fascists in their
(Continued on Page 4)

On May Day this year New York will witness the most imposing demonstration of the workers and the most tangible advances toward their united struggle against the common enemy that has been seen for many years. The participating workers' organizations will march together in a single parade and hold a common demonstration at Madison Square. The Communist League (International Communists) will march in the parade under its own banner and will be represented by its own speakers at the demonstration.

The idea that the political and economic organizations of the workers, regardless of their differences in principle, must form a united front of action against the class enemy, this idea, which was rejected with such fatal consequences in Germany, has brought a host of organizations together and governs their practice in carrying out all the arrangements of the united front May Day parade and demonstration. The no less important condition—that each organization shall preserve its own identity and march under its own banner—is likewise respected and observed by the participants.

These features of the demonstration signify a victory for the idea of the workers' united front and the beginning of its realization in action. For these reasons alone, the Communist League, which insistently fights for the united front of the workers' organizations, would be duty bound to take part in the work and actions of the May Day Labor Conference which culminates in the parade and demonstration on May Day. But there are other reasons of no less weight and importance which make the course we have taken mandatory upon us as Communists.

The Stalinist Party (C.P.) and the organizations under its control are conducting a separate parade and demonstration at the same hour. Thus, although the preponderant weight of forces is with the Labor Day Conference, a serious element of division remains in the workers' ranks. Such a division is not of our making. We stand for the united front of all the workers organizations and will continue to fight for it in the future. Nevertheless, the division, and the holding of the demonstrations at the same hour, compel each organization, and each individual militant to make a choice.

We have made our choice in this matter with full deliberation, and our decision is not an isolated one, applicable only to a single occasion. It corresponds, rather, to the trend of developments in the labor movement. And this, in turn, determines the tactical course of the revolutionary Marxists.

MADISON SQUARE AND UNION SQUARE

The Stalinists, who reject the united front with all organizations not under their direct control, demand that the workers demonstrate on May Day only under Stalinist auspices. This ultimatum is repeated by their camp followers of various kinds in varying stages of confusion and demoralization.

The ultimatums of the Stalinists have no interest for us. We reject the "leadership" of these political hooligans and condemn them as a menace to the labor movement. But to the conscientious left wing workers, who may have the mistaken impression that the conflicting May Day demonstrations present a choice between Communism and reformism, we owe a frank explanation of the course we have taken. Our remarks on the question are addressed especially to them.

It is argued by the Stalinists and their camp followers that the parade and demonstration at Madison Square, organized by the Labor Conference, will be composed predominantly of the socialist political organizations and reformist trade unions while

the Union Square demonstration represents the revolutionary workers. The workers who want a united front of action and defense are called upon to choose between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. This ultimatum contains three propositions which have to be dealt with separately.

SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

It is quite true that the Madison Square demonstration will be predominantly socialist and trade unionist and that these organizations have by far the main weight in the conference. But that is not a reason for communists to stay away from the demonstration. On the contrary, it is the duty of the communists to march with the socialist workers and the trade unionists and to raise the banner of communism in their midst. As long as the communists are permitted to march with their own banner and to be represented by their own speakers at the demonstration—and these rights have been expressly provided for all the participating organizations by the joint arrangements committee—they have no need and no right to present any other demands as a condition for united action. March separately, strike together—this is the fundamental basis for the united front of the workers.

We do not demand that the socialist workers leave their organizations as a condition for common action with us. We do not demand that they cease to be socialists in order to make a united front with communists. We do not demand that our "leadership" be recognized beforehand, and we do not repeat the insane gibberish about the "united front from below". It is such ultimatums, which the Stalinist bureaucrats are in the habit of laying down to the workers, which negate the very idea of the united front and make it impossible. We hope to convince the workers, in the course of common action, of the inadequacy of reformism and the necessity for revolutionary policy and leadership. But we do not demand that they be convinced of this in advance. Therein lies the fundamental difference between the Stalinist and the revolutionary communist conception of the united front.

WHO ARE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS?

The second false assumption in the ultimatum of the Stalinists and their ideological captives is the argument that the Union Square demonstration is a demonstration of "the revolutionary workers", that the Stalinist leaders are the representatives of Communism. This contention, false to the core, is especially repugnant today in the face of the cynical united front of Stalinism with world reaction in the hounding of the organizer of the Russian Revolution.

Many workers with the impulse to be revolutionists will undoubtedly participate in the Stalinist demonstration. But Stalinism as a political current contributes nothing to the labor movement but ideological disorientation, demoralization and defeat. The Stalinist hooligans corrupt every principle of Communism and defile its very name. They always subordinate the interests of the working class to the special interests of a bureaucratic apparatus. The Stalinists disrupt and sabotage every attempt of the workers to unite their forces for a common fight against the class enemy. Stalinism is a poison in the veins of the labor movement, and its harmful influence derives precisely from the assumption by many workers that it represents Communism.

It is necessary to attack this illusion in deed as well as in word and to put the question as it really stands: **Stalinism is a reactionary force in the labor movement of the whole world.**

The Madison Square demonstration will be predominantly reformist in composition and leadership.

That is true. But it is no less true that the unfalsified doctrine of revolutionary internationalism will also be represented there this May Day, and only there. Not the banner of Stalinism, splashed with crimes and treacheries, but the banner of the International Communists—this is the banner of Communism. Every revolutionary worker ought to march behind it and no other.

PARTY MEETING OR UNITED FRONT?

The third fallacy in the ultimatum of the Stalinists and their apologists consists in the posing of the question of a united front on May Day as a rivalry and contest between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, and the demand that the workers choose between the two parties. "March with the Communist Party, not with the Socialist Party", is the formula of this ultimatum. For our part, if it is a question of party preference, we choose neither the C. P. nor the S. P. and follow neither. If the May Day meetings are to be construed simply as meetings of different parties then the revolutionary workers supporting the Communist League would have no choice but to abstain from both demonstrations and to organize their own, however small it might be.

But this is not how the question presents itself to us. Quite the contrary. General political meetings of the parties can be conducted apart from the demonstration under the auspices of the respective parties—the Communist League, for example, will hold its own meeting in the evening. But the demonstration and parade on May Day ought to represent a united front of all the parties and workers' organizations in a single demonstration against war and fascism and for the immediate needs of the workers.

It is precisely the inability of the Stalinists even to comprehend the question in this sense, their shopkeeper's conception of the special interest of their own party apparatus and their fear of "competition", that impelled them to organize the Union Square demonstration as a demonstration for the Communist Party. Their stubborn refusal to merge their party interest, for a single occasion on May Day of all days, with the general class interest condemns the demonstration to isolation as an affair of the C. P. and its auxiliaries, despite all the crooked ballyhoo about "unity" and the "united front".

About the same token this policy of the Stalinists and the whole line of conduct flowing from it, not forgetting the Madison Square Garden affair, this policy and conduct made it easy for the Socialist leaders, who are no more in favor of an all-inclusive fighting united front than the Stalinists, to counteract the pressure of their own members for a single united demonstration.

THE STAND OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The fact that the Socialist leaders felt obliged to agree to joint action with every other group and organization except the Stalinists, to give up their original demand that the May Day Labor Conference be labeled as "Socialist and Labor", their agreement that all the participating organizations be represented with their banners at the head of the parade as well as on the arrangements committee and on the speakers' platform—all this is powerful testimony to the deep-rooted sentiments of the Socialist workers for a genuine united front.

The Communist League fought in the conference and arrangements committee for an invitation to the Stalinists, but without success. We also sent delegates to the Stalinist conference to propose that a direct approach be made to the May Day Labor Conference for a single demonstration. Our proposal was rejected with the usual barrage of epithets and slander. Nevertheless, it can be asserted, so pressing

is the need for unity and so powerful the sentiment of the rank and file workers for it, that if our proposal had been adopted and carried out honestly and consistently it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Socialist leaders to refuse.

We shall continue to fight for this policy as we have fought consistently for it in the past. For years, as a faction working for the reform of the C. P., we continuously advocated the adoption by the party of the policy of the united front in the same sense that we present it today. The victory of fascism in Germany is directly due to the rejection by the Stalinist leadership of the united front with the Social Democracy and the reformist trade unions which the Left Opposition insistently demanded. The weakness and disorganization of the working class movement in this country, after four and one-half years of the unprecedented crisis, is in large part also the result of the same fatal mistakes, systematically repeated.

Breaking with the Comintern because of its obvious and irremediable bankruptcy, and taking the path toward new parties and the Fourth International, the International Communists (formerly the Left Opposition) in no way alter or modify the principles, strategy and tactics with regard to the broad labor movement which they formerly proposed for the adoption of the official Communist Parties. The only difference is, that we carry out in practice now, as a completely independent organization, the tactics which we previously recommended to the C. P. This is the meaning of our decision to participate in the Madison Square demonstration and parade with the Socialist Party, the trade unions and other political groups and tendencies.

THE ROAD TO THE UNITED FRONT

The parade and demonstration organized by the May Day Labor Conference, lacking the inclusion of the Stalinist organizations, is obviously not a complete united front and should not be represented as such. But this is not reason to abstain from participation. After all the divisions and demoralization it is utopian to expect that the idea of the united front will take hold everywhere with the same force and that it can be realized organizationally overnight.

The building of the united front of the workers is a process. This process involves agitation for the idea, experiments in cooperation and tests in action. Including all the tendencies of the more or less progressive section of the labor movement, with the single exception of the Stalinists and their satellites, the May Day Labor Conference represents a tremendous step forward. From this point of view it must be hailed and supported by the revolutionary workers. At the same time efforts must be made to broaden out its composition and extend it to other fields of activity in the class struggle.

Needless to say, our participation at Madison Square does not imply in any way the slightest reconciliation with the Socialist Party. The united front of action on concrete questions does not signify political collaboration. No blurring of principle issues. No mixing of banners.

Our principle differences with social reformism remain. We shall fight them out to the end. Not by lies and slander, not by hooligan violence, but through argument and example we shall endeavor to convince the Socialist workers of the necessity of a revolutionary policy and leadership. In intransigent principled struggle against social reformism we shall work for the new party and the new international.

Meantime, now as always, we shall stand for the united front in concrete struggles of the day with the Socialist workers through the medium of their chosen organizations.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

LENIN'S MAY DAY APPEAL TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS

This May Day leaflet of the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass was written by Comrade Lenin in prison in the year 1896, and was distributed among the Petersburg workers in forty factories to the then tremendous amount of 2,000 copies.

"In preparing and distributing this leaflet we felt that we were accomplishing a great revolutionary act. A month and half later there developed the great strike of the spinners and weavers that began and grew precisely under the influence of the May Day leaflet and only waited for the occasion to go forward in more active form. This strike showed to us and to the whole world that our feelings had not betrayed us. The strike began precisely in those places where accidentally our leaflets had been particularly well distributed." B. Gorenwald-Goldmann. "Out of the Party Past."

COMRADES!

Let us consider our position very carefully—let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives.

What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If they were as they should be, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado.

We have convinced ourselves only too often that all those to whom we turn for help are the servants and the friends of the bosses. They keep us workers in darkness, they keep us ignorant so that we should not dare to fight for an improvement of our conditions. They keep

us in slavery, they arrest and imprison every one who shows any signs of resistance against the oppressors—we are forbidden to struggle. Ignorance and slavery—these are the means through which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insults, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us—and the better off these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers.

But it's a long road that has no turning—and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardly of slaves has changed into

the courageous sturdiness of men, who refuse to submit to the greed of the capitalists. A whole series of strikes has swept thru various Russian cities. Most of these strikes ended successfully, especially in that they threw the bosses into terror and forced them into concessions. They showed that we were no longer cowardly paupers but that we had taken up the struggle.

As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Workingclass with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses, of struggling against the shameful oppressions and swindles of our consciousness exploiters. The League distributes leaflets at the sight of which the hearts of the bosses and their servants, the police, tremble. They are not frightened by these leaflets—they are terrified at the possibility of our united resistance, the sign of our great power that we have already manifested more than once. We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join

the League and co-operate in the great task of struggling for the class in the struggle for their interests. It's time that we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government have placed upon us. It is time that we joined our fellow workers of other lands in the struggle—under a common flag bearing the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights the First of May is a general holiday of all labor.

The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed.

Because they are afraid of strikes no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also find their chief demand in the teeth of the bosses: "Eight-hour day." In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time—

and not so long ago—when they didn't have the right to be deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But thru relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together.

Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and all other enemies of the workingclass.

Petersburg, May 1, 1896

May Day
Mass Meeting

Madison Square and Union Square—Why Two
May Day Demonstrations?
Who Is Responsible for the Division of Forces?
What Is the Road to the United Front?

IRVING PLAZA HALL
(GRAND BALLROOM)
15th St. and Irving Place
Tuesday May 1st - 8p.m.

Speakers:
J.P. Cannon - A. Swabeck
Carl Cowl - Geo. Clarke - Reva Craine

The "United Front"

"Mass Basis for Common Struggle Often Neglected in Dealing with Individuals". Thus runs the subtitle of an article dealing with the United Front tactic by Harry Yarls (in the Daily Worker). Very good! One would conclude from this that the C. P. had drawn some lessons from their recent experiences with the Congress against War and in the League against War and Fascism.

Therefore when Matthews, Henson, Fox, Muste and other leaders of the League resigned one would ordinarily conclude that this new orientation would be the guiding principle in re-organizing the League.

"United Front with Individuals" Yarls's article goes on to say: "In our efforts to set up some form of united struggles, a tendency has cropped up to form United Fronts with certain individuals—some very doubtful 'left' elements in the trade unions and in the Socialist Party—thus substituting for the United Front with masses of workers, the United Front with individuals, who in many cases represented 'generals' looking for armies..."

Further: "The United Front consisted solely of certain conferences and meetings with these individuals. It was never really brought down to the broad masses of workers in the form of united struggles. This is one reason why the organizations created by the conferences and the conferences themselves died so soon after birth, i.e., Tom Mooney Council of Action, American League Against War and Fascism as a national organization, the Cleveland Conference, etc. . . . We have very little to gain through United Fronts with individuals. If no practical struggles result, if the movement is not raised at least one notch higher, then we have not moved forward." (our emphasis)

"New 'Generals' for Old" Well, we thought, if the Party has not learnt anything from our criticism of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Amsterdam Congress they are at last beginning to learn from their own bitter experience here in America.

But our hopes were short-lived. No sooner did one group of "generals without armies" step out than another group was named to replace them. The new "generals" are Harry F. Ward, commander of the Union Theological Seminary—a real mass organization of workers—Robert Morris Lovett, professor at the University of Chicago; Lincoln Steffens, journalist; Rev. B. Lester Mondale of Evanston, Ill.; Prof. Colton E. Warne; Rabbi Goldstein and Winifred Chappell, secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service. A truly notable leadership in the struggle against War and Fascism. Now we can really "hope" that the struggle against Fascism will take on a mass character.

This is the new line of the Party. They have learnt nothing by the experiences . . . Germany . . . Austria . . . Amsterdam Congress . . . Cleveland Conference, etc. Those "lessons" referred to in the Daily Worker article, were promptly "forgotten".

Playing the Fascist Game By pursuing this kind of united front policy the party is playing right into the hands of the Fascists. Every day there are reports of new Fascist outbreaks throughout the world. While solemnly professing to believe in a genuine "united front" agreements from above with every type of careerist, representing no mass organization, and to whom any kind of militant mass action is anathema. This type of united front only paves the way for Fascism.

In New York recently, within the period of a year, the Fascists have managed to build a considerable mass following without any effective resistance. They are able to hold large mass meetings and parade through the streets to spread their vicious propaganda. A united front of all labor groups is imperative if the hydra-headed menace of Fascism is to be crushed. The time to do it is NOW—before it becomes too powerful and crushes us.

—W.

Payless Furlough for N. Y. Teachers

With the passage of the LaGuardia Economy Bill giving the mayor the right to furlough city employees without pay for from seven days to one month and accompanying bill—whose passage by the New York State Legislature is indicated—empowering the Board of Education to furlough teachers in about the same proportion the teachers have lost a hard fight. In effect the furlough is a wage cut and will further lower the teachers' standards of living. It appears to be the strategy of the "economizers" to institute the furloughs during the summer vacation when the teachers are dispersed and their organized resistance, consequently, will be at its lowest ebb.

Second Wage Cut

The payless furlough is the second wage cut the New York City teachers have received. In December, 1932 they got a cut of from 6 to 10 percent through the efforts of Walker who was then mayor. A democratic administration asked the teachers to make a "small sacrifice" in the interests of economy. When LaGuardia was campaigning for mayor in 1933 he made much of this point in his attacks on Tammany. Yet only a few days ago he crowned his first 100 days in office, among other things, with a pay cut for teachers—in the interests of economy. It should be clear that there is no essential difference between Walker and LaGuardia, Democratic, Republican or Fusion administrations and politicians. Behind Walker stood the bankers and the really interests who cracked the economy whip. Behind the LaGuardia mask the teachers will find, if they look, the same capitalist face carrying out the same capitalist program: protect profits at the expense of the standard of living of the masses, including the teachers.

The Teachers' Enemy

The enemy the teachers face is the overlord of society, the Wall Street banker, a powerful antagonist. This does not mean, as many teachers seem to think, that the fight is hopeless. PAY CUTS CAN BE DEFEATED! And the attacks which are impending now can be

beaten back. For that the teachers must fight. There are thirty-six thousand of them working in the schools; fifteen thousand more are unemployed. United by a common purpose and animated by a spirit of resistance against their attackers, they can strike heavy blows in defense of their standard of living and the institution of public education.

What is required first of all is a program of struggle and an organization corresponding to that program—a trade union. In view of the recent experience of the teachers the first plank of this program should be: no faith in the bourgeois politicians; the teachers can rely only on their own efforts and the support of the organized working class movement. The aim of such a program should be to put PRESSURE on the capitalist state through mass meetings, demonstrations, protests and united action with the labor movement.

The Teachers' Union

There is a union in the field, the Teachers Union, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is, as yet, a weak organization having only some 1900 members and is more of a lobbying organization than it is a trade union. Its program is confined, in the main, to deals with bourgeois politicians in Albany to introduce support or oppose legislation favorable or unfavorable to the teachers' interests, as the case may be; maintaining a lobby in Albany and issuing propaganda to raise money for this purpose.

Nevertheless it is a trade union in form; most of the teachers at work are eligible for membership in it although the ten thousand unemployed and unemployed are barred, supervisors (foremen) are eligible, and the present membership consists, in its greater part, of the higher salaried teachers. By and large it employs the practices of the conservative trade union movement and has taken to its bosom the methods of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in stifling democracy in the union. At a recent meeting the Executive Board recommended the admission of fifty-five new members but refused to divulge their names!

Reform the Union

Withal the union has the possibility more than any other of the seventy-five organizations in the field of becoming a mass organization with a militant program. But for that several things are necessary. The methods and policies of the present leadership must be scrapped. That means, in the first instance, that masses of teachers should be drawn into the union. A beginning can be made by lowering the dues. Hundreds who remain outside today because of what they consider excessively high dues will join the union tomorrow if the dues are lowered.

Organize the unemployed! The capitalists and the Board of Education want to use them to lower the standards of the employed.

Restore democracy in the union! The membership must have the right to vote on and decide questions of policy! Put a stop to the red-baiting of the administration of the union! Every teacher should have the right to his own social, political and economic views! Organize mass demonstrations! Arouse the teachers!

These are the lessons of the wage cuts. This is the road on which to march to defeat the coming attacks.

—H. L.

GREETINGS

Pearl Friedman, Chicago
Joseph Fischer, Chicago
Helen Judd, Chicago
Earl Hoffman, Chicago
Pierino Arquilla, Palos Park, Ill.
V. Di Giacomo, Chicago
G. Maris, Chicago
Cesarino Parisi, Chicago
E. Spinelli, Chicago
Ed. Lipensky, Chicago
M. Mancini, Chicago
2 Friends, Chicago
John Castarra, Chicago
A Friend, Chicago
J. D. Rio, Chicago
Mary Camera, Chicago
Guido Galassi, Chicago
Thomas Sabatini, Chicago
Sam Manglapelo, Chicago
Alfonso Clavartone, Chicago
Giuseppe Porro, Chicago
2 Friends, Chicago
Joe Gorodetzer, Philadelphia
S. Hardy, Philadelphia
L. L., Philadelphia
M. G., Philadelphia
Harry Allen, Philadelphia
Max Kaufman, Chicago
Mrs. Weiss, Chicago
Cant, Chicago
Lepes, Chicago
N. Rubin, Chicago
Clara Kaufman, Chicago
Welk, Chicago
Mrs. S. Krupka, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sam Verman, Pittsburgh
Mrs. J. McElson, Pittsburgh
A Friend, Pittsburgh
M. Basin, Pittsburgh
Dave, Pittsburgh
Nick Leperes, Pittsburgh
A Friend, Pittsburgh
Albert Wolfe, New Haven, Conn.
Bernard Wolfe, New Haven
A Teacher, New Haven
Yale student, New Haven
Samuel Gandelman, New Haven
Morris, New Haven
A Sympathizer, New Haven
Another Sympathizer, New Haven
An Architect, New Haven
Gertrude Duell, New Haven
Joe Harris, New York City
Cora Duff, Kansas City, Mo.
Jean Rall, Kansas City
Fred Simmons, Kansas City
Neil Tygart, Kansas City
Chas. Warner, Kansas City
Jefferson Rall, Kansas City
Jenny M. Rall, Kansas City
Otto Zulauf, Kansas City
Theo. Croner, Kansas City
Alfred Caplan, Kansas City
S. H. Kaessen, Kansas City
A Comrade, Kansas City
Fred Nesson, New York City

Compliments of
CONSOLIDATED LUNCH BAR
Third Ave. & 15th St.
New York City

COMPLIMENTS

of
Irving Plaza Hall
Irving Plaza & 15th St.
NEW YORK CITY

May Day Greetings

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Kansas City, Mo.

GREETINGS

to
COMRADE L. D. TROTSKY,
and to the League of International Communists
Forward to

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
and NEW COMMUNIST PARTIES

Pittsburgh Branch, Communist League

GREETINGS

to the
MILITANT
BAY RIDGE BRANCH,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS

to the
MILITANT
PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

A FRIEND

Youngstown, Ohio

GREETINGS

to the
MILITANT
NEW CASTLE BRANCH
New Castle, Pa.

May Day Greetings
from the
Kansas City, Mo. Branch

May Day Greetings
from
BUEHLER BOOK STORE
Kansas City, Mo.

May Day Greetings
BOSTON BRANCH
Boston, Mass.

NORTH PHILADELPHIA
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Philadelphia, Pa.

GREETINGS
TO THE MILITANT
YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH
Youngstown, Ohio

May Day Greetings from
INDEPENDENT
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE,
Branch 989
Minneapolis, Minn.

Compliments of
"REUBEN"

The Friends of the Militant Club Chicago

Sends its hearty, comradely May Day Greetings to the entire International Proletarian Class.

May this traditional holiday awaken and intensify the class consciousness of all workers, sharpen the revolutionary spirit and unify all working elements into one whole under the banner of the new Fourth International for the attainment of the final goal: a victorious Social Revolution all over the world.

May Day Greetings

to

THE MILITANT,

the International Communists and our comrade Harold Robins and his fellow class-war prisoner comrade Gras, now in prison for their activities in behalf of the striking hotel and restaurant workers.

BRONX BRANCH, New York

May Day Greetings

to

THE MILITANT,

and all the International Communists on this historic day.

Forward to The Fourth International!

from the

MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GREETINGS

from the

MANHATTAN BRANCH,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
LOCAL NEW YORK

MAY DAY GREETINGS

to

THE MILITANT

from the

TORONTO COMRADES
Toronto, Canada

MARCH OF EVENTS

Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia

The ruthless policy of Japanese militarism requires no documentary proof. During more than a generation the Japanese ruling class has made abundantly clear its inflexible aim of fixing the colonial yoke on the necks of the Chinese masses—and to do this before the other imperialist robber powers gain too strong a foothold in China. The notorious Twenty-one Demands made on China during the War and the Tanaka Document merely set forth the obvious, the unrestrained, cold-blooded bandit ambitions of Japanese militarism.

Why then the startled reaction of the capitalist press when Amanu, chief of the intelligence division of the foreign office, mouthpiece of Hirota, formulates Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia, with its warning that Japan will resist by force any encroachments by others on its preserves in China? The answer lies in the fact that capitalist "peace" is merely a truce between wars for plunder that Aman's brutally frank statement disturbs the present truce and sets up the tremors that betoken the nearness of the next war.

Japanese Uncertainty

It has been clear for some time that the Japanese ruling class is divided in counsel. Recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U. S. gave pause to the shrewd spirits among the militarists who realized the suicidal nature of a war against an alliance of two such formidable powers as the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. The perspective of immediate intervention in the Soviet Union slowly faded and a change in foreign policy resulted, the effort being made to woo America away from the Soviet alliance. Simultaneously Japan has been seeking assurance from British capitalism that England would "balance" the U. S. in case of war with the Soviet Union. Does the present turn signify that these assurances have been gained? Or is this merely the result of the pent-up emotions of those Japanese reactionaries who cannot await a more propitious moment for attack?

The Danger of Waiting

Waiting too is a dangerous policy. It permits the Soviet Union to strengthen its defenses. It gives the U. S. a chance, not merely to build a powerful navy, but to seek what has become essential to U. S. imperialism, a military base in China. The Japanese properly interpret the aid given Chiang Kai-shek by America in the training of aviators, the selling of planes, the building of airports and communications, and the setting up of an airplane factory, as one step in the direction of establishing a military foothold on the Asiatic mainland. Waiting means also the sharpening of the class struggle internally in Japan. The intense struggle to maintain her aims in foreign trade, so severely under attack by the jealous powers, involves the ever fiercer oppression of the Japanese masses of workers and peasants. The militarists are acutely aware of the volcano upon whose top they sit. The explosive internal forces, they delude themselves into believing, can be directed outwardly and dissipated. History will show how deluded they were.

Roosevelt and Nationalization

Roosevelt continues to attack the living standards of the workers to assure dividend and interest payments to the capitalists. Again, after a policy of temporizing and delay so as to dull the edge of the railroad workers' fighting spirit, Roosevelt insists on maintaining the wage cut. He insists that he does not want nationalization of the railroads but will be forced to take steps towards rigid control unless the railroad magnates reform the capital structure of these public utilities.

By such deception Roosevelt hopes to gain the sympathy of the middle and upper classes in his fight against the railway workers. For there is not another field of capitalist "enterprise" that offers a clearer picture of capitalist plundering and looting of public finances than the field of railroad transportation.

Roosevelt's attitude towards nationalization is that of his class. He fears nothing so much as a real political struggle supported by the masses and the middle classes, for nationalization of the railroads. The capitalists fear that this would be an entering wedge which might precipitate a real struggle for state socialism.

It was in this sense that "Railway Age" recently answered Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board when he predicted nationalization. The editors stated that the resistance to state socialism would prevent nationalization of the railways.

—JACK WEBER.

THE MILITANT

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I. D. Trotsky

What is the Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender?

Rakovsky's declaration making known his intention, in view of the acute sharpening of international reaction, to submerge his differences with the "Party" and to submit completely to "discipline" came to many as a bolt from the blue. And no wonder! In the course of the years of his exile the old fighter was transformed from a human figure to a symbol, not only for the I. L. O. but for wide strata of the working class in general.

The average reader's reaction to Rakovsky's surrender is that it is a victory for the bureaucracy, or—if this strata be given its personal pseudonym—a great victory for Stalin! True, Rakovsky did not declare his views false nor sing Byzantine psalms of praise to the bureaucratic leadership, but in any case by his declaration he acknowledged that in the struggle against international reaction, cessation of the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy is necessary. If from the purely individual point of view his declaration contains nothing of the revolting and shameful self-abasement and self-degradation which have become now indispensable conditions for "Bolshevik" party loyalty, it appears at first glance all the more important from the political point of view.

It would, however, be absolutely false to dwell only on the immediate impressions and purely psychological effects of events. It is the bounden duty of every Marxist to appraise Rakovsky's case not as a case in itself but as a political symptom, that is, to bring it in relation with the deeper processes of development.

Center Shifted to West

Already more than half a year ago, we wrote:

"The extremely difficult conditions under which the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists work exclude them from the possibility of playing the leading role on the international scale. More than this; the Left Opposition group in the U. S. S. R. can develop into a new party only as a result of the successful formation and growth of the new international. The revolutionary center of gravity has shifted definitely to the West where the immediate possibilities of building parties are immeasurably greater." (The Soviet Union and the Fourth International, page 28).

These lines were no chance remark but summed up rather the whole experience of the last decade. The Russian Left Opposition which set itself the direct aim of reconstituting the Bolshevik party and of shunting its policy back on the rails of the international revolution, succumbed in the struggle. One may suffer a defeat because one pursues a fundamentally false policy. But also with a correct policy one may fall victim to an unfavorable relation of forces. Engels repeatedly pointed out that a revolutionary party which suffers a decisive historic defeat is inevitably reduced to nought organizationally. At first glance it would seem that the fate of the Bolshevik party which, despite the defeat of 1905, twelve years later achieved the greatest revolutionary victory in world history contradicts this. But on closer scrutiny this example only strengthens Engels' statement. As a mass organization the Bolshevik party disappeared from the scene during the years 1907-1911. There remained only a few scattered, for the most part vacillating cadres, there remained a tradition, there remained above all the emigrant staff with Lenin at the head. The rising tide of 1912-1914 brought a new revolutionary generation to its feet, roused a part of the old Bolsheviks out of their lethargy and thus created a new party organization, which was historically—but in no way organizationally—the continuator of the old Bolshevik party. This example by no means exhausts the question with which we are concerned but offers certain points of support for its understanding.

The Struggle for Industrialization

The Left Opposition began with the struggle for the industrialization and agrarian collectivization of the Soviet Union. This fight it won in a certain sense—namely in that, beginning with 1928, the whole policy of the Soviet government represents a bureaucratically distorted application of the principles of the Left Opposition. Without this the Soviet Union would not be in existence any longer. But the economic questions of the U. S. S. R. formed only one part, and a subordinate one at that, of our program whose center of gravity rested in the sphere of international revolution. And in this sphere we have during the last eleven years, together with the whole world proletariat, suffered nothing but defeats: in 1923 in Bulgaria and Germany, in 1924 in Ethiopia, 1925-27 in China, 1926 in England and Poland, 1928-32 the progressive bureaucratic degeneration of the Comintern, 1933 the

Nazi victory in Germany, 1934 the Austrian catastrophe. In all these events and processes the analyses and prognoses of the Left Opposition have been strikingly although unfortunately negatively confirmed. One may read carefully for instance the two novels of the French writer Malraux: "Les Conquerants" and "La Condition Humaine". Without fully realizing the political interrelations and consequences, the author presents here an annihilating indictment against the Comintern's policy in China and strengthens in a most striking manner through his images and figures all that the Left Opposition had already laid down in its theses and formula before the events themselves. No one can dispute these invaluable theoretical triumphs of the Marxist method! But just so in the year 1905 not the Marxist method but the Bolshevik party was defeated. Later, after a period of years the methods proved victoriously correct. Right after the defeat, however, 99% of the cadres—including the members of the Central Committee—quit the party, turned into peaceful citizens, sometimes even into philistines.

Defects of the Proletariat

It is not by chance that national reaction triumphed in the U. S. S. R. on the basis of the social achievements of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat of the West and the oppressed peoples of the East exhibit nothing but defeats. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the dictatorship of fascism spreads. Irrespective of what the reasons for this may be, since the revolution itself proved inadequate, the idea of the international revolution was bound to suffer discredit. The Left Opposition above all, as the representative of the principles of the International Revolution, experienced a loss of confidence in the eyes of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. This is the real reason for the growth of the autocratic rule of the bureaucratic apparatus in the Soviet Union and of its national-conservative degeneration.

Every Russian worker feels now too with his whole heart his solidarity with the proletariat of the rest of the world and hopes that it will be finally victorious, but the international revolution as a practical

factor has gradually disappeared from the field of vision of the Russian masses. They pin their hopes on the economic successes of the Soviet Union, they discuss passionately the problems of food and shelter, they grow optimistic on the basis of a good crop—but what concerns the international working class movement has become the possession of Manuisky-Kuusinen-Losovsky, whom no one in the country takes seriously.

The Example of Kirov

As to the spiritual make-up of the ruling upper crust of the Soviet Union, one example is highly illuminating—how Kirov expressed himself at the last party congress. "How beautiful it is to live now it is almost impossible to express!" Kirov is no chance figure, he is a member of the political bureau and the political governor general of Leningrad; he occupies that post within the party which Zinoviev held at the pinnacle of his influence. That Kirov rejoices over the technical successes and the mitigation of the food scarcity is quite understandable. There is not an honest worker in the whole world who does not rejoice over this. The frightful part of it consists in that Kirov sees only these national partial successes but leaves out of sight the whole field of the international workers' movement. Military dictatorship rules in neighboring Poland, blackest reaction in all other neighboring states. Moscow is forced to preserve "friendship" with Mussolini and the Italian proletariat remains after twelve years of fascism still completely powerless and dispersed. The Chinese revolution was wrecked; Japan rules in Manchuria; the Soviet Union sees itself forced to deliver to Japan the Chinese Eastern Railway, the most important strategic instrument of the revolution in the East. In Germany the Nazis have scored a victory without a fight and no bureaucratic cheat or trickster will dare any longer to pass this victory off for the "acceleration" of the proletarian revolution. In Austria the chained and bleeding proletariat lies prostrate on the ground. The Comintern is compromised, beyond redemption, it has become a brake on the revolution. Despite its crimes the social democracy becomes anew the strongest party of

the working class and in all "democratic" countries prepares the way for Fascist slavery. In France Thaelman's policy is being carried on by Thorez. While in Germany the elite of the proletariat languishes in concentration camps and prisons, the Comintern bureaucracy works indistinguishably as though an accomplice of the social democracy, to make the whole of Europe, yes, and the whole world, into one fascist concentration camp. And Kirov, a member of the leading body of the first workers' state in the world, admits that he lacks words to express the joy of living today? No, the man is not stupid; moreover he gives expression not only to his own feelings. His winged word is repeated and praised by the entire Soviet press. Speakers and listeners alike simply forget the whole world: they act, think, feel only Russian and even in this frame only bureaucratically.

Effects of Isolation

The capitulation statements of Sosnovski and Preobrajenski reflect the same spirit. They close their eyes to the world proletariat. That alone makes it possible for them to reconcile themselves to the national perspectives of the Soviet bureaucracy. And if they seek reconciliation, they need it because they see no point of support, no lever, no great historic possibility in the storms of proletarian catastrophes in the West, following one on the heels of the other.

After Hitler's victory which brought the pre-history of the Fourth International ("Left Opposition") to an end, it was not easy for us in Germany as well as in Europe in general—that is the law of inertia that rules in all fields—to realize that now we must build new proletarian parties in relentless struggle with the old. Had we however not taken this road in time the Left Opposition would not only not have emerged from its pre-history into its own history proper but would have disappeared from the political scene altogether. How much more difficult, however, it is for the old cadres of the Left Opposition in the U. S. S. R., dispersed, isolated, disoriented, or what is worse, systematically misinformed, to embark on the new road. Rakovsky is a great revolutionary temperament, a personality, a lucid mind. But no one should be deluded. Rakovsky too is only a man and, having been for years separated from the great historic perspectives which inspire the cadres of the Fourth International, the "human" in him won't the uperhand. By this we do not at all mean to justify Rakovsky. For fighters to explain does not mean to forgive, it means only to strengthen one's revolutionary certainty.

The "Gleichschaltung" (co-ordination) proceeded downwards for years from revolutionary internationalism to national reformism, from Lenin to Kirov. Thus the victory over Rakovsky is only the most glaring symptom of the degradation and wreckage of Marxism in the country which became a workers' state due to Marxism. A remarkable dialectic, a bitter dialectic, but it is actually here and cannot be evaded by mental acrobatics.

Hitler Aided Stalin

Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. Without exaggerating by a hair's breadth we can say that Stalin got Rakovsky with the aid of Hitler. That means, however, that Rakovsky's road leads to a political nowhere. His example can carry away a dozen or more young comrades. In the scope of the international politics of the proletariat it will change nothing. In Rakovsky we mourn a lost political friend. We do not feel ourselves weakened by his elimination from the struggle, since it strengthens, although tragically from the personal point of view but politically unshakably, our fundamental principles. As a revolutionary factor the Comintern is dead. From the Moscow leadership the world proletariat can expect only obstructions, difficulties and sabotage. The situation is difficult to an unheard-of degree but by no means hopeless since our difficulties are only the difficulties of world capitalism transformed through both bureaucracies. Two processes run along side of each other, into and through each other: on the one hand the decomposition of the old structure, the renunciation of old beliefs, capitulations before Hitler and, as a shadow thereof, capitulations before Stalin; on the other hand, however, the awakening of criticism, a feverish search for the broad revolutionary road, the gathering of the cadres of the Fourth International.

Light Will Come From West

The Leninist current in the Soviet Union can from now on only be revived by great revolutionary successes in the West. Those Russian Bolsheviks who remain true to our cause under the unheard-of pressure of national reaction—and there are more of them than we suspect—will be recompensed by the further course of development. But now the light will come not from the East but from the West. Even the shamelessly betrayed Chinese revolution waits for a new impulse on the part of the world proletariat.

—C. C.

Cuban Revolution

Stalinism Kneels to American Imperialism

Editor's Note—The following article on the shameful role of Stalinism in the Cuban revolution was written especially for the Militant by comrade M. Garcia Villareal, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba, section of the International Communist League.)

The present stage in the development of the Cuban revolution is marked on the one hand by a gradual regression toward plans of defensive struggles, and on the other by an accentuation of the acute contradictions of the existing political and social regime. Following the great struggles carried out by the working class from September to December 1933, the ascending conjuncture of the revolution has ceased, to make way for an offensive of the old ruling classes, under the pressure and control of Yankee diplomacy.

The governmental crisis of the early morning of January 18th, when president Grau San Martin was forced to resign by the "peaceful uprising" of the army, did not in any sense signify a simple political-ministerial crisis, but rather the tragic passage from the offensive to the defensive. Once more the working class had been defeated by its class adversaries. Upon fleeing from the political power which it had held during four months, the petty bourgeoisie, by logic of the historic process, should have stepped aside under pressure of the only progressive class in modern society: the proletariat. The fall of Grau San Martin should have signified the victory of the working class. But, far from this, it came to mean a return to the domination of the old political factions, and to imperialist rule in Cuba.

Reasons for the Defeat

Why is it that the Cuban revolution, objectively mature, did not develop forward, breaking the resistance of the reactionary nuclei, and,

once the possibilities of paralyzing the functioning of the state were at hand, to a complete dismounting of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie?

No workers' party has ever had a greater historical responsibility than that which falls directly on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Caribbean secretariat, and of the Communist Party of Cuba. Not only in a historical sense, but also in the daily and immediate application of revolutionary policy, Cuban Stalinism has been converted into the most negative factor within the process of the revolutionary developments. The whole blame for the proletarian defeat, falls on the shoulders of Stalinism, without any limitations. Its present cowardice before problems that demand energetic and decisive action, constitutes the last requiem to its existence as a vanguard party of the great exploited masses.

The labor movement of Cuba, considerably backward in its political conceptions, grew in a serious progressive manner, from the time of the fall of Machado's infamous dictatorship. Reformism offered no obstacle to the revolutionary development of the masses, because of the lack of a political and organic tradition and because the soil of Cuba is unfavorable to it due to the sharpness of the economic contradictions. Within the labor movement, two parties alone, struggled for supremacy: Stalinism, with its international resources, and the Bolshevik-Leninists, organizationally small but ideologically sound.

Road to Emancipation Opened

The impetus of the masses who, for the first time in history, found the road to their emancipation open before them, was turned loose in the most impressive wave of strikes and combats the country had ever seen. The proletariat passing from victory to victory, was taking the offensive along the whole front; building its cadres; creating its own militia; preparing the assault

on political power. If a correct policy had been utilized; if our material resources had not been so limited, it would not be infantile to affirm clearly, that the working class would at this moment, be waging the preliminary combats for the conquest of power.

But, having grown and fortified its influence, Stalinism, by its narrow political outlook, isolated the working class, pushing it onto the road of adventures; violent zigzags; abrupt withdrawals. Far from understanding the rhythm of the development of the revolution, it classed the petty bourgeois government of San Martin as a "bourgeois-federal government, lackey of imperialism". Such a gross theory had a practical application to match. All efforts were directed towards the overthrow of the Grau government, in behalf, not of the working class, but of imperialist reaction which was once more preparing its return to power over the state apparatus.

Confusing the Masses

Without distinguishing essential or purely formal political differences, it confused all of its adversaries in one solid mass. Internal discords among the class enemies, instead of being utilized in the interests of the workers, were considered unimportant by Stalinism. The Leninist insurrectionary formula "to confuse the dominating classes" was interpreted by the functionaries of official Stalinism in a most peculiar manner: "To confuse the dominated classes". Thus when the proletariat found itself forced to fight, it was already too late: for Carlos Mendieta had been raised to government power on the athletic shoulders of the American marines.

Historically, the coming to power of Mendieta is a defeat for the proletariat. Only by preparing the defensive energetically and consciously, reaching out to all of the mass organizations for the creation of the united front; building the fighting equipment of the proletariat which will guard the retreat and prepare tomorrow's offensive, is it possible to check the disintegration of the workers' ranks which are falling back under the blows of reaction.

A Treasonable Capitulation

But Stalinism does not understand this question either. Stunned by unbridled reaction—the road to which Stalinism prepared in a criminal manner—it has done nothing but yield cynically and openly before the dictates of the plutocracy. Its last resolutions, emanating from the bureaucratic and "chantagist" Caribbean Secretariat, complete its infamous treason; Stalinism has ordered that in case of a revolution the property of the imperialist feudal holdings are to be respected, because imperialism is an "infinitely superior enemy".

This shameful capitulation has not even caused the most simple party militant to blush. The corruption of the C. C. of Cuba, has already reached such a state that not only is a resurgence impossible, but not even a protest can be hoped for. The Litvinoff-Roosevelt pact, denounced in time by the international Communists, has already borne its most delicate fruit: respect for the domination of Yankee finance capital.

This prostration of the Stalinist functionaries at the feet of imperialism will go down as the most open and cynical betrayal, made by the Communist International in the last ten years.

New Revolutionary Explosion Impending

Today the Cuban revolution retreats before the onslaught of the opponent and the demoralization of the proletariat sold out by its bureaucratic leadership. In the near future however, a new revolutionary explosion, which will penetrate deeply into the popular masses of the nation, is inevitable. It is necessary to organize in the midst of the struggle a capable political leadership in order to lead the next assault on the enemy positions. If this leadership fails, if it is unable to mold itself in the course of the present battles, then the revolution will recede for a long time to come.

But the abnegation, vigor and tenacity demonstrated by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the recent months; their whole-hearted consecration to the proletarian cause, make it possible to predict that we shall be able with the aid, especially, of the proletariat of North and South America, to guide the broad Cuban masses, correctly and surely, towards the conquest of political power.

The coming upturn must find the Cuban proletariat in condition to fight and win, because leadership is tempered in struggle and each day finds it better prepared. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

—G.B.

—M. GARCIA VILLAREAL
Havana, April 12, 1934

The Collapse of the Disarmament Bubble

The New York Times of April 16, in an editorial has a few good words to say for the students who demonstrated against war in the schools of the country last week. "There was an unquestionably sincere and admirable feeling shown in protesting against war as a cruel and useless resort. . . ." But was not, it asks, the display of praiseworthy emotion misdirected? Whereupon sound advice is administered to the bewildered student youth. "What these young men ought to do," it says, "is to pass on from their detestation of war to hearty support of every international agency designed to prevent it." This is followed by the very practical proposal that the young men should devote their energies to getting the United States to join the League of Nations and adhere to the World Court.

Bankruptcy of "Peace" Agencies

Unfortunately the Times selects an inopportune moment to direct the eyes of misguided students toward international agencies for peace. Right now the bankruptcy of all so-called international efforts for peace have become so transparent that even the journalists of the capitalist press are compelled to speak out openly about it.

In the columns of the N. Y. Times, just one day prior to the editorial mentioned, a London correspondent writes: "Fourteen years of effort in behalf of the League of Nations has come to naught so far as disarmament is concerned." In the Herald Tribune of April 15 we read: "The disarmament bubble—the pretense maintained convincingly since 1919, that the heavily armed powers would some day consent to reduce their armaments—was semi-publicly exploded last week, and the very word 'disarmament' may as well be dropped. The question now, as the Geneva conference on Tuesday recognized, is whether even a convention limiting future arms increases can be agreed upon when the full conference meets May 23." (our emphasis—G.B.)

Thus the disarmament comedy is drawing to a close. The Imperialist powers are now engaged in the

greatest armament race since the World War. It is no longer a question of disarmament but efforts of the rival countries to restrain each other in the mad feverish marathon. The statesmen know the hour of war is nearer than ever. The N. Y. Times writer in the same article says: "The governments of neighboring powers may solemnly proclaim at every opportunity that war is furthest from their thoughts, but their general staffs proceed upon the assumption that it is an imminent possibility."

The international agencies for peace are as useful in preventing war as were their pre-1914 prototypes in preventing the World War. What did the Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907 providing for the pacific settlement of international disputes mean on the days of August 1914? The answer is equal to zero.

Such institutions as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Foreign Policy Association in recent reports utter doleful notes about the agencies for preserving peace. Every foot of the earth is covered by one peace pact or another, they inform us. However all these mutual pledges are not working satisfactorily. Dr. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie endowment questions the good faith of the powers who signed the treaties. He has a suspicion the signatories have no intention of observing the pledges. How else, he asks, can it be possible for nations to negotiate and sign one treaty guaranteeing world peace, then violate it, and then sign another identical treaty?

Peace Pacts—and Wars

There is a contradiction between what is signed and what is done, the Carnegie report shows:

The Kellogg-Brand pact renounced war. But there has been no reduction in land armaments. All the nations of the Western Hemisphere signed anti-war pacts. But Paraguay and Bolivia have been at war for the last two years. The nine power treaty signed at Washington in 1922 guaranteed the integrity of China. But Japan invaded China in 1931 and has remained there since.

If the student or anyone else does not relish the prospect of being slaughtered in another capitalist war, he had better reject the advice of the New York Times. Instead let him turn his eyes toward the working class movement, and particularly toward the revolutionary section of the working class. For only in the destruction of capitalism, the cause and breeder of wars, and the victory of the workers, lies the certainty of the disappearance of war.

—L. TROTSKY.

March 31 1934

America vs Japan in Latin America

The key to many of the policies of American imperialism, both in relation to Latin America and to Japan, may be found in the following facts and figures, the latter taken from a Panama newspaper.

A veritable flood of goods from Japan is reaching the Latin American market which, for the last 15 years, has been considered reserved for the U. S. While the amount of goods bearing the tale "Made in U. S. A." is diminishing, the goods bearing the words "Made in Japan" are increasing in number, relatively to the amount of imports from other countries and absolutely in relation to the figures of each preceding year.

Silks; cambrics; food-stuffs; paper goods; articles of porcelain, crockery, glassware, and china; drug, medical and toilet articles, leather goods; bamboo; canvas shoes; rubber articles; toys; celluloid—these are the chief articles of import.

Japanese Exports

The value of the imports from Japan to Paraguay in pesos de oro:

1924	140,231
1925	223,078
1926	242,073
1927	276,944
1928	308,597

To Peru, in Japanese yen:

1928	1,753,651
1929	2,601,545
1930	2,234,774
1931	729,205
1932	840,574
1933	1,857,807

(first six months only)

In Panama, where three years ago Japanese goods were unknown, they now hold second place. The figures given are in Panamanian dollars, and for the months cited only.

Before May, 1931, there was a monthly import of less than \$15,000.

May, 1931	\$ 29,180
Nov., 1931	40,308
July, 1933	94,025
Aug., 1933	109,745

Tendency Alarms U. S.

These are but examples of a general tendency that is causing, to say the least, a great deal of anxiety in the U. S. These figures are not large, but the fact that Japan's exports to the Latin American markets can gain, as in Brazil, 1926 in England and Poland, 1928-32 the progressive bureaucratic degeneration of the Comintern, 1933 the

173%, and to Peru, where the increase was 322%, is symptomatic of process that in the final analysis can only be changed by imperialist war.

In this time of crisis every shred, scrap and crumb of foreign market assumes a great importance. A teaspoonful of water to a man dying of thirst is much more important than a well of water in a region where there is plenty. These two facts—of Japan's increasing foreign trade in Latin America and the great demand for every dollar's worth of market by the U. S.—must be taken careful account of when reading the reports of international conferences.

U. S. Exports to South America

Part of the meaning behind the Pan-American congresses, treaties, etc., can be found in these figures of U. S. exports to South America. These figures are taken from the World Year Book:

1928	\$489,814,000
1929	539,309,000
1930	337,508,000
1931	158,091,000
1932	97,132,000

These figures for 1932 are less than 20% of those for 1929. The same process is at work on a world scale as the following figures for the world export of the U. S. show:

1928	\$5,128,356,000
1929	5,240,995,000
1930	3,843,181,000
1931	2,424,289,000
1932	1,611,016,000

Do the Figures Spell War?

Japanese exports in these years decreased also, but nowhere near the degree of the other powers.

In Yen

1928	1,971,955,000
1929	2,148,018,000
1930	1,469,852,000
1931	1,146,381,000
1932	1,409,992,000

While in 1932 U. S. exports dropped to 31% of the 1929 figures, Japanese exports only dropped, at the end of the year 1932, to 67%.

Does this inequality mean war in which the American and Japanese wage slaves will, among other things, fight to determine whether Japanese or North American goods shall be found in the bazaars of India, the fairs of South America and the market places generally of the world?

—C. C.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Statesmen at Albany

Senator McNaboe and President of the Senate Dunnigan were debating.

Said Mr. McNaboe, "He (Dunnigan) went to City Hall and told that honest man of sterling character, John Curry, 'John I am with you against the world,' and then went out and worked for the Recovery Party. He has been a double-crosser ever since I knew him."

And Dunnigan came back with: "I feel sorry for McNaboe, he is a mental case. He went to the Recovery Party and offered to sell out Tammany Hall but they turned him down. They thought he would act as a spy."

Moronic shysters, like this pair, are to "investigate" the "Power Trust" and its purchasing of votes at Albany! What an investigation that will be!

Tammany Gang Chief Dropped

"There are no charges against me. No one can say I have not been an honest man," complained John Curry, Tammany chief, as the sachems and other warriors sharpened their tomahawks for his scalp. "We all like and respect you," said one of the district leaders. "John, every man here holds you in the highest esteem and are for you 100%—socially," said another, holding the scalp of chief John in his hand. "I can't vote against Curry, he's been so good to me," sobbed a female sachem.

When the voting was over and Curry was out, he made a few remarks. "Mr. Keneally, didn't I call you up on Monday to tell you I was making you a sachem?" "Three laborers jobs would have suited me better," was Keneally's scornful answer.

There was rejoicing in Washington. "Harmony" in the division of spoils by Federal, State and City Democratic leaders, will help in the fall elections. The hands of Roosevelt and Farley were seen in the ousting of Curry. Not the whole-sale graft, robbery and banditry that went on under Curry's leadership was the cause of his removal. The reason was that he guessed wrong in 1932 and supported Smith against F. D. As Curry went out, the leaders in revolt, the ones who were not exposed as were the McNallys and McCormacks, prepared to double-cross each other in the struggle for first place at the public trough. Our Democratic institutions must be preserved," as the President said.

"History" by Sam Don

Sam Don has a simple recipe for success, that has worked well with him. Last week he mixed a fresh hatch (two parts quotations from Stalin, three parts lies about the "renegades", a few lines from Marx and Lenin to make it palatable, place in the Daily Worker and then sit back and await promotion).

"In 1928-29 our party was torn by a raging, unprincipled factional struggle. The Lovestone-Trotskyists were singing hosannas to the almighty power of American capitalism. The party leadership was dominated by the opportunist now renegade Lovestone group. . . . It opposed the building of independent militant unions. . . . In 1929 our party received an open letter from the C. I. which cleaned our party of Lovestone-Trotskyite renegade elements" etc., etc. That's history according to Sam.

The Facts

First, the "Trotskyite elements" were not in the Lovestone group. Secondly, in 1928-29 the Lovestone group, with the somewhat shame-faced cooperation of the Fosterites, were expelling the Trotskyites, burglarizing their homes, and with knives, black-jacks and lead pipes breaking up their meetings.

The Hosanna Chorus

If Lovestone was singing "hosannas to American capitalism" included in the chorus were not Trotskyites but such good Stalinists as Jack Stachel, W. Winestone, Robert Minor, J. Amter, Harry Wicks and Max Bedacht, not forgetting Sam Don himself who sang with either Weinstein or Bittleman according to the wind blew from the Volga. No, the "Lovestone opportunist leadership" are not all "renegades", the most unprincipled of them are now in the party leadership.

The Revolutionary Unions

Another fact which both Lovestone and Sam Don would like to forget is that the "revolutionary unions", the N. M. U., the Needle Trades Industrial Union, the Textile Workers Industrial Union, etc., were all set up under Lovestone leadership and Lovestone direction.

The C. I. Open Letter

The open letter from the C. I. did not clean out "Lovestone-Trotskyite" elements. In the first place there were not any such animals and besides the "Trotskyites" were already publishing the Militant.

Cleveland Convention of the C.P.

The Eighth Convention of the official Communist Party and all its artificial ballyhoo is over. According to the Daily Worker it is to live in the minds of posterity, epitomized by the "excellent", "masterly and historical", the "clear and forceful analysis", the "masterfully applied Marxian combination of clear and general statements with concrete examples", the "brilliantly outlined", etc., etc., report of Karl Browder, the "best report ever made at any time in the history of the Party", together with his "remarkable final speech".

This report, if we are to believe Sam Don, "influenced the work and the discussion of the convention from the first to the last session". And Jack Stachel, in recounting the "progress" made by the Party, testifies that it was all "made possible under the leadership of the General Secretary of our Party, comrade Browder". (enthusiastic applause).

The Events of Four Years
Our expectation grows irresistibly to its natural climax. What did this report say? What does this Party leadership propose?

Between the Seventh and the Eighth Party convention almost four years have elapsed. Four years of world-shaking events, chief among which, as far as revolutionaries are concerned, must be counted the catastrophic defeats inflicted upon the proletariat in Germany and Austria. Four years in which the wave of reaction rolled on with a powerful sweep, crushing and smashing a working class movement in its wake. A period which more than ever exposed the perfidy and corruption of Social-Democracy, and also demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Comintern under the Stalin regime.

But, at the same time, a new and powerful ray of hope appeared in the very last of these events, in the magnificent battle of the Austrian Socialist workers, standing

out all the more in contrast to the dismal capitulation of the Communist Party and the Social Democracy of Germany. Who would dare deny that precisely in the events of this period is embodied the lessons to which a party, to be worthy of the name revolutionary, was duty bound to apply the most incisive analysis, the most critical examination, and draw a balance sheet.

They Learned Nothing

All that was entirely absent from the Stalinist convention. And as far as future history is concerned this convention can only denote an empty space. Marxism, as a living doctrine is a generalization of all working class experience, constantly drawing its strength from every new experience. A party calling itself Marxian, which fails to absorb into its very marrow the lessons of these recent decisive events, and fails to learn from them, can in no case escape the disintegrating tendencies that brought Social-Democracy into its stinking swamp of decay. It cannot at all be counted upon as a leader of the masses in a crisis. It will collapse as ignominiously as did the German Communist Party.

Instead of drawing a balance sheet from these great lessons the misguided workers at this convention were served the same "general line" which led to the catastrophic defeats.

The delegates were told in the "magnificent" etc. speech that the New Deal "is not developed Fascism. But in political essence and direction, it is the same as Hitler's program". Thus is being prepared the same fatal disorientation as in Germany and the same justification for capitulation. In Germany the revolutionary workers had drilled into their minds the ideas of the Bruening fascism, the Von Papen fascism, the Von Schleicher fascism. When the real fascism, by

this disorientation, was able to ascend to power, they could not distinguish it from the previous regimes; they could not fight it; the Party was paralyzed. The German revolutionists were filled up with the spurious ideas of "social fascism".

Repeat the Old Errors

At the Cleveland convention this was not only repeated but glibly elaborated into various shades and degrees of right and left fascism. In such a maze of confusion the various working-class tendencies could never be properly distinguished nor could the false ideas be guarded against. But such an exposition of the question by the bureaucratic leadership is not merely a matter of confusion as far as they are concerned. It is a mirror of their own degeneracy. It is an effort to cover up their own failure to meet all other tendencies within the working class on the basis of a revolutionary program as real party leaders would do. Such covering up, however, becomes the worst form of disorientation and, in carrying it to its logical conclusion, the Stalinist leaders stoop to the lowest levels.

To shun the honest workers away from an objective examination of what the actual revolutionary current in the movement stands for, all the Browders, in their deadly fear of it, can only repeat their usual base slanders. Lumping us among their various brands of "social fascism", although they have previously pronounced us dead at least 27 dozen times, they say: "Too many of our members still do not understand that Trotskyism and the Trotskyists are not a 'branch' of the Communist movement, but rather a police agency of the capitalist class". What would they answer if any worker was to take them seriously at their word and say: Give us the proof so that we can properly substantiate the contention!

But this is all empty bravado handed out to cover up their own failure to meet our Marxian arguments. For the heavy blows of defeats suffered, due mainly to their own false political orientation and dismal incompetence, the Stalinists increase their slander of the revolutionary current. Simultaneously every possible measure is drawn upon to elevate a hand-picked bureaucracy artificially to a position of infallibility with a Browder sitting on the very pinnacle.

—ARNE SWABECK.

(Continued in Next Issue)

May Day

(Continued from page 1)

first test of strength were met by the proletarian call for a general strike. The French working class thus served notice on the Fascist scum that the road to power in France was barred by the working class. The movement for united action in France, which led to the general strike, if given leadership, determined and revolutionary, can lead to the crushing of the French Fascists. And, over and above that, in the further development of the struggle it can lead to the crushing of French capitalism and the founding of French Soviets.

Such a movement would again awaken the German and Austrian working class and change the whole world situation. Not reaction, but proletarian revolution, would be on the ascendancy. It would arouse the international consciousness of the proletariat in the Soviet Union now stifled by the reactionary dogma of national socialism. Between a Soviet Union, again alive with the spirit of international solidarity on which it was founded, and the young Soviet France, the Fascist governments of Hitler, Dollfus and Mussolini would go down like a house of cards.

The Road of the United Front

The road which opens up such a vista, is the road of the united front. The armed struggle of a united working class against Fascism in France is the first step on such a road. Socialist and Communist Party leaderships in France, instead of leading in such a direction, hung back, still chanting their defeatist slogans. Alone among the political forces one voice was raised for the united front, that voice was the Communist League of France, a voice that is gaining increased attention in the French proletariat.

Striking back at the danger which they saw clearly, the French reaction hit at the outstanding leader of International

The open letter did cause some Fosterites who were privately expressing support for the Left Opposition but who understood "the secret of success", to see in the ousting of Lovestone, clear prospects for themselves and, of course, for the party. They had a head start on the Minors and Stachels in the race for Stalin's favors. Maybe Don or some other would say a few words on this at the next Bedacht Birthday Dinner. It would be much more interesting to all then the eternal "hosannas" to Stalin and to Browder.

Sam's lies may go down with some of the 1933 recruits who are passing through the party. The old timers, however, will understand that Sam is writing with an eye on the "chief" and a mind on the higher and better things such as the editorial chair now occupied by the Martyr of Madison Square.

—BILL.

400 Hail Move For New Defense At Bellussi Meet

A cheering, singing, wildly enthusiastic gathering of more than 400 people converted the simple occasion of a farewell dinner to Comrade Anthony Bellussi, at Stuyvesant Casino, into a demonstration for honest non-partisan labor defense that heralds the early launching of a new defense organization.

The dinner was to honor Bellussi, anti-Fascist victim of the Federal Government's vicious deportation policy, and to raise money for his fare to another country in order to prevent his deportation to Fascist Italy. The right of voluntary departure, granted by the U. S. government being contingent on his fare being paid.

As speaker after speaker raised the broader issue of a united front against Fascism, however, the gathering, a mixed crowd of workers and working class sympathizers of varying shades of political belief, began to sense the genuineness and importance of the appeals.

Here was no fake call for unity, issuing from the tongue of sectarian bureaucrats, and prefaced by slander and abuse of the people appealed to.

Speakers Warmly Received

The speakers, by their example, by their earnestness and honesty, were putting the Stalinist labor fakery to shame. The gathering sensed this and responded, opened their hearts out to the speakers, cut loose with cheers that contained a note of relief. Here was the message that has long been awaited.

The speakers were Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello; Quincy Howe, editor of the Living Age; George Novak, of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense; A. J. Muste, of the American Workers' Party; James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America, and Bellussi. Comrade Cannon acted as toastmaster.

Tresca opened the meeting with a militant call for a fight—no mere newspaper campaign, no debates, but a fight—against Fascism, the common enemy. "You can't editorialize Fascism out of existence," he said. "You have to fight it with its own weapons, on the street, with your lives. It is war!"

Quincy Howe reviewed the history of deportations, and the transformation of this country from a haven for political refugees into one of the most forbidding and reactionary of all lands. He called for a fight to regain the right of asylum.

Simply, quietly, earnestly, Comrade Novak explained the circumstances that had led to the formation of the provisional committee. The group of intellectuals that formed this committee were formerly active in the I.L.D. and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. One member of the group was former secretary of the N.C.D.P.P. Three were ex-members of the National Committee of the I.L.D. Another was ex-secretary of the League for Professional Groups.

All had arrived, in the course of their work, at the same conclusion. The crying need in the labor movement was united action. Not only did the I.L.D. and the other groups affiliated with the Stalinists, not want genuine unity of action, but they blocked the efforts of all who sought it.

Advocate Non-Partisan Organization
Slandered, abused, and shut out from active work because they dared raise the issue of a genuine united front against Fascism, the group had abandoned the Stalinist camp in disgust. Now, since their experience and capacity was primarily in the direction of defense work, they were seeking a non-partisan, mass defense organization.

They were under no illusions that they, themselves, could or should form such an organization. It was primarily the task of working class bodies. But they had taken the initiative in inviting working class organizations to form a united defense body, and they would promise their cooperation to the utmost.

Muste and Cannon, following the speaker, at once pledged their support, and the support of their organizations. It was their stirring response to the call, their generous waiving of rights, priorities, precedent, their palpable sincerity on the issue, that drew the cheers of the crowd, and set the tone of the gathering.

In the same spirit of solidarity, the gathering unanimously passed a resolution protesting the expulsion of Leon Trotsky from France, and demanding right of asylum for him here in this country. This resolution also drew enthusiastic applause.

The sum of \$226 was raised for Bellussi—a large sum for the comparatively small, and predominantly working class crowd.

SEND A DOLLAR FOR FOUR FREE-PAID SUB CARDS, EACH GOOD FOR A SIX-MONTHS SUBSCRIPTION ON THE CLUB PLAN.

Stalinist Hoodlums Attack Shachtman L. A. Meeting

Los Angeles—The Stalinists scored another one of their "victories"—they broke up the Shachtman meeting last night. But we got two new members on the spot. These two are really promising workers. They're not new to the movement and only needed this emotional push to send them to us. Undoubtedly the branch will be a much bigger one because of last night. The success of our first Shachtman meeting (a little over two hundred were there) probably inspired the Stalinists to attack the second meeting last night.

A gang of Y.C.L.'ers and local hoodlums—pugs and even gangsters—were rounded up and brought down by truck. They congregated outside the door, waiting for the signal that Shachtman had started to speak. They were noisy and tried to get in on their usual plea—"unemployed." One big fellow whose nose was flattened and ears cauliflowered, told Harry Ross: "The trouble with you guys is that you don't believe in God." You can judge how close to the labor movement these young lumps were.

We were only about six on the outside of the door. Around us was this mob of about thirty-five, led by Olsen, the Y.C.L. District Organizer.

Shachtman arose to speak. Olsen forced himself to the door and yelled out: "We're unemployed, and we want to get in." They shoved on masse into the door. Then we started, mostly with bare fists. We sent them down the steps, but not without casualties on our side. They ran for the lavatory, and pleaded: "You won't hit us if we walk out."

We let them go. Two minutes later we were sorry. They got one of our members (a young kid) and beat him into practically insensibility. He was down on the floor and they sapped him and kicked him, the whole damned gang. At this writing he's still resting in bed at home. Another of our young fellows was taken to the hospital. Six stitches were taken over his eye where somebody had struck him with a heavy jagged stick.

They weren't discriminating at all. They struck our women with rubber hose. One woman member of the Proletarian Party was mixed up in it. They raised great big welts on her arm. A most active woman member of our group took quite a beating.

A few of the Stalinists tried to

Militant is Banned From Canada

Coming on the heels of the international fury against the ideas of the Fourth International and its leader Leon Trotsky is the receipt of a memorandum at the offices of the Militant notifying it that the Department of Revenues has prohibited its importation into Canada.

The reactionary Canadian government, rabid in its persecution of militant workers and revolutionaries, has struck another blow at the ideas of internationalism by the prohibition of its outstanding exponent in the English language.

While no reason is attached to the banning of the Militant from Canada, we wish to call to the attention of our readers that every piece of literature issued by the Internationalist Communists is now banned from the Dominion of Canada.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

YOUNG SPARTACUS, published monthly by the National Committee of Spartacus Youth Clubs of America, April 1934.

Appearing in late April, the current issue of the organ of the S. Y. C. s features the recent world youth conference and the protest against the deportation of the four German youth.

Articles on the strike wave, the dental mechanics strike, the student anti-war strike, the Dr. Wirt "expose", and on the recent Philippine "independence" law cover the outstanding current events. The problem of unionizing the young workers and the revolutionary attitude towards the proposed child labor amendment are treated in editorials. Activities among the students are covered in "Student Notes".

The preparations for a new war are covered in the feature "I Cover the War Front", an article on American munitions production and items on the C. C. C. An article on the Silver Shirts is printed as the first of a series on the growing Fascist movement in the United States. The lessons of the Austrian events are treated in popular form. Finally, the activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs are included under "organization notes".

The May issue is planned for the early part of the month.

carry on the fight on the inside of the hall, but they were adequately taken care of. One came half way up the steps, put his hand on the inside pocket and yelled that if we moved down on him he'd pull his gun. Right on top of that they sent one of their husky women, and right behind her they were in a mass. They outnumbered us by six times at least, and swept us to the door. Not numbers alone did it. They had acquired many new weapons, sticks, crowbars. They had everything there. We barricaded ourselves against them. They tried to throw broken chairs at us through the door—but that was the end until the cops came (the radio car). That finished the meeting.

After that we gathered at a comrade's house. Sympathizers were there and also some members of the different labor groups. Plans were immediately drawn up for a united front protest meeting against C.P. fascist hoodlums. Shachtman drew up the leaflet and a committee was appointed to go around the different organizations. They are now at work at it.

Shachtman's coming here put plenty of life into the League branch here. It had a tonic effect on everybody. Especially after the first public meeting, the effect on outsiders was surprising. The most important thing is that he certainly cleared up a lot of things, notably the Austrian question.

San Francisco Meeting

San Francisco—Comrade Shachtman's meeting in San Francisco was a huge success. Held at the Labour College, a known labour meeting-place and headquarters of the Proletarian Party, the meeting was singularly well attended with 275 workers of all tendencies present.

Comrade Shachtman in his talk very ably pointed out the bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd International, demonstrating their impotency in the face of world-wide crisis and concluded by calling for the formation of a new revolutionary international.

During the discussion period a C. P. leader got up and announced the meeting of the C. P. was holding to "answer" "Mr." Shachtman. Around this arose a strenuous discussion of various policies, at the conclusion of which Comrade Shachtman challenged the Communist Party to debate and after remarking that for five and a half years they had refused to do so, he dared the C. P. to answer our challenge.

At the Communist Party "Answer to Mr. Shachtman" meeting, Comrade Shachtman was called "Trotsky's lackey," "leader of the Lovestoneites," and violently accused of "never having worked for a boss" and Comrade Trotsky was said to be "politically dead," "opposed to collectivization of the land in Russia" and for "taxing the poor peasantry to industrialize Russia." No attempt was made to answer in detail any theoretical arguments advanced by Comrade Shachtman. To their slanders, we reiterated our challenge to debate and called upon the membership to watch whether or not the C. P. would answer.

At Comrade Shachtman's meeting a great deal of literature and all available Militants were sold and, contrary to popular custom which ends most radical meetings at 10 o'clock, the meeting continued until 12 o'clock when the landlady turned off the lights.

Comrade Shachtman's meeting was the needed impetus to the further growth of the local branches. Already, as a result of the enthusiasm raised at this meeting, and the farce of the Stalinists' "answer", our prestige and influence among the working class has been strengthened and we are making headway in winning over many worthwhile elements to the position of the Left Opposition.

—FLORENCE WYLE.

SHACHTMAN TOUR SCHEDULE

Fri., April 27—Stanton or Gillespie, Ill.
Sat., April 28—Springfield, Ill.
Sun., April 29—Davenport, Ia.
Mon., April 30—Davenport, Ia.
Tues., May 1—Chicago, Ill.
Wed., May 2—Chicago, Ill.
Thurs., May 3—Chicago, Ill.
Fri., May 4—Waukegan, Ill.
Sat., May 5—Detroit, Mich.
Sun., May 6—Detroit, Mich.

WILL FASCISM COME TO AMERICA?

Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON
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IN THE NEW YORK MAY DAY PARADE



MARCHING UNDER THE BANNER OF THE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE



New Trends In the Trade Union Movement

There is an unmistakable trend in the trade unions today which foreshadows the tempestuous developments to come. It is shown in its boldest outline in the steel workers' union and came particularly to the fore at the recent convention. The rank and file delegates delivered some severe blows to the president, old "Grandmother" Tighe, and rode rough shod, breaking down all the fences he had so carefully built up. The trend is shown in the newly constituted federal unions organized in several of the mass production industries where a struggle is beginning for a status of industrial unionism. It was shown in the automobile workers situation, where at one time Collins had to wield his gavel heavily to prevent a representative delegate conference from taking strike action for union recognition. Yes, also, the change of front of the railroad union executives in actually presenting demands to the carriers, reflects the pressure upon them from the workers.

Leaders Under Fire

The high-priced labor leaders sense the quickening tempo. Some of them are already hit squarely by the impact and fear themselves riding the whirlwind. Others are trying to adjust at least their language to the pressure from the workers. All of them are endeavoring with might and main to hold back and to keep the movement within safe channels behind Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Bill Green, who is still a deacon in the Baptist church of his native Coshocton, Ohio, were he used to teach Sunday school, released a May Day forecast in which he says: "Labor believes that notwithstanding this refusal a concentrated drive should be made to compel, through the use of forceful methods if necessary, an immediate reduction in the hours of labor. There is no other remedy available."

Of course, he has said that before. We do not harbor any illusions that he, or any of the others in exalted positions of leadership, are becoming militant. Not at all. But the truth is that they all find themselves confronting new conditions.

New Forces in the Unions

New forces in large numbers are coming into the unions. They are mainly proletarians from mass production and basic industries. They look upon the unions as instruments of struggle and as means of protecting their interest. They mean to use them for this purpose. They bring forward the basic interest of the class as a whole, themselves representing its lowest layers.

We are no longer in the conditions of the past where the most powerful unions concerned themselves almost purely with the interests of privileged sections of skilled crafts. Concessions could be wrung from the employers for this privileged section on the basis of keeping the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled without organization and on a low standard of living. These concessions became the breeding ground for bribery, graft and corruption amongst the officials. The exclusive craft unions became the instruments to keep the rest of the working class in subjection. Now new problems begin to face these union officials.

The convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers is a good example of these new problems. The union has witnessed a considerable influx of new members, rising from practically nothing to what, in the various estimates, range between a membership of 50,000 and 100,000. Its president, Mike Tighe, counted upon his office as a life-time job and always relied upon his good friends amongst the owners of the means of production.

Rank and File Revolts

To his consternation at the convention the rank and file delegates began to take charge. First they overruled his ideas, that delegates coming from local lodges who had not paid their per capita tax because of unemployment due to black-listing of union members should not be seated. Secondly, they saved the convention from the disgrace of listening to "puddler" Jim Davis (the senator from Pennsylvania) and forced him off the floor. The

actions of this powerful opposition delegation culminated in the convention adopting the following program:

1. Immediate presentation of demands to the Steel Companies for Union Recognition and a substantial wage increase.
 2. To give a ten day ultimatum to the trust, with preparations for a general strike if the demands are not granted.
- For good measure the delegates decided to set up a special convention committee to be in charge of the "offensive action". This drew (Continued on page 4)

"United Front" In Chicago

Stalinists Celebrate May Day by Hooligan Attack on International Communists in Parade

Chicago.—The Stalinist-controlled May Day demonstration being the only one held in Chicago, the League decided to participate in it, in spite of the two rebuffs. Accordingly about 70 members and sympathizers gathered at the headquarters of the Italian Spartacus Workers League on May Day, formed a line and marched to the starting point of the demonstration in Union Park, headed by the red flag and under appropriate banners.

A Hooligan Attack

As soon as we took our places in the 9th division, the Stalinists immediately tried to isolate us from the main body by placing a cordon in front of us. Suddenly, while we were waiting to start, a Stalinist hooligan jumped upon a Spartacus Youth Club member and tore down the banner of the Spartacus Youth League. He did not however escape unpunished and that discouraged the Stalinists from trying a second time at that point.

When the demonstration finally got under way, we broke thru the cordon of Stalinists and joined the main body of the parade. Everything went well until we reached Grant Park where the demonstration was to wind up. There, took place a most dastardly attack upon us by an organized gang of Stalinists.

Grant Park was full of police and detectives. They stood about in large groups everywhere. Suddenly the Stalinist gang made its attack, tearing down banners and slugging right and left. In the brief space that the fight lasted, our comrades gave a good account of themselves but quickly withdrew at the sight of the police rushing to intervene. Had the police planted their agent provocateurs in the Stalinist ranks to furnish them with an excuse to intervene and break up the demonstration, they could not have done better than the Stalinist hoodlums.

Dental Mechanics Strike at Baltimore

Baltimore.—The first strike of the dental mechanics ever to take place in Baltimore was called on April 12, 1934. The response was almost a 100% walkout.

Before many days had passed the local bosses were reinforced by the national organization of the bosses. This turned the strike into far more than an event of only local importance. The National Association of the bosses was determined to stop the spread of the union which had already brought about agreements in New York and Philadelphia.

Labor Board Steps In

Early in the days of the strike, the union was suddenly called on by a representative of the National Labor Board. It is quite clear that this was done because the union had by this time become a recognized force in the industry. The Labor Board had shown no such interest in New York or Philadelphia in the attempts of the union to call to task the violators of the miserable code brought forth by the NRA. This move immediately consolidated the laboratory owners in that it brought them together as a group and interfered with the plans of the union to approach the bosses individually.

Negotiations were opened up and

Young Socialists and Spartacus Youth Sponsor United Front

BULLETIN

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the National Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League have agreed to sponsor local united front movements for May 30th in Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City and Los Angeles. The demonstrations on that day will be against war and Fascism and for the release of the four German youth who were delivered to the Hitler police by the Dutch Government.

"United Front" In Chicago

Stalinists Celebrate May Day by Hooligan Attack on International Communists in Parade

The "Leader" of the Hooligans
The leader of the gang, characteristically enough, was Jack Spiegel. This loathsome creature has built up quite a reputation for himself by leading a group of C. P. members and sympathizers into a police trap in Melrose Park three years ago, disappearing, and leaving his followers at the mercy of the police machine guns. The same hero was one of the leaders of the Stalinist mob that attempted to break up Comrade Swaback's meeting last November. At that time he also gave a demonstration of his great courage by being the first to run downstairs as soon as the fight started.

In Grant Park, he again distinguished himself by performing the function of an agent provocateur who starts a fight in order to give the police a chance to intervene. And yet he is no mere rank and filer of the C. P.—quite the contrary, he is a leader of one of the sections of the party.

Before the demonstration was over, the Left Poole Zion were also the victims of a cowardly attack, being mistaken for International Communists.

Thus, May Day has come and gone in the city that gave birth to it, in the city where the Haymarket martyrs gave their lives fighting for the 8-hour day and the right to free speech by labor. May Day, 1934, only provided the Stalinists with another opportunity to reveal themselves as a reactionary force in the labor movement. But May Day, 1934, also disclosed something new, something of vital importance to the workers of Chicago—the crystallization and growth of a group of International Communists—small in size as yet, but determined in its effort to build the forces for a new, genuinely revolutionary party that will lead the workers to victory.

—SATIR.

New York City.—The youth conference initiated by the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Young Peoples Socialist League in this city for a demonstration on May 30th against war and Fascism, for the release of the four deported German youth, and to protest the beatings and arrest of Yipsels on last May 30th by the American Legionaries, unanimously decided to approach the conference of the Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism (Stalinist controlled) for common action on that day. The objectives of the conference were broadened to include a protest against the naval maneuvers in New York City on May 31st and in solidarity with the persecuted Cuban students.

These decisions were adopted after thorough discussions in which all the representatives partook. The organizations attending, in addition to the sponsoring groups, were the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Youth Committee Against Fascism (Socialist), the Vanguard Jrs., the youth group of the Communist League of Struggle, the Young Communist League (Opposition), and Pioneer Youth. The National Student League had two observers present.

Discussion at the Conference

The NSLers launched into an attack on the conference as planning a rival demonstration to that of the Young Communist League's National Youth Day. They proposed that the conference dissolve and the constituent organizations attend the Stalinist youth conference of May 13th. The Lovestonites—Y. C. L. (O.)—sharply criticized the Yipsels and Spartacus Youth for "the factional way in which the conference was organized."

The delegates of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, Manny Garrett and Joe Carter, replied to both the NSLers and the Lovestonites by stating that their organization had been and was in favor of common action of all radical youth groups. It was pointed out that both the Young Communist League and the National Student League had been invited to the national conference.

New York's May Day In Review

May Day—the greatest May Day in the history of New York City—is not too long past for discussion and controversy. The issues raised by the two huge demonstrations—one at Madison Square Park, the other at Union Square—are still lively issues. Time has lent certain perspectives that justify a fresh review.

More than 150,000 workers marched in the two demonstrations—the one under the auspices of the May Day Labor Conference, and the other called by the "United Front" conference of the Stalinists. The lines of march ran parallel, circling the center of Manhattan, and never met. Both parades were orderly and disciplined; each raised separately and challengingly—as if they were rival slogans—the call for a united front against Fascism.

The Communist League of America marched with the Socialists, trade unions, and other organizations in a united front that excluded only the Stalinist organization and its sympathizers—to Madison Square. It marched under its own banners, it had its own speakers, it introduced revolutionary slogans. It gained thereby in prestige among the workers; it proved thereby that it was prepared to support in action its own doctrine of a united front.

The Union Square parade and demonstration was a typical Stalinist "United Front"—without even the usual "united front" of liberals and theologians. It was a united front of Browder, Minor and Hathaway with such "non-party" elements as William Patterson, of the "non-partisan" I.L.D., and Jack Stachel, of the "non-partisan" T.U. U.L. Under its banners and slogans rallied the Stalinist controlled unions, Stalinist-controlled "mass" organizations, Stalinist Intellectuals, students, professionals and social workers. It represented the full strength of the official Party. But that is all.

To this Stalinist "united front," despite the tricky and emotional

for the defense of the four deported German youth on April 7th, neither organization sent delegates or replied to the invitation. The S.Y.C.s made a motion that the incoming executive committee of the Conference propose to the Stalinist conference of May 13th a joint committee for the preparation of a common demonstration on May 30th along the lines of the accepted objectives.

Yipsel Amendment

The Yipsels introduced an amendment which stated that the conditions for the united front with the Stalinists are: 1) their support of the struggle for the freedom of the four deported German youth, and 2) the repudiation by the Y.C.L. of the slanderous attack on the organizations which signed the protest petition on the four German youth sponsored by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee. The second section of the amendment was sharply criticized by the delegates of the S.Y.C.s as an ultimatum which would be a serious obstacle in the road toward a genuine united front. After a heated discussion and a recess for consultation, the Yipsels withdrew their amendment with the statement that they will consider the Y.C.L.'s acceptance of our proposal for the united front as an implicit repudiation of the I.L.D. slanders. The Spartacus delegates made a statement welcoming this action and adding that it also would draw the same conclusion if the Stalinist youth accept our proposals.

The original motion for common action with the May 13th Conference was accepted unanimously. An executive committee consisting of one representative from each of the organizations present was constituted. The Conference elected Ben Fischer of the Yipsels and Manny Garrett of the Spartacus Youth Clubs as chairman and secretary respectively of the executive committee.

This is a big step toward real united front of the youth. The reaction of the Stalinists is yet to be seen.

appeals of the Stalinist press, was attracted no working-class groups not already under the Stalinist thumb. The others marched to Madison Square.

The alternative, therefore, was rejected by the League as no alternative. The League marched with the Socialists and trade unions—social reformist groups, it is true, but containing thousands of workers headed leftwards, and quickly responsive to appeals for militant and united action.

This, the League holds, was a true united front tactic. This was a correct revolutionary policy. Its strength was demonstrated at Madison Square, and has been since proved.

The most significant happening on May Day, the big "lift" in both demonstrations, was the greeting the League marchers received from the militant Socialist youth. As the League group, carrying revolutionary banners and shouting revolutionary slogans, marched past the speakers' stand in Madison Square, there was general applause. But the young Socialists, massed in uniform around the stand, raised clenched fists in greeting, and the Square rang with their call:

Long live the United Front!

It was a vote of confidence in honest revolutionaries. It was a challenge hurled in the face of the bureaucrats, Socialist and Stalinist alike, who are splitting the working class ranks.

Hence, the new fury of the Stalinist attacks upon the League; the Daily Worker post-May Day editorial: "These are not oppositions to be refuted, but enemies of the working class to be destroyed." The Stalinists fear and hate the growing prestige of the League and its program.

—B.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Minneapolis Union Prepares For Action

Three Thousand Transport Workers Organize Forces to Fight For Demands

Minneapolis.—In the hands of the men who drive the trucks and vans, the delivery equipment of a modern city, lays a mighty power. Not a whit less important or powerful are the men who transport and serve the gasoline and oil which makes this vast industry a living thing. Taken together with that numerous

and important strata of workers who store, preserve and warehouse the food that constitutes the daily ration of the people, we have a group of workers whose social importance is enormous.

That these workers, in the gasoline stations and in the warehouses, on the Market, in the paper trade, in the food stores as well as the helpers and drivers of the trucks in the various lines, have now realized the strategic position they hold is apparent to every worker who looks to union organization for help.

Wolinsky Gang Seize Control of Pocketbook Union

The notorious Wolinsky who was forced out of the Pocket-book Makers' Union in 1925 while he was manager of the union, and a partner in the firm of M. White and Co. at the same time, has been ushered back into the union at a general membership meeting, Tuesday, May 8th at the Stuyvesant High School. This was done through a coup d'etat that was staged by the present administration.

At this meeting the Joint Council of the union was supposed to bring a report on the pending negotiations with the manufacturers for a new agreement in place of the old one expiring in June. Instead, the whole meeting was confined to the Wolinsky issue. The Joint Council report was confined to one point presented to the membership: the election of the Conference Committee to meet with the bosses.

Reactionary Elements

The Conference Committee, as recommended by the Joint Council, consisted in its entirety of the most reactionary elements in the union, supporters of the Wolinsky gang. David Meyer, a Socialist and one of the leaders of the Progressive group, led off the fight against the Joint Council recommendation by a motion to reject it. After Meyer, Block and Rothman of the rank and file group also spoke along similar lines, denouncing Wolinsky and all that he represents. But the machine was so well oiled that very few of the opponents were given the floor, while the Wolinsky supporters spoke one after another.

The administration as a whole climaxed its maneuvers to usher in Wolinsky with a letter from Wolinsky which they read to the members. In this letter Wolinsky pretended that he wants no paid job in the union, that he merely wished to offer his services as an adviser in the present difficult situation and in the negotiations. The manager of the union himself, in a demagogic speech, said nothing in opposition to Wolinsky, keeping in mind his own hide when Wolinsky is back in the union.

When the composition of the Conference Committee came before the membership for a vote, the administration tellers counted 616 votes in their favor and 359 against. The next move was a motion to give the Conference Committee full power to make Wolinsky its legal adviser. After a heated discussion, this motion too was voted. The Administration counting a victory for itself. The vote according to the announcement was 572 for this proposal, and 442 against.

Progressive Forces Divided

While both the Progressive group and the Rank and File group fought against Wolinsky's return to the leadership of the union—and this is what his "advisory" capacity will mean—no effort was made to bring about a unity of the two groups in the struggle. The Progressive group must find a way to unite all the groups and all the progressive elements to save the union. The rule of Wolinsky means a reign of terror against the best elements in the union. It means the suppression of all the democratic rights of the members. It means, in a word, the same gangster rule that prevailed during his administration prior to 1925. Such a unity is particularly imperative for the mobilization of the workers for the coming struggle to improve their conditions.

—A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.

Workers Flock to Union

During the past several weeks these workers have streamed, by the hundreds, into General Drivers Union No. 571. More than 3,000 have been enrolled. They have not merely joined the union. With the leadership of a capable and experienced Organization Committee they have grouped themselves along seven main lines, according to type of job, and have set up committees to carry on the detail work. These rank and file committees have functioned with whirlwind speed. They have acted with the dispatch evident everywhere when serious workers set themselves to serious tasks. The monumental detail work turned out, the research work accomplished, under severely adverse conditions, the precise schedules drawn up, the manifold demands formulated in conjunction with the continuous organization campaign carried on at ALL times, will stand as a monument to the union loyalty and sincerity of the workers who have taken the lead.

And, by the same token, they will also stand as an accomplishment that gives the sharp and proper answer to the contented labor officialdom who sat back in their chairs and said: "it can't be done!" Today the General Drivers Union is the largest and by far the most important union in the city. It numbers in its ranks thousands of militant and determined workers. It takes in as members, besides the drivers and helpers, gas and oil workers, truckers, wrappers, counter and platform men etc.—in short, those workers who are daily connected with the machinery of street transportation and delivery.

Coal Yard Workers in Vanguard

That the coal yard workers are members of this union needs mention only for the benefit of those workers who do not live in Minneapolis. For the benefit of workers in other sections we make a note. The present sweeping campaign of organization was planned and launched by the coal yard workers, these same loyal workers are again giving the best they have to the union. It goes without saying that they have been reinforced by a veritable army of eager and militant workers from all of the other sections. These new workers not only supplement the older and more experienced workers, but take responsible posts and leading roles in the general work.

The agitation and organizational work spreads out, in the hands of these willing workers, with more and more efficiency and, for the bosses, with terrifying speed.

Role of Labor Board

The Labor Boards, when they act at all, shuffle back and forth between the bosses' and the workers' spokesmen. They stand between, they talk of "peaceful" settlements. They talk with tongue in cheek. No reliance can be placed in "labor boards", nor the decisions that come from them. We rely upon the union, upon the workers' organizations. It can be made strong by an alert and militant membership and, by a fighting policy.

The workers organized in the General Drivers Union occupy a strategic position in industry. They have power to win their demands. The position this gives them in the trade union movement in Minneapolis, is one of central importance. Far too little aid, to say nothing of consideration, has been given to

(Continued on Page 4)

**AMERICA
TODAY**

A Lecture By

Max Shachtman

Who is just returning from a two and a half months tour from coast to coast, studying conditions first hand. He will deal particularly with the ferment among the American workers and the sentiment for a New Party and a Fourth International.

Friday, May 18th, 1934 - 8 p.m.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. and Irving Place

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Death of Woodin

W. H. Woodin, a millionaire, a director of the Remington Arms Co., and one of the largest American investors in Cuba, gave \$35,000 to Roosevelt's campaign expenses and was made Secretary of the Treasury. As head of the Treasury he became famous as a composer of music. His name was found on Morgan's "Preferred List." That made his retention in a cabinet that claimed to be "driving the money-changers from the temple" a little unwise. So he was gradually and gently ousted. Last week he died. The capitalist press did itself proud thinking up lies about his good qualities. The President attended the funeral. Enthusiasm for the New Deal and the fame of Woodin which were nurtured on ballyhoo could be placed in the grave with him. All belong now with the "forgotten man."

The Police and the Crooks

When La Guardia became Mayor, and Ryan was made Police Commissioner, orders were given: "Drive the crooks out of New York." The shoe, now, seems to be on the other foot, and the crooks are doing the driving. It's a great game between birds of a feather, but the uniforms on the cops make it easy for the onlooker to keep score. So far the score is 4-0 in favor of the gangsters.

The Daily Worker and the "Renegades"

In an editorial of the kind that made it famous as a slander sheet, the *Daily Worker* deals with "renegades" in the May Day parade. "A miserable 200 in all"—"hanging to the S. P. like a tail to a cow's rump"—"class enemies to be destroyed." The Stalinists form of arithmetic is seen here in the reverse.

Considering that in estimating the attendance at their own meetings, parades, etc., they always multiply the actual number by 5, 10, or 20, as the occasion demands, I suppose it is only fair that they should practice division when estimating the numbers in the "renegade's" parade.

As far as the order of March is concerned, it is true that our section was towards the end, being followed only by the POCKET-BOOK MAKERS, a section of the S. P., and the UNEMPLOYED UNION. Last year we paraded in the "United Front" and so "united" was the "front" that we had to engage in fist-fights every time we gave out a leaflet. On that occasion we were in the tail-end of the parade. And if it is simply a choice of being a tail to a Socialist "cow" or Stalinist bull we choose neither. But between the cultural organizations which formed the major part of the parade to Union Square, and the organized trade union movement which dominated the Madison Square parade, we chose the latter.

As for "class enemies to be destroyed" we have heard that before. We stand for the United Front with reformist and other working class organizations against Fascism. We are against National Socialism. We are opposed to Stalinism and also to scoundrelism. We stand with the working class for the INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION. If that makes us class enemies of the Wickes and Browners, so much the worse for the Wickes and the Browners.

Dope From the Hop-Joints

"Religion is the opium of the people." A few quotations from the sermons preached last Sunday in New York's churches will give an idea of the miserable opium dished out to the church-goers in New York.

The very Reverend Milo Gates proposed "Rogation Days" as a substitute for farm relief. "The drudgery of American farm life would be relieved by processions going out into the fields blessing the fields, and praying for a fruitful season as in Spain."

Rev. Dr. Charles D. Trexler: "Real freedom is the ability to move without hindrance in our proper spheres." (The worker free to move within the sphere of his wage-slavery, and the boss free to roam the world at will.)

Rev. J. Herbert McConnell: "A miracle is wrought as one looks into the cup of communion for there is the vision of the crucified Saviour. The world must accept the Communion Cup to bring peace among the nations and the peoples."

Rev. Dr. Christian F. Reiser: "The church is being impoverished. The government thru the CWA aids so-called social agencies that exclude religion, but nothing is given to the Church that does real social service."

Rev. Dr. A. Edwin Kelgwan: "Faith begins where science ends, where proof is wanting, where argument fails flat." (In other words, where knowledge, and intelligence ends, religion and ignorance begins.)

—BILL

On "Shorty" Buehler and Cora Duff

Death has taken a heavy toll among the fighters for revolutionary internationalism in our growing outpost in Kansas City. The grim reaper has swept from the scene of battle without regard to age and service two of our staunchest warriors in that plucky band in the Middle West. Cora Duff—a symbol of the new generation that will hold high our banner—and Shorty Buehler—the steadfast old-guard devoted to our ideas and sacrificing in service—have been snatched from our midst, creating a chasm that will not easily or soon be filled. We salute them as they pass from the struggle and promise to carry on. We cannot but pause a while to grieve for them, so true were they to our ideals, so dear to us as comrades.

August A. Buehler, better known to us as "Shorty" for his diminutive size, was a landmark for the revolutionary movement in the Middle West. For almost twenty-five years there has been no "Jimmie Higgins" east or west of Kansas City who carried on his work so splendidly and unstintingly as Shorty.

A Revolutionary Since 1913 Shorty joined the revolutionary movement during a "free speech" fight in Kansas City in 1913. From that time until his death the untiring efforts of Shorty have contributed heavily to the propagation and perpetuation of the ideas of Marxism in that Mid-Western American city.

Shorty was one of the active spirits in one of the first post-war left wing groups that helped lift the socialist movement out of the bog of reaction and which gathered around the *Workers World*, edited by Comrade James P. Cannon and the *Workers Educational League* which spread the message of the Russian revolution and Lenin to the workers of the Mid-West.

Together with others Shorty helped to swing the entire Kansas City branch of the Socialist Party over into the Communist Labor Party. From that time up till 1928, when he was expelled from the Communist Party for holding true to the ideas which had motivated his life-struggle, Shorty was an inspiring persevering member of the Communist Party.

Moving Spirit of Kansas City Branch

It is to comrade Buehler more than any other single comrade that we owe our rapidly growing branch of the Communist League in Kansas City. Arranging meetings, distributing leaflets, visiting contacts, soliciting subs for the *Militant*—no task was too menial, or too big for Shorty.

Sometime in 1927 Shorty opened

Shachtman Meeting In Davenport

Davenport, Ia.—Comrade Shachtman's meeting in Davenport was a huge success in spite of the vicious drive the Stalinists made to prevent it from being held. The Unity Center Hall which we had engaged and paid for a month in advance of the meeting was taken away from us but a few days before Comrade Shachtman's meeting through the efforts of the Stalinists.

But the young comrades of Davenport set to work. Two precious days were spent looking for a hall. At last we were successful in securing one. Then they hurried getting out of leaflets and other advertising, notifying comrades and sympathizers who had bought tickets of the change of the hall.

Both local papers refused to give a notice of the change. The secretary of the Unity Center put in a notice that the meeting was cancelled at their hall. When the Stalinists learned we were going to hold the meeting in spite of them they were wild. One of the women Stalinists phoned one of our comrades calling her vile names, telling her that if we went through with the meeting they would bring forces and break it up, that we would bring this on ourselves by expounding Trotsky theories in this city.

But the comrades went right on with their preparations for the meeting, also calling on friends and sympathizers to help defend their meeting. In spite of the sabotage of the Stalinists and the local press we had a good attendance.

The meeting was just started when the Stalinists arrived. First they tried to get in by the usual plea of unemployed, but when that failed they tried to heckle an old Socialist into using his influence to get them in. But they got let down in that quarter. Then they began to make a nuisance of themselves generally so our comrades told them to get out. So seeing that it would not be healthy for them to start trouble they left. One told us that more would come back, but it was just bluff. Our young comrades were ready to defend their meeting. Comrade Shachtman's talk on "War, Fascism or Communism?" was well received. Questions and discussion followed.

—BETTY ROWLAND

his bookstore in Kansas City as a means of earning a livelihood. Buehler's book store was an oasis for revolutionists in the years when reaction and Stalinist persecution and slander held sway. Buehler's Book Store was not only a place to purchase Marxian literature, it was a bee hive of revolutionary discussion and congregation. More than one young recruit received his first lesson in Communism in the Bookstore on West 12th Street.

The sudden, shocking death of Shorty Buehler is an irreparable loss to the Communist League and the revolutionary movement. The star of Buehler will take its place in the firmament of proletarian fighters, among the immortal Jimmie Higgins without whom the cause of Communism, the advance of the proletarian revolution would be impossible.

"Don't Mourn But Organize"

With these inspiring words from a poem by Joe Hill, I. W. W. songster, Comrade Buehler concluded his letter to the writer on the death of Cora Duff who passed away but two short weeks before him.

Cora died young. Her life in the revolutionary movement was all too brief. But in the short space of time that was allotted her she earned a monument for her courage, energy and devotion. It was under her guidance and leadership that the Young Spartacus Club of Kansas City was formed and took on flesh and blood as the only Communist youth movement in Kansas City.

The names of those women who have come to the fore as outstanding advocates of the cause of the working class are few. We must agree with Shorty who stated in his last letter that Comrade Duff had the stuff out of which leaders are made. Pretension, artificiality, petty-bourgeois caprices were all alien to her. For earnestness and sincerity Cora Duff took first place. She possessed that proletarian intelligence and insight, undeveloped though it was, which is so uncommon among the men and women in the ranks of labor's vanguard.

Comrade Duff's death has robbed us of another of our valiant soldiers in our young army. We salute her even as Shorty did and pass on to the order of the day.

"Don't Mourn But Organize". —CLARKE.

Terror in the Imperial Valley

Brawley, Calif.—In this great hot house of America, the land of citrus and honey, of wide open spaces, of desert and the broiling sun, under the legal and heavy hand of that infamous Gen. Glassford who led the attack on the Bonus Army, a "red scare" is being worked up all through the Valley, in conjunction with the local American Legion Posts. The melon season, about to begin in a week or so, has already been prepared for by the pontiffs of the Valley. In every town in the Valley, such as Brawley, Indio, El Centro, Vigilantes are being organized, directly and openly in the press by the state head of the American Legion, Chailleaux, who is on tour with a staff.

Methods of Intimidation

At a meeting recently of an investigating committee, "to investigate 'red and union' activities," held at the Barbara Worth Hotel at El Centro, Gen. Glassford persuaded the agricultural workers to join "a union of his own choosing," the Mexican Consul Terrazas Union, a carbon copy controlled directly by the barons of the Valley, in preference to the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union which is known to the workers as a militant organization. When the committee of the A.W.I.U. which attended the hearing left the Barbara Worth, several of them were pounced on, arrested and then released, when there "was evidence" of what the infamous Gen. Glassford called "a bit of embarrassment" in the suddenness of this intimidation.

Right workers who were recently released from the jail at El Centro, were driven out of town by a mob of thirty Vigilantes, and were told that if they returned there was a chance that they would be decorating the end of a rope. Every paper in the Valley, weekly or daily, carries long articles on communism: the menace of the Reds. The *Brawley News*, today, has three articles, one of them headed "Legion Chief Lays Gage of Battle With Red Groups"—all of which is directly inspired by the methods of Capt. Lynnes of the Los Angeles Red Squad.

Red Scare in the News

With the melon season about to begin, the red scare issue is being pushed into the forefront of the news, and is being worked up, so that any militant action on the part of the agricultural workers outside

Minneapolis Rail Workers Organize

Minneapolis Minn.—On Sunday, April 22nd, a meeting was held by Employed and Unemployed, Members and Former Members, of the O.R.C.; B. of L. E.; B. of R. T.; B. of L. F. & E. and S. U. of N. A. to take organizational steps to deal with the growing problems of unemployment among the above mentioned crafts. The call for the meeting was signed by five members and former members of the two Enginemen's Brotherhoods.

There were about 130 in attendance.

The following program was discussed at length and adopted by a secret ballot of 104 voting "Yes" and 2 voting "No" and one simply writing on the blank ballot, "For a Thirty Hour Week".

The program reads as follows:

Program of Demands

1. Twenty Six Days or 2600 miles to constitute maximum work month for all railway employees.
2. Cut maximum work-day from Sixteen to Twelve hours.
3. Organize all railroad workers behind the movement for a Six Hour Day without reduction in pay.
4. Take organizational steps to have constitutional amendments added to our Brotherhood Constitutions providing for unemployment stamps or receipts for all unemployed members.

of the "bona fide" union of the General's own selection, will be met with, "at the end of a rope". California is after all a classic State for barbaric reaction. In a few weeks the papers out of the Valley and the Liberal weekly magazines will be weeping tons of tears and tons of ink at such human treatment: these gentlemen can be indignant—but never too much so.

The damnable low wages of the workers and the terrific hours working in the broiling sun and in a semi-torrid climate (the desert), the heat rising to 105 degrees, all this, with the terror of the Vigilantes and the Legion, and "their own choosing" will shortly ferment another militant struggle on the part of the agricultural workers.

What is essential now—is Valley-wide organizers! Defense groups to cope with the extraordinary tactics of the Vigilantes! And publicity in the workers' press as to what is taking place and will take place in the Valley. This must be done!

—HARRY ROSS.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION ON THE DEFENSIVE

The Cuban revolution is now on the defensive. The grandiose sweep of the workers which drove Machado out of the seat of power, hurled De Cespedes into the abyss and untolerated Grau is now retreating before Mendieta and Batista, that is to say, before the Cuban servants of American imperialism. Not the workers, but the imperialist-bourgeois reaction ousted Grau and replaced his vacillating regime with the black puppet act of Mendieta-Batista. Mendieta was far from the bourgeoisie's ideal of a "strong man to deal with the situation," that is put down the workers with blood and iron. He began by returning the electric company plant to its owners and sending soldiers to force them to work. The workers responded with a hunger strike. Other workers threatened to come out in sympathy. Mendieta decreed all strikes illegal in the light, water, telephone, telegraph and other services. The workers responded by calling strikes for the seventh of February. A general strike began to loom up. Already on the third of February Mendieta declared that the problem created by the return of the electric plant and the strike "might contribute to the fall" of his government.

Advance of Reaction But there was no party to give leadership to the workers and the favorable moment passed. Step by step the reaction has advanced with the harvest driving the workers at the point of the bayonet and persecuting their organizations. Thus the Havana Federation of Labor which was under the joint influence of anarcho-syndicalists and the Bolshevik-Leninists passed over to the side of the latter and was illegalized by Mendieta. Other organizations too have suffered a like fate.

But the question is not yet settled. No decisive battles have been fought. The apparent strength of the bourgeoisie is two parts the failure of the workers to advance on the road of decisive struggles and two parts the armed might of the United States military forces. Mendieta has not solved a single one of the grave economic, social and political problems of the country. The quota assigned to Cuban sugar for export to its chief market, the United States, is still a little more than one third of the productive capacity of the island's crops and its INDUSTRIAL-TECHNICAL organization.

No progress has been made in liquidating the huge surplus in storage in Cuba of one million tons, approximately ONE HALF OF THE QUOTA FOR THE CURRENT CROP. No moratorium on the staggering debts to the Wall Street banks has been declared; no reduction in them, despite optimistic White House pronouncements, has been put on the agenda of current problems. The approach of the end of the harvest means that tens of thousands of workers will again be thrown out of the process of production with no prospect whatever of working again until the late fall of the year! The convocation of the Constituent Assembly has been postponed until some time before the end of the year, the exact date has not been set. And the liberties of the workers and their organizations have been curtailed.

Perspective of Struggles The approach of the end of the harvest raises the perspective of further struggles by the workers. Already there are signs of the coming storms. Like the gusts that preceded the gale the students are now again in the center of the stage protesting against abuses. Tomorrow they will be followed by the workers who will give a deeper social tone to the music of the class struggle. Strikes are again beginning to plague the government. We have already seen with what Caribbean speed and fury these storms come up. Mendieta hopes to null the settlement by a few "reforms" which settle nothing and by the extradition and trial of Machado!

What course will the workers' struggles take? Will they confine themselves to the demands for the improvement of conditions, the shortening of hours, increases in wages, the discharge of an offensive police official? Or will they take place under political slogans? Will the workers demand nationalization and control? That depends on whether the workers assimilate the lessons of the past period. And that in turn on whether there is a vanguard capable of helping them learn. From this point of view the situation is promising. The influence of Stalinism has been weakened both ideologically and organizationally by its adventurist-treachery course; the influence of the Bolshevik-Leninists is increasing.

Democratic Demands If today it is necessary—and it is necessary—to advance slogans for democratic demands, that does not yet by itself indicate within what framework these demands shall be put forth. In other words, what is the perspective? We have nothing in common with the grovelers before American imperialism—the Stalinists—who want to struggle for "municipal power," and who promise not to attack American property. In our opinion the revolution will traverse the ground from which it retreated with great speed and arrive quickly at the decisive questions. There will be no escaping the problem of state power. Failure to seize it will mean, not the step-by-step reaction of Mendieta, but the bloody heel of military dictatorship.

Whether the workers will be able to maintain power is another question. No one can give an answer to that question now. That depends on many things; principally on the world situation. If we are to assume the victorious sweep of Fascist reaction over Europe with the Western hemisphere then the doom of the Cuban workers' state would be pronounced. But if, on the contrary, we envisage a victory in France where the workers can take power, with the incalculable advantages for the labor and revolutionary movements everywhere that must ensue, then we can hold forth a more encouraging perspective for the Cuban revolution.

Situation in U. S. More immediate to the resolution of the issue is the factor of the internal situation in the United States. The great wave of strikes which are impending in this country will not be without its effect on the Cuban workers. No one can foretell how far the strikes will go in weakening the imperialist colossus. But there is no mistaking the rumbling of the volcano which may burst with tremendous shocks to capitalist terrain. Will they develop in a revolutionary direction? Will we succeed in arousing the workers of Latin America? On the answer to that question which will be given in the fire of the class struggle and in which we must have an influence we will have our answer to the question of whether the Cuban workers who may seize power will be able to hold it. We are not clairvoyants but we reject with contempt the "perspectives" of those "revolutionists" who see only the strength of American imperialism already rotting with gangrene.

In Cuba as everywhere the fate of the workers, of the entire population, of culture, and possibly, of civilization itself, depends on our success or failure in building the Fourth International. Let us hope that the Bolshevik-Leninists of Cuba at the head of the masses will go forward to victory.

—T. STAMM.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The New German Decrees

Fascism is a governmental system under capitalist rule, based on the uprooting of all the elements of proletarian democracy, when these weapons of the workers forged with such difficulty in courageous struggle, are turned against the ruling class in a challenge for power. Under the bloody dictatorship of the fascists all the independent, voluntary organizations of the working class are destroyed, smashed to bits. Thus May Day of last year saw the dissolution in Germany of the trade unions and the cooperatives accompanied by the confiscation of all their property.

'Iron Heel' Legislation

But the wiping out of the organizations of proletarian democracy does not satisfy enraged, terror-stricken capitalism. The new epoch of civil peace must be guaranteed! No opportunity must be left the workers to reforge their weapons of struggle. The Nazis fulminate madly against the shameful Versailles Treaty imposed by the Allies after the war with the aim of rendering Germany powerless. But the Nazis insist on their own Versailles Treaty imposed internally after their bloody suppression of the workers in the class war.

Hitler will keep the working class under enforced disunity, he will render them powerless to resist by a firmly-continued policy of repression. Hence this May Day the promulgation of new "Iron Heel" legislation. Any propaganda against the National Socialist State is declared high treason, punishable by death if need be. An undisguised lynch court is set up in the form of a People's Court, the judges to be selected by the present rulers. Even the defense attorney in any case sent before this tribunal for terrorizing the oppressed, must secure the approval of the judges. And there is to be no appeal from their decision!

The Value of Organization

As if to give point to the bitter lesson that must be fully absorbed by every worker from the situation in Germany, there comes the illustration of the impotence of a working class without its own independent organizations. In the shop elections for worker representation recently held all over Germany, the clearest indications of opposition to the Nazi regime are visible. Although under the fierce social pressure created and exerted by the forces of reaction, many workers have succumbed to Nazi "success," there still remain many class-conscious workers bitterly opposed to the regime of bourgeois terror. Hence despite the fact that a ballot cast for anybody other than the listed Nazi candidates was to be voided, large majorities in various localities, as reported by the *National Zeitung* of Essen, voted against the Nazis.

But the ballots are merely voided! Having no independent organizations ready to enforce their expressed will, this protest of the German workers remains impotent! Had they fought, arms in hand, for the existence of their parties and trade unions, the enemy, the capitalists, would today be impotent, not the workers.

The New York Post and the Middle Class

The bought defenders of the capitalist system, which category includes the bourgeois press, are well aware that the big bourgeoisie rule only with the aid of the petty bourgeoisie, including the farmers. Generally content to follow in the wake of the big finance capitalists, so long as things run smoothly, the middle class becomes disoriented the moment a crisis supervenes. Faced with ruin and pauperization, witnessing the obvious anarchy and chaos of capitalist production, those classes immediately above the proletariat are subjected to a process of radicalization during a crisis. It then becomes possible for a wisely led and united proletariat to win over wider sections of these oppressed masses. Faced with this danger the bourgeoisie must resort to new means, "left" methods of canalizing the anger and protest of this necessary ally. Hence the series of muckraking campaigns conducted by the Post.

Of course workers picked up and misled in this process will do no harm either. Thus we see a campaign on Firetrap Tenements and on Milk Prices. Also campaigns on banking and finance scandals and now on the Mortgage racket. But when it comes to war the "pacifist" Post leads its deluded readers to believe that it is only the European countries that are imperialist rivals of Japan in the East, not good-hearted America. The problem of winning the middle class is vital and must not be left to the paid demagogues of capitalism.

—JACK WEBER.

PLEDGE FUND

The pledge fund idea is beginning to take hold among our members, friends and sympathizers. During the month of March a total of \$39 was remitted by the pledgers. During April the total increased to \$56. If this fund continues to grow at this rate, the *Militant* will be well on the way toward stabilization.

Get your pledge card today. We are not printing the names of the individual pledgers because many of them, for obvious reasons, cannot have their names appear in our paper. However, each month we will print the names of those who have no objections, and a total figure for the others. At present we have 64 individual pledgers.

We wish to take this opportunity to publicly thank these pledgers for enabling us to extend the Club Plan sub drive for another 1,000 new readers, and so enable workers to read the *Militant* who cannot afford the full rates.

Manifestoes for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL out. 500 copies \$1.00 plus postage. Cash must accompany order. Readers of the *Militant* should try hard to distribute the Manifesto. 50 copies will be sent postpaid for 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

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Before the Socialist Party Convention

Editor's Note: This is the first of a series of four articles by Comrade Grotzer on the groupings and issues at the forthcoming convention of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America will hold its annual convention in Detroit on June 1, 2 and 3. The entire Party is now engaged in preparing for this meet. Discussions have already begun and groupings taken shape. The membership is in a state of agitation somewhat reminiscent of the time when the first left wing struggle broke out.

The present condition must naturally be contrasted to the almost decade-long period in which the Socialist Party was a small ineffective organization. Since the crisis, however, it has grown steadily in influence and numbers, so that the Party approaches the convention with a membership of over 25,000. In the "National Headquarters Supplement" of the Milwaukee Leader of March 3rd, are published numerous resolutions on the leading questions facing the Party: a—Declaration of Principles; b—National Recovery Administration; c—Labor Unions; d—Agriculture; e—The United Front; f—Socialist Press; g—Socialist Tactics; h—International Relations, Fascism, Democracy, etc.

With respect to the decisive fundamental questions, a series of different viewpoints are presented as the basis for the pre-convention discussion. These views vary from the crassest reactionary Right Wing position on the class struggle to the Left, including also a tendency favoring adherence to the movement for the Fourth International.

Groupings in the Party

The emergence of definite left wing groupings in the American Socialist Party may be received by many with surprise and doubt. An examination of the pre-convention material, however, is all that is necessary to convince one of this fact. Thus one sees the following groups and tendencies preparing to do battle for their respective points of view: The Revolutionary Policy Committee (patterned after the committee of the same name in the British Independent Labor Party), the Militants, the "Chicago Left Wing" (Senior and Krueger), the ultra-reactionaries of the Forward Association under the leadership of Abe ("Hear the Other Side") Cahan, the Old Guard, the Wisconsin Organization (Hoan), and those who follow and support the position of the Polish Bund. In any case, there is variety.

What are the chief points of struggle? First and foremost is the principle question of Reform versus Revolution. Allied with this and flowing out of it is the question of the proletarian dictatorship. Out of the disputes over these two fundamental questions of Marxism over which the workers movement has already split into well defined groupings (social democracy and communism), there has logically developed differences on all phases of work engaged in by the Socialist Party. The questions of Trade Union work, the United Front, The struggle against War, Labor Party, Soviet Union, and a whole series of other questions are in dispute.

Basic Causes of the Groupings
The situation in the Socialist Party betrays the Stalinist position on Social Democracy. They have and continue to regard the social democracy as an solid, immovable "social fascist mass" incapable of moving in the direction of communism. A Marxist approach to the question will demonstrate at once that conditions which made possible the emergence of an international left wing in Social Democracy during the war years, resulting in the creation of the Communist International on the basis of the old, recur once more in different form.

Outstanding victories of the proletariat (the Russian Revolution) are not the only motive forces of the international working class. Major defeats likewise prove to be influences upon the workers' movement, pushing it in one direction or another. Thus if the Russian Revolution had the effect of finally breaking off large sections of social democracy already dissatisfied with the banner of Kautsky, Bauer, Scheideman, et al, and pushing them in the direction of Communism and the banner of Marxism, there is no reason why a catastrophic defeat, such as took place in Germany (and followed in Austria) should not bring about similar movements.

The defeats in Germany and Austria demonstrated the bankruptcy of Social Democracy and Stalinism. These two events are responsible for the movements within the Social Democratic parties the world over. The specific political and organizational conditions associated with the Social Democratic movement explain why it is going through another internal upheaval, and similar reasons from another point of view, explain why Stalinism, momentarily, holds such tre-

mondous internal disruptions on the basis of the series of defeats suffered by it. This we leave for a later discussion.

Roots in the International Situation

It is impossible to explain the situation in the American Socialist Party, the existence of such a variety of groups, with different views in some respects and views that coincide in others, without seeking its roots. The background of the internal situation in the American Party is the European situation. The defeat in Germany, carrying with it the destruction of the "dean" of social democratic parties, brought into existence an International Congress (August 1933). At this congress, in spite of the endorsement it gave to the policies and activities of the German Party, there emerged a definite left wing point of view under the leadership of the Polish Bund. This point of view dissociated itself from the policies pursued by the German S. D. P. and the Labor and Socialist International (2nd) which was dominated by the German Party.

While the left wing received but eighteen out of three hundred votes cast at the August, 1933 International Congress, since then it has grown everywhere. The Austrian situation also acted as an impelling force on the left wing in all countries. The left wing takes shape as an international grouping dissociating itself from the whole course of the L. S. I. pursued up to and through the German and Austrian events, demanding a complete revision in theory and practice, of social democratic policy.

Just as the decisions of the in-

ternational congress of last year did not and could not settle the international situation in the L.S.I., but has only raised them in a more acute form, so the coming convention of the American Socialist Party will not settle the questions in dispute. The situation in the American Party is a reflection of the international situation. The left wing groupings here are a part of the international left wing groupings, all of them arising under the pressure of great European defeats. Irrespective of the outcome of the Detroit convention the main issues that agitate the Socialist organization today will continue until a definite solution, both politically and organizationally, of the questions in dispute takes place.

Probing the Disputes

A discussion of the coming convention cannot be held without consideration of:

1. The international congress of August 1933, in which the conflict between the Right represented by the German leaders and the international "Old Guard" on the one hand and the left wing led by the Polish Bund (supported by a majority of the American delegation!) on the other, broke out in sharp form over the fundamental questions raised in connection with the most decisive event since the Russian Revolution—the victory of Fascism in Germany;
2. The international groupings of a left character and the reflection of these tendencies in America; and
3. The possible outcome of these internal struggles, or more precisely: what to do!

The forthcoming articles will

deal first with the Congress of the L. S. I. held in August 1933, the present situation in the L. S. I., and, finally, the situation in America. Only on this basis is it possible to understand what is taking place in the American Socialist Party and orientate oneself to that situation—that is, in viewing the situation here, not as an isolated event, but as the logical sequence to the International Congress and the discussion that took place therein following the German events.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Nazis Exploit Winter Help

Nazidom seems to be convinced that the Dutch authorities will in no way interfere with its assumed tutelage over Germans living abroad. Another efficient method of converting Germans abroad into docile instruments of the Hitler dictatorship is the Winter Help and other alleged charity institutions which have been extended to Holland and under the protectorate of the German ambassador and other prominent German officials. Under the cover of alleged charity the German representatives have compiled extensive lists of Nazis and Nazi sympathizers.

The German Consulates are also in possession of the names of all German residents in Holland who voted for Hitler on November 12, 1933. Those who oppose Hitlerism are blackmailed, threatened and often exposed to denunciations. Petitions and circulars emanating from official German sources bear the signatures of diplomatic and consular representatives, of the presidents of the coordinated German societies in Holland, and, last but by no means least, of one Witte, Nazi commissary for Holland, and

World Revolution or World Fascism

The development of fascism has today become a central question of world politics. Viewed from a world standpoint the ebb and flow of fascism has varied inversely with the ebb and flow of the world revolution. The appearance of Italian fascism on the historic horizon has not only marked the entrance of a period of political reaction but has given definite characteristics to the whole epoch. The victory of German fascism has strengthened and accelerated the tempo of fascism throughout the capitalist world.

While fascism as a form of capitalist rule exists only in some of the European countries; fascism as a movement is making headway everywhere and particularly in those countries that have long been considered as models of capitalist democracy, France and England. Spain which but yesterday freed herself from monarchy and military dictatorship is now the scene of a thriving fascist movement.

It is not much different in the United States. Here, not only are the transplanted fascist movements among the Germans and Italians growing but an indigenous variety as well. The Silver Shirts Legion is the outstanding organization and according to all reports is growing and expanding rapidly. Its program and agitation mimic those of the Nazis in many details.

one Mannheim local of the German Nazi Party. These facts prove that all German denials of Nazi propaganda abroad are deliberately misleading.

It has been held by Marxian theoreticians, since fascism appeared as a political phenomenon, that its growth parallels the growth of the revolutionary movement and that its triumph comes about only because the proletariat is insufficiently strong to threaten the further existence of capitalism. The truth of this formula is unassailable if we view it from a world standpoint. However, whatever attention has been centered on this question has been approached from the application of the formula to the particular country under consideration. This approach has been undoubtedly due to the unevenness of capitalist development.

From such regulative principle, however, the conclusion is one that emphasizes fascism as a national problem without its international correlation. This leads to isolated, national appraisals of fascist phenomena and undermines the possibility for effective struggle against them.

It has now become necessary to clarify and bring up-to-date our theoretical evaluation of fascism in the light of the experiences of the last decade and the present situation.

If fascism is, as we have concluded, a universal manifestation, its appearance and existence in each country is a variation of this larger concept. It advances or recedes, therefore, because of certain motivating, interacting factors affecting world capitalism which can be readily analyzed.

Democracy and the institutions created by it are in a state of general collapse because of the work-

ings of the inner contradictions of capitalism. The resulting chaos compels sections of the most determined and militant among the capitalists to seek out a mass base to support the struggle for the establishment of a more adequate form of class rule. If the working class in any given country is not sufficiently strong, politically and organizationally, to overpower these forces of reaction—a fascist dictatorship will follow. Fascism may then come in a particular country, though the working class does not seriously threaten to establish its own class rule at the moment. In this latter instance fascism acts as a "preventive" for the revolution.

The question of reorganization of industry according to plan has formed an important section of the fascist programs. The promise of economic reconstruction after the assumption of power has been very alluring to the masses.

The characteristic form of economic organization introduced by fascism is, as we have seen, the cooperative state. This is the logical outcome of all tendencies of capitalist state power to interfere in the economic life of the country. It is the classic aim of fascism to evolve a state rule representing the fusion of politics and economics under one unified administration. To achieve this the class-struggle has to be abolished and a prolonged peaceful development take place. As this stands in violent contradiction to the general laws of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism and the nationalistic aspirations of fascism, the final accomplishment is easily predictable.

Of immediate concern to us, however, is the question of whether a program of state capitalism pursued in a democratic country facilitates the advent of fascism. Our thesis, as we shall see, holds this to be the case.

Let us consider recent developments in our country. The Roosevelt regime as soon as it took over the helm introduced the "New Deal". The National Industrial Recovery Act, the main part of this "New Deal", was passed only as a temporary, emergency measure. Today, neither friend nor foe questions the permanency of the NRA set-ups. The government not only organizes and strengthens associations of the various branches of industry, but participates itself to an ever increasing extent in the management and regulation of industry. The codes granted possess sweeping police powers.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, an agency of the government, which was set up even before the "New Deal", has been granted authority to loan directly to industry. No less significant is the systematic buying up of shares, by this institution, of the nation's largest banks; until now it owns 25% of the banking stock of the country.

In so far as labor is concerned, government policy is striking out new paths. Whereas in the past the traditional policy of the government, if indeed there was one, favored labor organizations of the craft or horizontal type—now the tendency is to favor organizations that will encompass whole industries and manufacturing enterprises. Here the National and Regional Labor Boards play supervisory and executive roles that are bound to assume greater authority as time goes on.

The government's support of the A. F. of L. in preference to company unions is not due to its desire to promote independent labor action. On the contrary, it is due to a desire to take labor out of control of the thousands of business and industrial enterprises and centralize this control within the A. F. of L. in order to curb strikes and eventually more serious class action on the part of the workers.

And so, without a fascist government in the United States and within the framework of the democratic apparatus, state capitalism and the features of a cooperative state are making their appearance. That the taking of power by fascism is made easier by such development, there is no doubt.

When democracy finally breaks down, fascism will be the only road for the capitalists, no matter what their present democratic asseverations may be. When such time comes, will the workers be prepared to make a bid for power? And yet, the only way to stop fascism is the united action of the proletariat leading immediately to the proletarian revolution.

It will be one of the first tasks of the new international revolutionary leadership to organize the decisive fight against the encroachment of world fascism. At the outset it will have to distinguish its Marxian methods from those of the hysterical Stalinists. Only the slogan of World Revolution can rearm the workers with the necessary weapon to stay the advance of fascism.

—JOSEPH S. GIGANTI.

LOUIS FISHER SLAYS "TROTSKYISM" AGAIN

In a recent issue of the Nation, Mr. Louis Fischer, in a much heralded article, invokes the death of "Trotskyism" for the hundredth time. It seems however that "Trotskyism" always pops up again, much to the dismay of its opponents. The reactionary capitalist Governments of Europe however, don't care much for "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", dead or alive.

Mr. Fischer, like most Stalinist scribes, does not feel impelled to substantiate his "arguments" against Trotsky by any facts, but resurrects the old fiction manufactured by Manulsky & Co.

Mr. Fischer's chapter in the international campaign of calumny and falsification starts off with the thesis that Rakovsky's recantation spells the death of "Trotskyism". His whole argument revolves around this axis. As if the capitulation of an individual impugns the fundamental principles of that movement. History can not be written so simply. The socialist and communist movement has been pock-marked with desertions, yet the principles of communism remain as unshaken as ever.

Causes of Rakovsky's Capitulation
If Mr. Fischer wants to find out the real meaning and cause of Rakovsky's capitulation, he himself has given us the clue.

"At a recent party conference in Eastern Siberia," writes Mr. Fischer, "Emilian Yaraslovsky, a member of the inner Bolshevik circle, spoke of the counter-revolutionaries hired by the bourgeoisie, and the delegates remarked that Trotsky too was in the pay of the capitalists. Yaraslovsky did not have the courage to deny this infamous accusation. His failure to do so was beneath contempt, as Stalin's effort to rewrite Soviet history so that Trotsky's role either disappears or becomes heinously smeared is beneath contempt."

Yes, and this is but putting it mildly. It is to be wondered that not more of the thousands of exiled and persecuted Bolshevik-Levinists, isolated from any contact with world historic forces, systematically misinformed and deceived, not only as to the activities of Trotsky, but also about the tremendous world-shaking events of the last decade, have not also lost their bearings. In view of these factors, Rakovsky's capitulation is but a hollow victory by which no clear sighted revolutionist will be misled.

Let us now examine some of Mr. Fischer's "arguments". "Trotsky", says Mr. Fischer, "... believed the New Economic Policy would bring back capitalism". Where he ever got this information is not indicated, but you may be sure it did not come from Trotsky. Search as you may, in Trotsky's writings you will not be able to find such a statement. Following this, Mr. Fischer contradicts his own statement by saying that Trotsky was "one of the first to suggest the New Economic Policy". Yes, Mr. Fischer, and you can even go further. Trotsky was the first one to suggest it, fully a year before its adoption.

"Socialism in One Country"
"Trotsky advocated industrializa-

Fischer, "but he did not suppose that socialism could thus be obtained". Quite so! And in so thinking, he was in full agreement not only with Lenin who conceived of socialism as "the creation of a united world-wide economy, regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations . . .", but also of every Bolshevik-Internationalist prior to the epoch of Stalinism.

I would seriously recommend to Mr. Fischer, and to the American Stalinists whose history begins with the year 1924, that they devote a little time to the study of the A.B.C. of Communism from Bukharin's and Preobrazhensky's text-book which was formerly the official handbook of the Workers School. "The Communist revolution", says the book, "can be victorious only as a world revolution. . . ." Since 1924, however, the history of the party has been turned into a palimpsest.

In a book edited and with an introduction by Lenin, Stepanov-Skvortsov wrote: "The proletariat of Russia never thought of creating an isolated socialist state. A self-sufficient 'socialist' State is a petty-bourgeois ideal. A certain approach to this is thinkable with an economic and political preponderance of the petty-bourgeoisie; in isolation from the outside world it seeks a means of consolidating its economic forms, which are converted by the new technique and the new economy into very unstable forms".

Trotsky's Position

What are Trotsky's views on this question?

"Socialism", says T, "is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present state of human development are world-wide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism. In rejecting the perspective of an isolated socialist development, the Bolsheviks had in view, not a mechanically isolated problem of intervention, but the whole complex of questions bound up with the international economic basis of socialism. . . . Starting from the world-wide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest development".

I have attempted here to give the party view on the question of building socialism in one country from the mouths of the official spokesmen of the Comintern—up to the Stalinist epoch. Similar views by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, etc., are all included in the history of the party—up to 1924. It will only be necessary for me to close this phase of the discussion with a quotation

from Stalin's Problems of Leninism (unexpurgated):

What Stalin Once Wrote

"To overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat in one country, does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism, the organization of socialist production—lies still ahead. Can this task be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is not. The efforts of one country are enough for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—this is what the history of our revolution tells us. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries. . . . Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution".

Industrialization

We will come back to this point shortly. For the moment let us proceed to Mr. Fischer's next point. Accepting wholeheartedly the canards of the Stalin school he goes on to say that "... collectivization never present itself to him (Trotsky) as a major solution (?)".

One might suppose that after making a categorical statement like this he would at least mention when or where this was true. But no, the readers of the Nation are left high and dry, for there is no accompanying explanation. What are Trotsky's views on this question?

"The proletariat", writes T, "cannot create a new society without bringing the peasantry to socialism through a series of transitional stages, the peasantry being a considerable—in a number of countries a predominant—part of the population, and a known majority on the earth as a whole. (Does this sound like underestimating the peasantry?) The solution of this most difficult of all problems depends in the last analysis upon the quantitative and qualitative correlations between industry and agriculture. The peasantry will the more voluntarily and successfully take the road of collectivization, the more generously the town is able to fertilize their economy and their culture".

Who Killed the Comintern?

Mr. Fischer conveniently limits his remarks to the Soviet Union. It is indeed very disquieting to think of the events which have led to the catastrophic defeats of the working class throughout the world. As Mr. Fischer puts it:

"Europe never looked so dark and beyond hope as at the present time. Yet Communism makes no headway. The Comintern is a dismal failure."

on these world-shaking events? It is a painful piece of work explaining why Europe looks "so dark and beyond hope". Mr. Fischer knows full well that the responsibility for this state of affairs rests largely on the nationalistic policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why the "Comintern is a dismal failure".

The position of the International Communist League (Left Opposition) has been strikingly confirmed in the most critical events of the past decade. And no Stalinist apologist can whitewash the treacherous nationalistic role of the Comintern to make it appear as revolutionary internationalism. History has stripped the Stalinist International of its last claim to the confidence of the working class. It stands exposed today as a brake on the revolutionary movement.

"Trotsky's World Revolution"

In September, 1932, Mr. Fischer wrote an article in Current History on "Trotsky's World Revolution". There he endeavored to compare Trotsky's views on the world situation with those of Stalin. Here is what he says:

"In German Trotsky urges a bloc between Communists and Social Democrats to fight fascism. Moscow declares, however, that this is menshevism (sic), an old Trotskyist malady (!), and that since the Social Democrats had supported the former Brüning Government, alliance with them would bolster up the German bourgeoisie".

This however did not prevent the Comintern from supporting the plebiscite in 1931 in which the German Communists voted with the Hitlerites. That united front was all right.

"Trotsky's most poisonous shafts are aimed against Stalin for his role in the Chinese Revolution of 1924-1927 and in the present German crisis. Trotsky maintains that Stalin's policy in China was not an accident and not a mere mistake, but an inevitable result of his rejection of the doctrine of Permanent Revolution. The acceptance of that theory, Trotsky insists, would have prevented Stalin from supposing that a successful socialist revolution could have issued from a union between the petty-bourgeois Kuomintang and the workers and peasants, in which the Kuomintang was the dominating influence. Trotsky above all, criticizes the Comintern for restraining the German Communist party from decisive revolutionary action."

Propaganda of the Hirelings

I have quoted Mr. Fischer at length so that there will not be any question of misstatement and misinterpretation. And since he so will bears out the claims of the Bolshevik-Levinists as to the revisionist policies of the Comintern, I will, at the risk of being tedious, conclude with a few choice excerpts from his article in Current History. There is no better way to refute the insidious nationalistic propaganda of the Stalinist hirelings than with the words from their own mouths.

"Since 1927 Stalin has defended the thesis of capitalist-Communist co-existence. The Soviet Govern-

ment officially proposed a resolution at the International Economic Conference in Geneva in May, 1927, which enunciated the idea that the two opposing forms of society could live together in peace and cooperation. On all recent occasions Soviet spokesmen have emphasized the same proposition".

That this is not just "front" for the benefit of the capitalists but an integral part of the new philosophy of the Soviet bureaucracy is indicated in a speech made by Litvinov before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union (not a Chamber of Commerce):

"... my conversations with President Roosevelt convinced us both of the absolute possibility of the closest relations and cooperation for peace by our two countries. One cannot but admire President Roosevelt's perspicacity in realizing not only the uselessness of continued struggle with us in the name of capitalism but the value of relations with us not only for the sake of America's national interests but for the cause of peace".

It is only because Lenin is pinned under a mausoleum and Trotsky exiled that they dare mouth such vicious, reactionary views. And to think that these statements are broadcast throughout the world to delude the workers into believing that the capitalist nations are really interested in peace!

Close-up of Stalinism

Mr. Fischer continues:

"At the end of the second Five-Year Plan in 1937, according to sanguine Bolshevik (?) claims socialism will have been established in Russia (!), despite the persistence of capitalism everywhere else. The Russian Communists therefore, are devoting themselves to the tasks at home. They are more introverted than ever before. Foreign politics interests them largely as a means of neutralizing outside hostility and of obtaining credits. Anything that may interfere seriously with domestic improvement is avoided. The Bolsheviks would say that capitalists will do more than the communists to undermine capitalism. Today, despite the universal depression, they view the world scene soberly (!) and, while discerning a gradual shift to the left, are skeptical about a red uprising, even in Germany, not to speak of other countries. . . . But how would the Communists in the Soviet Union behave if revolution were imminent in some important country? What if Germany or France or Japan were on the very threshold of a national social upheaval? The historical precedent is Germany in 1923. The Reich had been impoverished by inflation. Bread riots had occurred in numerous cities. The German Communists were planning an uprising. With one hand the Comintern helped them. But Stalin said: 'In my opinion we must restrain the Germans and not encourage them'."

Is it any wonder then that Hitlerism and not Communism triumphed in Germany?

—J. W.

The Imperialist Conflicts Over the Chinese Markets

White supremacy in the Orient is again being seriously challenged. This time it is not the workers of the world who are demanding "Hands Off China", in the interest of the Chinese Revolution. Now it is Japanese imperialism which is demanding that the American and British imperialism check their aggressive action in the Chinese markets. China, the main country concerned, has little or nothing to say and must continue to play the role of expressing her bourgeois needs through imperialist spokesmen.

The declaration of Amano of the Japanese Foreign Office which was the unofficial announcement of official action taken two months prior in communications to China, was followed up by government declaration which affirmed the Japanese policy of the "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia. Japan, the leading imperialist power in Asia, long ago decided that the American imperialist policy of "America for the Americans" is a good policy for Asia.

In 1915, when Japanese imperialism endeavored to impose the twenty-one demands upon China, while the western imperialists were engaged in armed conflict, everyone knew that this meant the establishment of a protectorate over China. Japan did not succeed in 1915, and all indications are that she has not succeeded this time. But Japan is in a far more favorable position now to continue her Manchurian policy of acting first and speaking afterwards.

The Struggle for China
The struggle for domination over China, which can only be accomplished at the expense of other imperialist powers, to say nothing of the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants, has been the consistent policy of Japanese and other imperialist powers. While the main strategy of American and European imperialist powers, for domination and markets, revolved around hegemony in Europe, and, in turn, in the colonial countries as the outcome of domination on the continent, the main strategy of Japanese imperialism for the whole century revolved around the struggle for domination of Asia.

U. S. imperialism won its position of domination in Americas as the broader base of operations for the struggle to place Europe on rational. Japan seeks a broad Asiatic base as her first step in an attempt to prevent American imperialism from "organizing the world" to her own liking.

America's attempt to organize the world presses heavily upon Great Britain, Japan, France and Germany in all parts of the world. At present it finds one of its main focal points over the struggle for hegemony in China. It expresses itself in opposition to Japan's closed door policy. But this in no way signifies a lessening of the antagonisms to England.

The Chinese market, for all purposes, is the prize and most important conquest of the imperialist needs today. No one realizes this better than Japanese imperialism. The steady encroachment of the Western Imperialists since the defeat of the second Chinese revolution compels Japan, as a life and death matter, to answer each step of further penetration by other imperialists with a more aggressive policy for her own ends. This is leading directly to the new imperialist war.

International Policy Decisive
The reorganization of the different imperialist nations within the depression cycle has passed the initial stage. The internal reorganization, based on one form of nationalism or the other, through inflation, currency devaluation and reduced wages, and concentration and centralization of finance and capital, has reached the stage where the international policies, coordinated with the internal policies of the imperialist nations, become decisive. This phase primarily expresses itself in a war for markets. Trade wars and dumping intensify all the

economic contradictions that national internal reorganization was supposed to have modified, if not eliminated altogether. The only stage that can follow this under capitalism is the stage of open armed conflict expressed in imperialist wars and civil wars between classes.

The main contending forces concerned in this struggle in the Orient are: Japan, the United States and Great Britain as the main imperialist contenders; the oppressed millions of China; the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the world which will defend the U.S.S.R. against imperialist attacks.

The pressure of the crisis of world economy upon Japan was almost as great as that which effected Germany before Hitler took power. But Japan was faced with a more favorable capitalist variant and found an outlet in the armed invasion and further conquest of China. With this military strategy Japan was forced to intensify her trade war with the other imperialist powers and has successfully invaded and challenged the Western robbers on every continent, making inroads in strongholds of the United States and Great Britain.

Enlarging the Contradictions
Japan's way out of the crisis and the contradictions of world economy is proving no more successful than the way attempted by Germany or any other imperialist power. Japan's way out has accomplished in the Far East what Germany's way out is accomplishing in Europe. It is extending and enlarging the contradiction and causing a concentration of the war clouds which inevitably lead to war.

Therefore, China, as the most important market for Japan, as well as for the other imperialists, is at the same time the base for Japanese war supplies in the struggle against Western Imperialism. Japan cannot let go of China and retreat. Diplomatic retreats will only cloak economic and military advances and preparations for Japan's defense of her "rights" to domination in the Orient.

Great Britain sees this problem as clearly as do the American imperialists. But England does not hold the same favorable world position. This forces the British imperialists to take more drastic steps at once which are resulting in a gigantic trade war between England and Japan. It has reached the point where British diplomacy must openly and bluntly speak of a trade war with Japan.

The U. S. and England

To some this implies a united front of the United States and England against Japan. But in reality a trade war by England aimed at Japan, which gains the support of the Empire, will at the same time become an intensified force against the American imperialists in their search for markets. This will intensify the antagonisms and, unless agreements and concessions between British and American imperialism can be arranged, it will result in an extension of the trade war to new heights and bring the war just that much closer.

This increasing war danger and growing reaction in Europe will tighten the grip of world economy around Soviet economy. With Stalin at the helm, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly give more concessions to world imperialism. The American imperialist recognition of the Soviet Union, which was cloaked as a peace move and heretofore by the Pravda as a big step to further world peace, was in reality a strategic move in the war preparations of America, aimed on the one hand against the new Hitler Germany and on the other hand against aggressive Japanese imperialism in the Orient.

Upset "Balance of Power"
The successful invasion of China by Japan and the victory of Fascism in Germany upset the "balance of power", both in the Orient and in Europe, and called for a regrouping of forces in preparation for the coming war. Of course it also called for increased armaments, a mad race of imperialism for war supplies and instruments of death.

The position of the United States in regard to Japan was as firm as the position taken by England, but could be presented in a different fashion. The battle of diplomacy over China is only a spark of what is really going on under the surface. The moves and preparations of American imperialism in the race for the Chinese markets, and other markets Japan is invading, are laying the basis for a gigantic explosion.

America's imperialist success in Latin America, and her strategic position in relation to decadent Europe, make it necessary to challenge the Japanese or any other imperialist power aiming to dominate the Orient. Otherwise, America's desire to organize the world for her economic needs will receive a blow which it will be difficult to recover from.

—HUGO OETHEL.

New Trends In the Trade Unions

(Continued from page 1)

a declaration from Tighe, that he "washes his hands of the whole business".

Officials in a Dilemma

Mike Tighe may yet try to defeat and nullify the convention action. Sell-outs are not merely a thing of the past but can be expected to be repeated on a more serious scale. But this is an entirely different matter now that the workers are in motion toward a higher level of class consciousness. "Outlaw" strikes and "outlaw" movements can be expected to occur. Today, however, such are not so easily defeated. The union officials are in a dilemma with the company union; Bill Green's "great strike in history" was won for the time being by the auto bosses. The union officials accepted the special mediation board whose duty is to forgive and defeat action. As a result an "outlaw" movement is already in its inception. It started from St. Louis where the union

In the automobile situation the union officials accepted the Roosevelt agreement which legalizes the company union; Bill Green's "great strike in history" was won for the time being by the auto bosses. The union officials accepted the special mediation board whose duty is to forgive and defeat action. As a result an "outlaw" movement is already in its inception. It started from St. Louis where the union

locals proposed secession from the A. F. of L. and found support from locals in other parts of the country.

Danger of Premature Splits

In this action, however, there is a great danger of a premature split which can be isolated and led into the void. The center of gravity of the trade union movement is still within the A. F. of L. A continuation of its policies and betrayals will unmistakably lead to the possibilities of new militant unions emerging. But such moves can become successful only after the rank and file thoroughly absorb the experiences after a period of crystallization of forces and a better understanding of the purposes and tasks of militant unions. Above all it can become successful only under the direction and influence of a conscious left wing movement. Nevertheless this trend shown amongst the automobile workers is highly indicative for the future.

Within the federal unions trends in a progressive direction are visible. At a conference in Washington the latter part of January delegates representing almost 100 federal unions with an estimated membership of 250,000 formulated demands to the effect:

1. That the organization of federal unions be continued aggressively.
2. That the members of the federal unions be not segregated into craft unions.
3. That a bureau be established within the A. F. of L. to "aid and stimulate the formation of such industrial unions".
4. That where "a reasonable and sufficient number of such federal unions form a national organization and apply for a national or international charter, same shall be immediately granted".

Trend Toward Industrial Unionism

Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be established on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestionably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary officials to check or to defeat.

The workers from the mass production and the basic industries, who are now joining the unions in great numbers, have lost some of

their great illusions about the NRA. They propose in the main to rely upon the power of their organization. In this they press the union officials for action. They put the officials to the test and the failure to head their demands will be clearly demonstrated before the eyes of the rank and file.

On the one hand preparation is made for many of them to be swept into discard. On the other hand, the militant currents become strengthened. Already today these new mass numbers in the unions are in the position of defending the unions, of fighting for their recognition and of driving them into action on a large scale against the leaders who yield to the company unions and accept the class collaboration basis instituted by the NRA. The trends which are now in the making point toward a new stage of militant unionism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Minneapolis Union Prepares For Action

(Continued from page 1)

Local 574, by the other unions. With one or two notable exceptions, the officials to the other unions act as though the General Drivers were in the way.

This attitude must be changed. It is a menace to the whole labor movement. The General Drivers can and must be made the corner stone for the trade union structure as a whole. This corner stone is not yet in place. The entire workers movement will see to this job and bring the unions into action to this end.

The General Drivers Union is faced with a vast problem, faced with a real struggle. Not a workers organization, not a single worker, will hold back. Strike with united forces. The trade unions as a unit must back this fight to victory.

—R.

Militant Builders

The Club Plan Sub Drive for another 1,000 new readers was extended at the request of several of our branches. It is being conducted for the express purpose of enabling workers who cannot afford the regular rates. It goes without saying that this low rate does not cover the cost of production. We are able to do this only through the help of the Pledgers.

For the benefit of those who do not know how this Club plan works we wish to explain:
A club consists of four cards for \$1.00 paid in advance. Each card is good for a six-month sub. The idea is to buy four or more cards and dispose of them later to reimburse yourself for the outlay.

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	88
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"AMERICA AND THE COMING REVOLUTION"

Speaker:
JOHN G. WRIGHT
Saturday, May 12th, at 8:30 P.M.
Harlem Branch, Communist League of America
130 East 107th Street
(One flight up)
Admission 10 Cents

ATTENTION BRONX WORKERS

A Special Lecture
on
The Life and Work of L. D. Trotsky
by SARAH MYERS
Secretary to Comrade Trotsky at
Prinkipo and Barbizon, France
SATURDAY, MAY 12, 8 P.M.
at
the Headquarters of the
Bronx Branch of the C. L. A.
1739 Boston Road—Room 5

A Social will follow the lecture. There will be food, music and dancing. Admission is free.

Theatre Party

The New York Local of the Communist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Steve" at the Civil Repertoire. This play has been hailed by all reviewers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working-class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price from 30 cents to \$5.00 at our office, 126 E. 16th Street, for the performance Monday, June 18.

The International Position of the Revolutionary Policy Committee

In an objective situation marked by the manifest decay of capitalism as a social and economic system, and rotten-ripe for revolutionary advances, the proletarian movement of the world staggers under the blows of catastrophic defeats. This state of affairs, for which Stalinism and Social Democracy bear the joint responsibility, has induced the deepest crisis the labor movement of the world has ever known. Great organizations, resting on the support of millions of workers, have been put to the historic test and proved completely bankrupt.

What else could result from such catastrophe but disintegration of the old organizations, on the one hand—and since the class struggle is not suspended for a single day—new ferment, critical analysis and the search for new paths on the other? One of the expressions of this search for a new road, and a most significant one, too, it must be said, is the emergence of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party with its straight-out challenge to the policy of social reformism.

WHICH WAY FOR THE R.P.C.

Will it carry out this challenge to the end? That remains to be seen. The program, as it now stands, incomplete in some respects and wrongly formulated in others, does not of itself give a definite answer to the question. If the implications of the first declaration are developed to their logical conclusion, and the program is rounded out accordingly, the R.P.C. can undoubtedly become a rallying center for the revolutionary socialist workers, and especially the socialist youth.

Failing to adopt these amendments and corrections in time, the Revolutionary Policy Committee will be likely to sink into the morass of centrism. That is, serve as a force to head off the revolutionary trend in the party and help to bolster up the tottering structure of Social Democracy, hopelessly discredited on a world scale, decaying with the decay of capitalism which it has served, and organically incapable of regeneration.

We hope for the former outcome of this promising development in the S. P. Every revolutionist worthy of the name will be ready to aid such a development. At the same time, without casting the slightest doubt on the seriousness of the signers of the declaration, it is necessary to point out the danger of a different result and to show the source of this danger in the program as it now stands.

Nor is it altogether excluded that the R.P.C., or a part of it, in receding from social reformism, can even land in the blind alley of Stalinism, the accomplice of Social Democracy in the assassination of revolutions and the enthronement of Fascism. Against such a calamity, also, programmatic clarity is the first and most important preventive.

INTERNATIONALISM—PARAMOUNT QUESTION

Formal programs, however, are meaningless today unless they candidly face the determining feature of the crisis in the labor movement of the world—the bankruptcy of both the Second and the Third Internationals—and the fundamental problem of the epoch—the reassembling of the revolutionary vanguard in a new organization, under a new banner. The catastrophic defeats of the working class under objective circumstances highly favorable for revolutionary victories present a contradiction which means one thing above all others: the leadership has broken down, the organizations they directed were inadequate.

This is the crux of the whole question of the regeneration and revival of the revolutionary labor movement. Every party, group and current, now as in the period following the betrayal of the workers into the world war, is tested and its whole course is determined by its approach to this question of internationalism.

It seems incredible that a group which denounces social reformism as a road that "led to death" in Germany should retain the slightest allegiance to the International which led the socialist masses to defeat and death, not only in 1933 but before that in 1914, and which systematically betrayed them in all the years between. Surely, an analysis of the fundamental causes of the treacherous role of the Second International, and the declaration of an irrevocable break with it, are elementary requirements of revolutionary socialists. Yet all the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee has to say on this paramount question is the following:

"The Socialist Party of America must make every effort to get the above principles adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument of promoting the world revolution."

When the Second International collapsed in 1914 and betrayed the laboring masses into the bloody shambles of the war, Lenin and the other revolutionary socialists, even though they were only a handful, declared the organization to be dead for the revolution and turned to the preparation of a new International. Everything the Second International and its leading and most representative party in Germany did since that time, only served to confirm the analysis of Lenin.

The party and the International that had failed in the great historic test was irrevocably lost for the workers' cause. It survived only as a reactionary and treacherous force in the labor movement, an ally and support of capitalism. This was understood by the revolutionary vanguard. That is why they formed the Communist International. Socialist workers, who assimilated the lessons of the war and post-war experiences later, expressed their revolutionary standpoint by leaving the Second and joining the Third International.

AGAINST THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL!

Now, when on top of every other perdition, the German Social Democracy, with the full support of the Second International, held the masses back from struggle against Fascism and lifted Hindenberg into the presidency in order that he might open the door for Hitler—is it possible now that revolutionists should advocate adherence to this corrupt and rotting work of decaying capitalism, that they should tell the workers to hope for its reform and regeneration?

WAUKEGAN MEETING

Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up at 12:30 A.M.

The Stalinists were very peaceful although there were a number pres-

No, that is not possible. Whoever gives the workers such advice is no revolutionist at all. Whoever preaches the lie about the reform of the Second International makes himself its accomplice in the German and Austrian betrayals and prepares new Germanies and new Austrias.

This section of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the other sections which challenge everything the Second International stands for and which it will continue to stand for in practice as long as it exists and pollutes the working class movement of the world. If the Revolutionary Policy Committee wishes to become a revolutionary force it should lose no time in demanding an immediate break with the Second International. Otherwise it will hopelessly discredit itself with the revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party and lose the possibility of regaining their confidence.

A BAD "STRATEGY"

If the international relations section of the program of the R.P.C. is not seriously meant, if it is "strategy", then it must be said it is a bad strategy that works a double evil. If they want to make a revolutionary fight and carry it out to the end the most important thing is to attract the revolutionary socialist workers and give them a clear lead on the most important questions. Among these internationalism takes first place—a primary interest in internationalism is the first mark of the revolutionist. Serious revolutionary workers will never forgive those who play hide and seek with such a question.

On the other hand, a "strategic"—insincere—declaration for the reform of the Second International can defeat the aims of the genuinely revolutionary elements in the R.P.C. by converting the group into a shelter for centrists, that is, for the most dangerous enemies of a revolutionary policy at the present time, whose function is to blur the distinctions between revolution and reform and to blunt the edge of the revolutionary weapons.

THE ROLE OF CENTRISM

Pseudo-radicalism—centrism—represents in fact the predominating tendency in the parties of the Second International today. After the debacle of social reformism in Germany, followed by the Austrian tragedy, social reformism has been fearfully discredited. And the dismissal of the Social Democratic flunkies in favor of Fascists in a number of countries has induced even the most incorrigible and loathsome traitors, including those who offered to "coordinate" themselves to the Hitler regime, to indulge in radical bluster. For example, the German Social Democratic Party now adopts a revolutionary program!

The new centrists declare for the most revolutionary principles, for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" or anything else you want, but on one condition: keep within the framework of the old Social Democratic parties and the Second International with all the scoundrels and traitors and King's Ministers and never do anything to carry out the "revolutionary" principles in action. (The Kantorovich group, now apparently fused with the "Militants", are representative of this centrist current in the United States.)

In this way the revolt of the socialist workers is curbed, their revolutionary impulse for action is restrained, they are held in the strait-jacket of the old bankrupt organizations and the way is prepared for new betrayals and defeats.

THE MARXIST FIGHT AGAINST CENTRISM

Under these new conditions in the labor movement the formal criticism of social reformism misses the mark. What is needed now, above all, is a Marxist fight against centrism and an exposure of its role. For this, a formal program of general principles alone is inadequate—the centrists, hard pressed by the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, are very apt to sign it! The formula for this fight, as for all the other fundamental problems of the time, is: The struggle for the Fourth International!

The perfidious game of the centrists in the Social Democratic parties is facilitated for the moment by the circumstance that events which discredited the Social Democracy in a second historic test have revealed also the complete bankruptcy of the Communist International. Given a revolutionary policy and leadership in the Comintern the masses of disillusioned socialist workers would today be streaming into its ranks in an irresistible flood. From the time of the launching of the Comintern in 1919 until 1923 this process went on continuously. Under Lenin the Comintern gained at the expense of Social Democracy all along the line. No such movement is observable today. Caught in a vice between bankrupt Social Democracy and Stalinism, and trusting neither, the workers are held in the old organizations by the formula of centrism. And by that the crisis is prolonged and deepened.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

The first condition for the solution of the international crisis of the labor movement is to assemble all the awakening revolutionary forces for a common struggle. It is unthinkable that this assembly can take place on the basis of either the Second or the Third Internationals. It will take place, rather, in irreconcilable struggle against them. If they were not both bankrupt the present crisis of capitalism would have led to revolutionary victories instead of fascist reaction.

Forces making for the revolutionary regeneration of the international movement converge from three different sources. They are: the International Communists' (formerly the Left Opposition of the Comintern), independent socialist parties and groups, and the bona fide left wing developing and growing rapidly in the Social Democratic parties. The task is to bring them together, to unfurl a clean banner.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee undoubtedly has the possibility of becoming a serious force in the coming regroupment in the United States. A clean break with the Second International, not only as a program but also as an organization, is its necessary next step on this road.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

FASCISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Third of a New Series of Lectures on the International Program with Special Reference to America

By **James P. Cannon**

at **IRVING PLAZA HALL**

15th Street and Irving Place

SUNDAY, MAY 12th at 8 P.M.

ADMISSION 15 CENTS QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Next lecture to follow on succeeding Sunday: The United Front.

ent and they took part in the discussion. Shachtman dealt them a hard blow and turned each of their arguments against them. He created a very favorable impression. It would not surprise me if he obtained several new members due to his visit, within a short time. We shall send a write-up to the Militant within a few days.

The Stalinists broke faith in the

—O. A. WATERS.

Doriot Expelled From French C. P.

Jacques Doriot, a leading member of the French Communist Party, has been expelled, according to dispatches in several New York capitalist newspapers. Doriot, it has been known for some weeks, has been leading a fight in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on behalf of the Leninist theory and practice of the united front. His expulsion, expected daily, was apparently held up because the bureau of the C. P. feared that the Party rank-and-file would not tolerate such action.

Record of Doriot

Doriot has for years been a leading figure in official Communist circles. He is one of the founders of the Young Communist International and a leader of the Stalinist youth movement throughout Europe. He has been a leader of the Stalinist fraction in the French Chamber of Deputies, where he once created a sensation by introducing a resolution congratulating the rebellious Abd-el-Krim for his victory over French imperialist arms in Morocco. In addition to being a Deputy, he is today Mayor of Saint-Denis, one of the key working class districts of Paris.

Doriot accepted the Stalinist regime in the Comintern; he denounced Trotsky and his comrades as counter-revolutionaries. No doubt he, like others, waited silently in hopes that the pressure of events would force a turn.

The futility of such hopes is again clearly demonstrated. No greater pressure of events can be imagined than that which developed in Germany more than a year ago. Fascism made its bid for power, and the German Stalinist Party gave up the battle without a fight. On the heels of this ignoble surrender came the February days of Vienna.

February Events

The events of February were the final stimulus. In various parts of the country, district and section organizations of the Communist and Socialist Parties, reacting to the royalist-patriotic riots, came together in joint actions which, however incomplete and temporary, were unquestionably the first steps toward a genuine united front. Presiding over these joint actions was the spirit of the Internationalist Communist League of France, our comrades-in-arms, the former Left Opposition or "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites". Indeed, the development of such actions was marked by a concurrent rapid rise in the circulation throughout France of *La Verite*, official weekly organ of the League. Nor is it to be overlooked that the "crime" charged to Comrade Trotsky by the French bourgeoisie, for which he is to be deported, is that of sending emissaries to the C. P. and S. P. proposing united defensive action, along Leninist lines.

C. P. Rejects United Front

It is an honor to Doriot that at this point, in a meeting of the C.C., he proposed that the Party take up the united front on a national scale, offering a practical, militant, sincere program of joint struggle to all reformist organizations. However, the Stalinist organ, slandered and abused him, but printed nothing of his remarks in the C. C. meetings. The bureaucrats scurried about trying to isolate him from the Party.

Then the news got out! Doriot was advocating the Leninist united front! He was bringing "Trotskyist ideology" into the ranks of the Stalinist organization! The rumors became less vague. Two weeks ago *La Verite*, brother-organ of the Militant, printed Doriot's speech to the C. C. The French workers had their first opportunity to compare his position with that of the spokesman of the Stalinist clique, an irretrievable bureaucrat named Thorez. This was too much! Expulsion was the sole remedy.

French Workers Begin to Act

Doriot has not delayed as did certain leaders in Germany, until it is too late. The news of his action is laid before the eyes of the whole French working class at a favorable moment. The class has drawn a deep breath, and has begun to act.

The entire Saint-Denis section of the Stalinist Party of France has adopted a resolution supporting Doriot against the Stalinist C. C.

The significance of this fact is enormous. Saint-Denis, which elects a Communist Mayor and a Communist Deputy; Saint-Denis, one of the proudest boasts of Stalinism in France; Saint-Denis where the very children are brought up on the poison of the "theory" of "Social-Fascism"; Saint-Denis, in organized ranks, flying the banner of Stalinism still, has stepped forward for the united front. The muscled hand of the French working class drops the paper-mache bludgeon with which Stalinism "armed" it, and reaches out to grasp the precise and effective revolutionary instrument which Comrade Trotsky and the League of Internationalist Communists have been forging for it these many years.

Leninist Influence Grows

Whether Doriot will maintain his position and go forward in his fight, or lose heart in the face of the avalanche of slander and terrorism which the Stalinist bureaucrats will now loose against him, cannot be foretold. His first weakness is evidenced, however, in his silent consent to the dastardly physical attacks made by the Stalinists upon members of the French League distributing their organ *La Verite*.

But in any case this much is clear: the ideology of the League is penetrating deeply into the Stalinist Party of France. The proletariat of France, led by that of Saint-Denis, is raising its voice against its misleaders. And because these misleaders will not answer but will seek to strangle that voice, the inner struggle in the Stalinist ranks can mean politically but one thing: the growth in France and internationally of the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the strengthening and deepening of the current flowing toward united class action on immediate questions, the building of new revolutionary parties and a new, the Fourth, International.

The Real Significance of Rakovsky's Capitulation

(From *La Verite*—Paris.)

The TASS agency communicates for the second time this month about the capitulation of Rakovsky to Stalin.

We are informed from an absolutely authoritative source that matters happened in the following way. In the early part of 1929 the old president of the Council of Peoples Commissars in the Ukraine and the Soviet ambassador to Paris was deported to central Asia, Barnaul, where he remained for more than five years. The OGPU encircled him with an ever tightening grip. During the last two years, his wife who shared his exile was deprived of the possibility of corresponding with her son, a young doctor practicing in Paris.

At the end of 1929 the old revolutionist made a bold attempt to escape and, despite unprecedented surveillance, he succeeded in making his way to the frontier where he was wounded by Soviet guards. It was at that time that the entire world press wrote of the sickness or even the death of Rakovsky. In reality the wounded man was shipped to the Kremlin hospital. Here, despite careful treatment, a formidable moral pressure was brought to bear on him.

But Rakovsky did not yield. His wound hardly healed, he was sent back to Barnaul and placed under a redoubled guard. Every perspective was completely lost. Shaken by the failure of his supreme attempt, sick, his morale broken, this 61 year old man signed the statement of capitulation. While

Rakovsky remained in Barnaul his friends in the circles called "Trotskyist" did not wish to divulge these facts in order not to cause any harm to the deportee.

Now that the capitulation is consummated these same circles consider it necessary to make known the true significance of Rakovsky's capitulation.

Tomorrow the Soviet authorities will possibly impose upon Rakovsky to issue a denial of these facts. This will not be the first example of such acts by Stalin. But such procedure deceives no one.

Paris, April 10, 1934

Statement of Non-Partisan Labor Defense on German Deportees

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

An international conference of workers' youth organizations met in Laren, Holland on Feb. 24. It was dissolved by police and all foreign delegates were deported. Four were German political refugees—one a member of the League of Communist Internationalists, three members of the Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei. They were delivered to Hitler's border police. No word has been heard of them since. If still alive, they are surely in grave danger.

Having been informed from abroad of this event, our Committee drew up a protest statement and demand for asylum in Holland for German political refugees. The protest was delivered on April 17 to the Consulate General in New York with a request for forwarding to Holland.

The organizations which signed the statement were: American Workers Party, Communist League of America, Communist Party Opposition, Jewish Workers Party (Poel Zion Left), League for Industrial Democracy, National Unemployed League, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Spartacus Youth Clubs, Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, Young People's Socialist League of America. In addition, there were signatures by Alex Bail, Editor of *The Workers Age*; Roger Baldwin; James P. Cannon, Editor of *The Militant*; Herman Gund, General Organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union; and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*.

More signatures could have been obtained had it not been for the need for speedy registration of the protest stressed by European correspondents. It is of interest that in Europe the protest movement embraces liberals (League of the Rights of Man), Social Democratic parties, independent labor parties, the C.P.O., the Communist Internationalists, anarchists and trade unions (Confederation Generale du Travail, etc.).

Two organizations approached by our Committee—the Socialist Party and the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism (chiefly the garment unions) declined to sign the joint protest but sent to the Dutch Ambassador separate protests based on information supplied by our Committee.

The Communist Party U.S.A. ignored our Committee's request for its endorsement of the protest, as did the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. The International Labor Defense expressly refused endorsement. In a letter of April 11, Wm. L. Patterson, its National Secretary, wrote:

"I am afraid... our presence... would force the withdrawal of Miss Fox (Secretary of the I. L. D.) and others who are inclined toward her point of view."

This letter was received by our Committee April 16. A reply was sent at once, pointing out that the I.L.D. was refusing to support an action "which has deservedly won the support of diverse elements opposed to Fascism, and which is an essential part of the fight against Hitlerism," and that whoever withholds or withdraws from the action must bear the responsibility for his attitude. Notice of endorsement by collect telegram was urged.

On April 19 a letter came from Patterson deprecating the need for protest on the ground that the four German deportees "still remain free from jail and torture," and refusing endorsement on the following ground:

"The leadership of the I.L.D. regards you (the Secretary of our Committee) as an enemy of the working class. It regards you as a provocateur, an agent of the enemy, desperately seeking to secure a foothold within the ranks of the working class, in order to better carry on your disruptive tactics. It regards many of those in your united front as of the same character."

On April 25 a letter was sent to Patterson asking the source of his statement that the four deportees

are free from jail. No answer has been received.

Our Committee is informed that the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland have jointly retained Attorney B. J. Stockvis of Amsterdam to go to Germany for information as to the fate of the deportees. He appears not to have obtained any as yet.

We are informed that the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Young Peoples Socialist League and other labor youth organizations plan further joint action in this matter. Our Committee will gladly cooperate in further action, whose need is unquestionable.

We further suggest that all organizations which have not yet come into the protest movement send statements to the Dutch Ambassador or the local Consul. Full information on the case, and copies of the joint protest are available in this office. It should be realized that, whatever the Consul does "officially," he will forward all protests. It is important that there should be many.

The parties which retained Attorney Stockvis for the German trip ask financial aid for his work of investigation and defense. Our Committee will gladly transmit funds to Holland and render an accounting to all contributors.

It is our hope that this protest is only the first of many actions against Fascism and capitalist oppression in which we will be able to cooperate with other organizations.

HERBERT SOLOW, Sec'y.
Provisional Committee for
Non-Partisan Labor Defense

Romain Rolland Joins Protest

In response to an appeal addressed to him on behalf of the four German youth delegates to the Laren Conference deported from Holland to Germany, Romain Rolland, famous writer and anti-Fascist, has issued a statement of protest against Dutch government policy.

The appeal was addressed to him in the form of a resolution adopted in Paris on March 15 by a mass meeting of working class youth called by the youth organization of the International Communist League of France (Young Bolshevik Leninists), the Socialist Youth, the Socialist Student organization, the anarchist youth and the Pupist youth organization.

"I respond to this call without hesitation," Rolland writes. "It does not matter to me that the delegates who were turned over to Hitler belong to one fraction or another of the Communist Party or (if this be the case) to some other anti-Fascist party. In the struggle against Fascism, I refuse to distinguish among its irreconcilable enemies of whom I am one. We are all allies against Fascism, the common enemy."

"I indignantly condemn the shameful deed of the Dutch police which has made itself an accomplice of Nazi crimes by delivering up to the National Socialist butchers, free men who had sought refuge on the soil of Holland. It is an outrage to the very honor of Holland, which at one time was the country of heroes revolting against despotism, the sacred refuge of freedom."

While the international protest movement on this case thus begins to draw in its train leading examples of middle-class intellectuals long praised by the Communist Party as honest friends of militant working class action, the C. P. itself still refuses to raise its voice on behalf of the four victims of Dutch reactionary policy.

As yet no information has been obtained concerning the fate of the four young workers although an attorney is conducting an investigation in Germany. Friends are asked to write protest letters to local Dutch consuls.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Organization Notes

The League is undertaking a recruiting campaign to win new members and strengthen itself to function more effectively in the creation of a new revolutionary party. Gains have been made recently which show the vitality of the organization and the growth of its influence.

In far-away Richmond, California, several workers have joined the League and a new branch is in formation. At the Atlantic sea border, in Bangor, Maine, a group of comrades decided, after weighing the position of the various currents in the movement, that their place is in the League. We have found new sympathizers in many parts of the country; but it is important that they should now assume the duties and responsibilities of the organization and become members.

Our contribution to a Leninist united front policy as shown by the New York May Day demonstration, in which we took our place in common action with the Socialist Party and the trade unions, gained for us the respect of serious minded workers and raised new hopes in the possibility of a genuine united front. For us this is only a beginning toward future actions on a similar basis.

On the other hand the increased but futile assaults directed against us by the Stalinist bureaucrats, their attempts to break-up meetings on Shachtman's tour and their physical attack upon our contingent at the Chicago May Day demonstration, shows their way of taking cognizance of the gains we are making. But where they performed their hooligan function at the Shachtman meetings the result was new members added to our ranks.

In the steel city of Waukegan, Ill., a League branch, recently organized, represents one of the first breaks in the Socialist Party. Its active members there, deeply impressed by the European events and disillusioned with the deceptive social reformism of the party to which they then belonged, adopted a Leftward course. The Stalinist party could not attract them. It did not offer them the revolutionary position they sought. They joined the League.

The recruiting powers of the League have been demonstrated by a good many instances. Our branches are preparing to take full advantage of this fact and making arrangements to press the recruiting campaign to result in further strength to the League. This is in harmony with our course to build the new party. Several forces are heading in that direction. The ferment in the Socialist Party promises new forces to be added. The League has entered into the process developing toward the new party and has in fact become its standard bearer. To hasten this process our sympathizers should take the step now and become members of the League.

Truth About Dachau Told by Manchester Guardian

The European public, deeply upset and visibly shaken by the deeds and policies of Hitlerism, has been thrown again into turmoil by recent statements of the German press which describe the notorious concentration camps as "most desirable and highly successful educational institutions for people with wrong political and social ideas."

Among other well known publications the Manchester Guardian has come back with a slashing attack on Nazi Germany, amply supplemented by a blood-curdling article of one of its German correspondents on conditions in the Bavarian concentration camp Dachau. The Dachau camp is cited by the Nazi papers as the peak of the new Nazi educational system.

The correspondent writes that the camp usually houses 2,200 to 2,400 prisoners, among them approximately fifty intellectuals, sixty rebellious Nazis, five hundred Socialists, two former army officers, fifteen foreigners, and a number of common criminals. The rest are

The League is growing on the Pacific Coast

Following successful participation in various meetings in Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond by League speakers results of a positive nature have been obtained. New members have been gained. A new headquarters has been established at 1020 Broadway, Oakland. It has a book shop with considerable literature on hand. Militant sales reach a good sized bundle each week. Two study classes testify to the progress made by the League. Our second class consists largely of shop workers from the largest oil, chemical, smelting and auto factories in the East Bay region, all of them young native born workers.

Some of our comrades have done excellent work and are very active in the CWA organizations. Others engage in trade union work in the longshoremen's union, among others. But most notable is the accomplishment of a couple of comrades in a nearby lumber camp some time ago.

Headlines appeared three days in succession in all Pacific Coast papers dealing with the demonstrations in Camp Marvedel and "Assorted Lynch Threat." A successful fight had been carried on in the camp for better conditions. During the absence from the camp of the majority of the men, one comrade, who had actively led the organization of committees to carry on this fight, was set upon by two legionnaires and a professional pugilist and was badly beaten. 170 out of the 200 workers on their return to camp forced the expulsion of the three thugs. Material improvements in camp conditions, change in the office personnel and a greater solidarity of the workers clearly brought out the results of the good work done.

In Los Angeles the Stalinist assault upon one of the meetings recently addressed by Comrade Shachtman served as a boomerang to the initiators of these disgraceful methods. Our branch set to work immediately organizing a protest meeting and invited the various workers' organizations to participate, to join in the protest and to defend the right of free speech in the labor movement. Most of the organizations invited responded and sent their representatives, others sent resolutions to the meeting condemning the Stalinist assault. The protest meeting was a real success.

The Los Angeles police appear not at all convinced that there can be any truth in the slanders calling us counter-revolutionists. Their actions show a different opinion. Two of our comrades were arrested for leaflet distribution and got 180 days each. They served five days with the balance of the sentence suspended. But these combined attacks have served to strengthen the branch. Our membership has increased.

Most of the prisoners are workers. They are divided into detachments of 250 to 270 people each; each detachment is divided into five sections. Detachment No. 7 is the so-called disciplinary detachment which, as its name indicates, is used for incorrigibles. Detachment No. 1 is composed of Social-democratic and Communist workers, Detachment No. 2 of Jews only. The prisoners are housed in ten barracks. Incorrigible prisoners, meaning those who refuse to turn traitors to their cause and give important inside information, are confined to dark, wet and unheated solitary cells. They are wearing heavy chains.

The guards treat the prisoners with utmost brutality. For the slightest reason and often without reason at all they are beaten with heavy leather whips enforced with steel and wire. The usual punishment is 25 to 75 lashes. It is a fixed rule to welcome Socialist and Communist newcomers with a heavy beating. Other instruments are no less liberally employed.

Seven rebellious Hitler storm troopers were so savagely treated by the hands of their former comrades that two of them died. Other prisoners have temporarily lost the use of their limbs or are permanently paralyzed. The Communist Sepp Goetz, was shot in cold blood after a perfunctory examination had proved that the beating had made him an incurable cripple.

More than fifty prisoners have been killed, among them well known labor functionaries and political personalities. The correspondent concludes his tragic report with the remark that he knows the names of nine Nazi guards who are ring-leaders and main actors in the unceasing mistreatment of the prisoners.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Amter's United Front with Fascists

Like burning handwriting on the wall, the lessons of the catastrophe of the German proletariat stand out, clear for all to behold. For all that is, but the Stalinists whose eyes are shut tightly to all lessons, who have become impotent to check theory against practice, courses of action against events. There is no limit to the depths of degradation to which such a party can sink. It makes a horrible caricature of every policy and principle of Communism.

The latest brilliant application of Stalinist tactics is Amter's exposition in the *Daily Worker* of the United Front from Below with fascist "rank and file workers". The great leaders and teachers of our movement, faced with the condition of an organized working class divided among reformist and revolutionary organizations, taught the great value of the united front tactic.

Communists utilize the united front established between workers' organizations, to raise the class consciousness of the class and to teach workers in the course of struggle the correctness of revolutionary policy as against the betrayals of reformist policy.

Completing the Cycle of Folly

The Stalinist, failing to grasp even the faintest significance of the united front policy, lost all possibility of acting as a unifying force of the proletariat. Instead the Stalinists deepened the rift between the Social Democratic and the Communist workers, first by denouncing as counter-revolutionary any attempt at the united front; later, driven by events to a treacherous course of covering up rather than examining and admitting its previous criminal blunders, they opposed the Marxist united front with the meaningless united front from below.

This ultimate tactic of demanding that workers break the discipline of their own organization to secure the blessings of a united struggle with Stalinism entirely under its own banner, this puerile caricature of dialectic thinking, made impossible the struggle against fascism and the achieving of Communist leadership over the wide masses of workers in the course of struggle.

Fascism proceeded in Germany to utilize the lack of proper guidance of the working class organizations and their split ranks to make inroads from above—by winning over petty bourgeois elements threatened with pauperization, fearful of being driven down into the ranks of the proletariat,—and from below—by attracting, thru demagoguery and bribery, sections of the desperate unemployed and the lumpenproletariat. The aid to fascism of treacherous Stalinism was rewarded—by the complete annihilation of the Communist Party!

And now in America it is proposed that the workers pursue exactly the same course! Amter—can it be sheer insane mockery?—proposes to apply the tactic that was intended to unite the workers for militant struggle against fascism, not to the organized workers, but to the organized fascists, the khaki shirts! Finding some demoralized workers, lost forever to any heightening of class consciousness, in the ranks of organized fascism, the Stalinists propose to win them back by applying to the ranks of the worst enemy of the working class the tactic of the united front from below, the same false tactic that tends to drive these elements to fascism to begin with by destroying the unity of the proletariat! The cycle of folly is complete! The Stalinist Party, having lost its moorings, utterly demoralized, becomes incapable of distinguishing between the decisive layers of the working class and the riff-raff of society.

Petty-Bourgeois Cringing!

By this application of the United front tactic the American C. P. reveals unmistakably its petty bourgeois character. For it is an indecipherable mark, to the discerning eye, of the same capitulatory tendency that caused the German betrayal. Amter's very tone—lacking completely in ultimatum and denunciation when speaking of the fascists that was characteristic of the approach to socialist workers—betrays a shameful cringing.

"We must not make the mistake", says Amter in the *Daily Worker* for the whole world to read, "that was proposed in the opportunist slogan of some comrades of the German C. P., 'Smash the fascists wherever you meet them' which was rejected by the C.C. of the C.P.G." But it is only by smashing the fascists at the very inception of their movement, only by sectional struggles against every smallest germ of fascism as it shows itself, that the worker, joined in a real united front, learn how to crush fascism in the major battle to come.

—JACK WEBER.

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Before the Detroit Convention Of the Socialist Party

The impending collapse of the German Social Democratic Party, shortly before Hitler's appointment to the Chancellery of the German Republic, was the background to the first decision to hold a world congress in January 1933, of the Labor and Socialist International. The actual surrender and resultant breakdown of the largest and most influential Party in the L. S. I. did not hasten this gathering but rather led to its postponement.

Its sessions did not convene until August 1933, and not because there was a real desire by the leadership of the 2nd International to hold such a world gathering to take inventory of the condition in which this movement found itself. The powerful reformist British Labor Party and the Swedish Social Democratic Party even opposed the original decision for the January Congress. In reality not a single member of the International Bureau wanted the conference. If it was held it "was due to the fact that no one member of the Bureau was willing to move its further postponement". In a word, the pressure in the ranks of a good number of the leading parties in the International forced the holding of the congress. That explains the unwillingness of any member of the International Bureau to take responsibility for its postponement.

The congress became the forum for the expression of the diversified views current in the movement. The horrible defeats of the working class acted as the instrument in raising serious doubts in the minds of wide strata of social democratic workers as to the efficacy of social democratic theory and action. The leadership sensed at once that the congress could not meet without this question rising to the forefront. It was clear that there was involved no ordinary situation. The defeat of the German workingclass was one more great test of the international program of social democracy, applied to the concrete revolutionary situation in that country. The facts were that the German Party suffered an inglorious defeat, and committed a disgraceful betrayal of the working class.

Leading Role of German Party
It was a discussion upon these questions the International Bureau feared. It knew that the congress, willy-nilly, had to occupy itself not alone with the German Party and its leadership, but with the entire International. The German Social Democratic Party bore the same relation to the L.S.I. as does the Russian Communist Party in the Stalinist International. It dominated the 2nd International. That is why a discussion on Germany, and the role of the Social Democratic Party in the crucial situation meant unavoidably a discussion on the whole international course of social democracy. Yet the Bureau could not avoid the congress for fear of a world wide inner revolt which would disrupt its ranks. The congress then became the means of stemming the obvious leftward trend of large sections of social democratic workers.

In order to understand the congress it is necessary to turn briefly to the executive session of the Bureau. In his pamphlet "The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism", Heinrich Erlich, one of the leaders of the Polish Bund, describes vividly the character of this meeting. He says: "When the session of the Executive Committee was called, there was not a member on the Executive who had the least desire to discuss the past, particularly the German past."

Naturally! An effort was made to discuss only the future without reference to the past. That effort was in no sense realized. The discussion, at the Executive Committee and at the conference centered about Germany. All ideas, plans, criticisms and defenses developed out of that discussion. But in general, little discussion took place. The only criticism made of the course pursued by the German Social Democracy came from the Polish Bund which attempted to draw some lessons from the catastrophic events. According to Erlich, in the Executive Session, Otto Wels, the leader of the German S.D.P., spoke with an aim of eliciting sympathy for his party and for himself. "There wasn't a trace of his former self-assurance. He was ready to admit that the toleration policy was a mistake. . . . In the conference, records show that the greatest number of participants in discussions, were the critics of the line of the L. S. I.

Wels Defends Policy in Germany
In the Congress Wels changed his attitude entirely. He spoke sharply and vigorously as of old. He admitted nothing and defended everything. We refer to Erlich's description of his speech at the congress:

"This speech was unlike the one he delivered at the Executive. There, he spoke as a broken down man, (!) as one conscious of his

2. The Paris Conference Of the 2nd International

guilt, although without courage to admit it, as one who tries to explain away instead of defending his actions. At the executive session, Wels realized that he was addressing members of the International only.

"In his speech at the conference, however, he was surer of himself. He took the offensive. He thought it necessary at this conference to 'cast aside the accusations' that the German Social Democracy was not nationalistic enough, that it had not shown sufficient interest in the German nation. In short, speaking at he did, Wels had his German audience in mind rather than the audience of the conference.

"It was a harrowing speech. Incidentally my gaze fell on the French delegate Marquet (representing the extreme right wing of the French Party, now split from it and forming the Neo-Socialist party in France)—A.G. With his characteristic smile, he listened to Wels. Marquet himself hasn't too great a belief in internationalism. What a joy it must have been to him to listen to the nationalistic utterances of Wels."

Graphic enough! The great majority of delegates at the Congress represented the same point of view as Wels presented to them. In a word, International Social Democracy reiterated its policy of reformism, coalition governments, the theory of the "lesser evil", extreme nationalism, and a whole series of downright reactionary policies that were given expression by other delegates.

The report of Wels on the German situation more or less marked off the sides in the conference. Out of the report there naturally arose a discussion on the policies pursued there, and breaking beyond the confines of Germany, took up the whole course of the International. There were three points on the Congress agenda: (1) The struggle against war; (2) The struggle against war; and (3) The unity of the working class. Around each one of these a conflict broke out between those demanding adherence to the old policies, a continuation of the past and a small group demanding a break with the policies of the past. The lineup appeared as follows: The extreme right wing making up the majority of the Congress and led by the German delegation, the British Labor Party, the Scandinavian delegates and part of the French delegation. A center group led by Adler and Bauer, which always succumbed to the pressure from the right wing. And finally the left wing of the Congress led by the Polish Bund and supported by delegates of the French Party, the Italian Party, and paradoxically enough, the majority of the American delegation.

Polish Bund Leads Fight
The victories of Fascism forced the Congress to consider, under the discussion of the first point on the agenda, the validity of the policy of reform. The Polish Bund led the fight against the old point of view and presented the new position that is becoming current with the numerous left groupings in the Socialist movement.

"That view calls for an end of the policy of reform and states that the only possible means for a victory against capitalism lies through the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the revolutionary party (!) during the period of Socialist construction." This position, however, was by no means the dominant one. Reformism is all powerful in the 2nd International. Listen to the speech of the Danish Delegate, Andersen, who declared at the conference that: "It would be very unfortunate if the workers as a result of our discussions, would gather the impression that recent events compel us to seek new ways (!) and new methods (!) for carrying on our struggle. I should like to warn against the statements made here to the effect that the German events mean the end and bankruptcy of reformism. It is one of those slogans that result in dangerous illusions and leads to dangerous generalizations."

Vogt, the delegate from Sweden, voiced similar sentiments: "If the International wants to succeed it must openly and unequivocally state, regardless of all theories destined for the far distant future, that we defend democracy, the freedom of nations. We do not want a proletarian dictatorship. We want to preserve the democratic institutions. . . . Let us discuss the conquest of power, but let us talk less about how to go about making revolutions. When the International will appeal to the League of Nations for peace and freedom, for the struggle against war, for the defense of democracy, its purpose will be clear."

ly understood, and its power will be manifest."

The conference discussed all three points on the agenda as one. There were no limits to the subjects argued at one time, and the discussion drifted in such a manner. The majority resolution of the conference did not, as the minority claims, fail to give definite statements on their position. The resolution reiterated the position of reformism. It did so on all questions. There was one slight change. The resolution declared that in those countries where fascism was in power it would be necessary to employ "revolutionary means" to bring about its overthrow. But by no means should the working class employ revolutionary means in the "democratic" countries!

Right Wing Dominates Congress
So much did the Right Wing dominate the Congress that even the weak-kneed efforts of Bauer to state simple truths failed of their purpose. Thus the following clause was stricken from the original draft of the resolution: "The German democracy of the future will either be Socialist or not come into existence. In the Fascist countries the goal of the revolutionary struggles must not be the return to bourgeois democracy but the conquest of Socialist Democracy." Criticisms of the League of Nations were stricken out. Affirmation of disarmament conferences as a means of preventing war was included. The Right wing insisted upon the deletion of the following: "The International will oppose by all its means any aggression against the Soviet Union. It denounces once more the banditry of Japanese imperialism against the Chinese revolution and the menace which Japan is creating on the Eastern frontier of Russia. It denounces the pitiable failure of the policies of the League of Nations in the presence of these dangers."

The "Marxist" Bauer, who then sharply criticized the German Social Democracy, only to prepare the same fate for the Austrian proletariat, withdrew everything the Right Wing made its demand. The majority resolution in its accepted form, continued to endorse social democratic policy as we have known it to be: rejection of the revolutionary struggle for power, the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet system, and reiterated its reformist policy. Just as Stalinism has not learned a single lesson from the events of the past years, the Labor and Socialist International similarly prepares continuation of a course that has brought disaster to the international working class. By its assertion of the class collaborationist policy, pursued now for more than a decade, and the promise to continue a nationalistic course, there is not the slightest hope in this organization.

Resolution of Polish Bund
Contrasted to this was the resolution presented by the Polish Bund and supported in all by 18 of 300 delegates. This resolution represented the left current at the Congress. As pointed out previously, it was inevitable that any serious conflict on fundamental questions within the Socialist movement had to revolve around the question of the state and the struggle for power. This is the point of departure of the Bund resolution.

It says for example: "The German events condemn at one and the same time the failure of the Communist policy of division. (It should read Stalinist—A.G.) and the reformist policy of Socialism." Further: "The Conference declares that it is not the task of the Socialist parties to attempt to straighten out the capitalist world or even to collaborate in such attempts. It declares on the contrary that by whatever means (!) they are going to achieve power they must not secure the exercise of power within the structure of the capitalist regime but must utilize power in order to destroy the bourgeois state and install the dictatorship of the revolutionary party (not the proletariat—A.G.) during the period of Socialist construction."

Again: "It is evident that the working class will defend energetically its democratic achievements against all reactionary attempts but the struggle against Fascism cannot have as its goal the maintenance or re-establishment of bourgeois democracy which is based on economic inequality but that of constructing a real Socialist democracy. . . . It is necessary that the working class begins to prepare at once for a struggle by all the means (!) which may secure victory". Asserting the need to struggle against the crisis, to work out plans to win the middle class, expressing lack of confidence in the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conference, the Economic Conference, and concluding that only the working class alone can struggle against Fascism, War and the crisis, the resolution ends. The resolution was signed by two Bund, two French, two Italian, one Estonian, one Belgian and four Amer-

ican delegates. Six additional votes were registered for it in the Congress. Thus almost the entire Congress of 300 delegates supported the reactionary right wing.

Left Wing Confuses Issues
It is clear that in August 1933, the lines of difference in the L.S.I. were first beginning as a result of the German events. They were destined to grow sharper and clearer. But then, there was still a great deal of confusion. The Polish Bund always represented the 2nd International tendency and it needed only the German situation to force it into the open once more and reaffirm a position it has had for some time. Even so, the "left wing" resolution is marked by confusion, and by a failure to draw correct lessons from their analysis. The bulk of the congress and that includes the largest and most influential parties in the L.S.I. asserts the policy that has been pursued by Social Democracy for many years, the policy that led to heavy sacrifices and defeats of the world proletariat.

Since the time the congress was held new events have served to increase the discussion in the Social Democratic movement on the fundamental policies followed by it. The growth of Fascism reached a new height in its victory over Social Democracy in Austria. The armed struggle of the Austrian workers, who fought in defense, at a time when it was too late, has provoked new doubts in the minds of many social democratic workers. The decisions of the Congress in August 1933, when social democracy, following the defeat in Germany, reaffirmed the defense of bourgeois democracy, and declined to adopt a policy of revolutionary struggle for power with the aim of destroying the capitalist state and substituting for it the proletarian, received another blow in Austria. The continued rise of Fascism in every European country forces to a head the disputes over fundamental questions revolving around the fate of society and the working class. Thousands of social democratic workers are receiving new and practical instructions in the character of the state, democracy and the struggle for power. They are learning, and rapidly, too, that reformism has tied their hands and made them easy victims of capitalist oppression. The leftward movements in the 2nd International are therefore to be sought in the events of the last year and a half.

Left Tendencies Grow
Since August, the left tendencies have grown throughout the L.S.I. The Polish Socialist Party accepted a resolution at its congress endorsing "a proletarian dictatorship of workers and peasants". Left tendencies and groupings exist in almost every party in the International. The Spanish youth organization has declared itself for the Fourth International. The youth organizations of Poland, Belgium, France and the United States also move rapidly to the left on a number of very important questions. In Paris, the Right wing dominated completely. Undoubtedly if a congress were held now, there would be a different relation of forces.

The Polish Bund, we said above, did not really move toward the left. It reaffirmed, in reality a position it has had for some time. While it demands a break with reformism, it does not lend to clarity. It is confused on the questions of the struggle for power and the proletarian state. It deliberately confuses Stalinism with Bolshevism, as do all neo-Marxists. That is why it speaks against both, Communism (!) and Social Reformism. And in its place? It demands "Revolutionary Socialism", "Marxian Socialism", But Revolutionary Socialism, Marxian Socialism, is the quintessence of Bolshevism. The fundamentals of Marxism are contained in the decisions of the early congresses of the Communist International.

It is not as if we are beginning anew. The revolutionary movement has already passed through the war years. It has already experienced the betrayal of social democracy when it came to the support of imperialist capitalism with the outbreak of the war, up to the present day. And the "left wing" today has not expressed a single new thought. It has expressed only half truths and confusion. One does not need to investigate (!) the different ways and means to take power. Revolutionary means (!) in Fascist countries and the old ways in democratic countries can only prepare more defeats for the working class. You must say very openly and clearly that the road to power lies through the armed assault of the working class upon the whole structure of capitalism, to transform the social order. It means the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, which serves as the transitional power of the working class, in the erection of the classless society. This is fundamental. There is no other way!

And so it is with a whole series of questions: the Soviet system, the struggle in the trade unions, the struggle in the trade unions, the liberation of the colonial peoples, etc. We do not demand that the left

A Critical Analysis of the American Workers Party

Editor's Note—The following is the first of a series of articles contributed to the discussion of the movement for a new party by Felix Morrow.

To all who look upon the building of a new revolutionary party and International as the primary task today, the evolution of the American Workers Party is of serious import. For here is a group, of undoubted seriousness of purpose, almost all of whom have come from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action with some training in mass work, and who have come out as a revolutionary organization. No one could seriously have expected, of course, that such a group, with no experience in party life and thought, and so new to the revolutionary road, should overnight develop revolutionary clarity; Bolsheviks are certainly not made at such short notice. Serious gaps in the political equipment of the A.W.P. were to be expected. The important question is whether, after a period of amorphous evolution, the American Workers Party will take to the road for a new party and international.

Three closely related tendencies stand behind the A.W.P. and the new road. I shall summarize these tendencies, including the form they take in the Program of the A.W.P., and then suggest the latest light thrown on them, by the A.W.P. public lecture-conferences in New York on April 14, 15, 21, 22.

The Past of the A.W.P.

The A.W.P. is proud of its "origin in action" in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. While there is much that is useful in this past, it is also a reformist past. The sharpest theoretical clarity is necessary to distinguish between the useful heritage and its reformist nature. A break with this reformist past is necessary. In view of the A.W.P.'s proud boasts about its origins, and its insufficiently critical analysis of its past reformism (see Chapter IV of the Program), one is constrained to say that the A.W.P. stands more in danger of reformist hangovers than it is of losing any useful elements of its past. A glance at its history will make this clear enough.

Beginning, in 1929, as an organization of trade-union progressives, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action won a certain amount of success, due to the fact that the Communist Party had launched itself on its dual unionism, while the Socialist Party had long capitulated to the A. F. of L. leadership. Politically, the C.P.L.A. was reformist; in advocating independent political action for labor, it was little further advanced than the unions which in 1924 declared for La Follette. Even when it began evolving more militant trade union policies, building rank and file oppositions, and branched out into the unemployed movement, the C.P.L.A. remained definitely reformist in politics. Nor was there further clarity in the declaration of the September, 1932 convention which made the C.P.L.A. into a political organization, for the criticism of the Socialist and Communist parties was limited to their mass work, and in no way was linked up with political fundamentals. Its declaration that it aimed "to abolish, not to reform, the capitalist system", was only repeated the other day by the right-wing Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. For the C.P.L.A., the concrete meaning of the phrase appeared to be, not evolution toward a revolutionary workers party, but a reformist Farmer-Labor party.

wing groupings in the 2nd International at once accept a full communist program. We do point out, however, that when the Polish Bund declares at the Paris Congress that the working class must seek new ways and break with "Communism and reformism", that it lends to confusion and not clarity.

Perspectives of the Fight

As the struggle develops, naturally, a greater clarity will be achieved. For the moment however, the struggle is still in its early stages. The numerous groups that exist all over the world, will begin to find their centers. There will be a great deal of back-sliding, no doubt. But the genuine left wing movement will also find its center and its path.

Such is the background to the present situation in the Socialist International and in the American Party. The pressure of events is driving great sections of the socialist workers to the left. The moods of these workers drives many leaders to the left—some genuinely, the majority, as experience has shown, only to head off a real break with the past and to decapitate the movement.

Out of the Paris conference, the groupings and tendencies have be-

1. The Political Evolution Of the C.P.L.A.

The year after the 1932 convention the leaders of the C.P.L.A. were in the Farmer-Labor Federation. Presumably that was their idea, then, of the way to "abolish" capitalism.

Then came the Roosevelt program of "planned" capitalism, with its repercussions in the labor movement. It deflated the right wing in the Socialist Party—for Roosevelt's was their program. The militants, Muste's former allies, now began to come to the fore, talking like so many "Mustelites" about militancy in the labor unions and unemployed work, reaching the workers, etc. As their strength grew, the militants did not fail to point out that if militancy was desired, the way to get it was to win the S. P., as they were doing, not to set up one's own sect. The necessity of distinguishing themselves from the Socialists in more significant terms than militancy became apparent in the C.P.L.A. Nor could leftward-moving centrists close their eyes any longer to the essentially reformist character of farmer-laborism. In December, 1933 the C.P.L.A. convention decided to build the American Workers Party. All C.P.L.A. members automatically became members of the A.W.P.

At no time—including the 1933 convention resolutions—had the C.P.L.A. made the decisive distinctions between reform and revolution. Throughout this period the case against the Socialist and Communist parties had never been put in political terms; always the quarrel on the level of day-to-day work. Not until the Program of the A.W.P., published early in 1934 (written with the assistance of revolutionary intellectuals with no C.P.L.A. background) does there begin the first criticisms of the Socialist Party in terms of its reformism, and even here the talk is mainly of its mass work (see Chapters III and IV). It is true, as Sidney Hook says, that the theory of the state is the touchstone of a party's nature; it is true that the Program (plus further statements by A.W.P. leaders) approaches the Marxist theory of the state (though it contains ominous omissions and ambiguities—role of Soviets before taking power, armed insurrection, the ambiguous formula of workers' democracy substituted for the Marxist formula, dictatorship of the proletariat).

Further Analysis Needed

There must be a period of thorough theoretical discussion and analysis, in order to see whether the rest of the Program, and particularly what the A.W.P. brings over from the C.P.L.A., is actually in consonance with Marxism. The mere presence of the class theory of the state does not guarantee the rest, certainly not when the introduction of the theory of the state is of so recent origin. No revolutionary but is gratified that the A.W.P. leaders who were a year ago preparing to build a Farmer-Labor Federation now are speaking in revolutionary terms; but such a volte-face reveals a gross empiricism which must be overcome by theoretical discussion and training. Clear formulation of fundamental principles is a necessity at this point. By all means let us be "flexible" in the application of our principles. But let us first have principles to be flexible about.

In the light of what has been said, one of the most disturbing aspects of the A.W.P. conferences

come more active and seek one common level on the basis of a clarification of the issues involved. True revolutionaries will seek to help these left groupings and tendencies to find the proper road. The Bolshevik-Feminists will endeavor to help in the education of the workers. It will be necessary to demonstrate to them, that upon the basis of the struggles they are engaged in, only one possible outcome exists. Either a complete break with reformism and the 2nd International or else capitulation to it. On the basis of such a break, it will be impossible for these workers to go to Stalinism, which deserves the same fate as reformism. Those forces now in the Socialist International must participate in the movement to reorganize the ranks of the international proletariat. In other words it must participate in the construction of the Fourth International.

The general background of the groupings in the American Socialist Party lies in the International Congress. On the basis of an understanding of the situation in the International, which grew out of world-shaping events, we shall be able to understand the situation in the American Party.

ALBERT GLOTZER.

were the many examples of contempt for theory or minimizing of the role of theory. There is no subtler way of blurring the distinction between reform and revolution than by shying away from fundamental theoretical discussion. In reformist parties, centrists express their discontent by talking action; the militants in the S. P. exemplify this mood. In revolutionary parties or parties gravitating to a revolutionary position, centrists pooh-pooh "too much theoretical discussion", or by emphasis on events or mass action denigrate the role of theory and party. At the conferences, the most ambitious, and the most revealing example of this was J. B. S. Hardman's discussion of the Russian Revolution.

The Role of the Party

Hardman built up a picture of the Bolshevik party playing no decisive role in the revolution: "Only the authority (of the Central Committee) carried out the insurrection; the majority was against it." "For a quarter of a century the Russian workingclass did things rather than discuss. Fortunately nearly all its leaders had nothing to do with the revolution. Most of them were emigres, and at the crucial moment the leaders were in Finland". He held out as most significant the gap between Russian feudal government and its growing capitalist industry, contrasting it with the close nexus between industry and government in America. Thus, said Hardman, our problem in America is very different than the Russian. (He could say this, of course, only by ignoring the gap in America between industry and government on the one hand and the productive forces on the other.) So, said Hardman, the Russian Revolution gives "at best only certain lessons" (unspecified). By making what were actually strategy and purposeful action carried through by the Bolshevik party, into blind history, Hardman is able to dismiss as peculiar and local events which were actually the resultants of fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy. That Hardman did not boldly enunciate which fundamental principles he dismisses—this is also typical of centrist ambiguity; Hardman is simply reserving in advance "the right" to differ, whenever a fundamental issue becomes crucial. A keen observer once put Hardman's case aptly. "He's trying to make a philosophy out of commonplace: don't be dogmatic, be realistic, let's be sensible, etc. etc." Everything is there, in fact, except a theoretical foundation.

"Too Much Better"

The conferences supplied other illuminating examples. Answering the charge that the A.W.P. was in danger of all the pitfalls of the gross empiricism characteristic of the whole history of the American labor movement, V. F. Calverton said: "The Socialist Labor Party shows what too much theory can lead to. Its theory is so perfect, it can't move." It was a good joke and got the laughs—but revealed a true Philistine's attitude toward theory, as if to say, "A little of it is all right in its place. But—". Walter Edwin Peck evidenced the centrist's fearful hate for theory: "Radicals have been analysing the world as they saw it, but they had metaphysics on their mind. We have been trying to sell the workers Hegel and Saint Kier. What was the power of the I.W.W.? Because it didn't sell workers any philosophy." Then, most innocently, Peck went on to say that the I.W.W. "was killed by prosperity". He could scarcely be expected to understand that this meant they had no adequate philosophy!

George Schuyler even embarrassed his own comrades with the assertion: "Marx hasn't got anything to do with the U. S. We don't have to borrow any European philosophy."

Not every spokesman of the A.W.P. so denigrates theory, of course; but what do they do in the face of this tendency which has to be fought as uncompromisingly as outright reformism? So far as I could see, all they do is grin embarrassedly when their comrades make asses of themselves.

—FELIX MORROW.

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EDITORIAL

Needed Now: A New Defence Organization

ONE of the most promising developments in recent days has been the activity displayed by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the heavy acclaim which has greeted its initiative in numerous circles of the progressive labor movement. The profound impulse of the militant workers to get together for a common fight against reaction, which was the driving power behind the great May Day demonstration at Madison Square, is expressing itself also in this response to the movement for a union of forces in the field of labor defense.

There is both a reason and a necessity for these manifestations. With the fearful examples of Europe before them, with the terrible threat of war and fascist reaction menacing the world, the need of solidarity in action becomes ever more imperative. The great idea of the united front is making its way in spite of everything. It can and must be realized on the labor defense front without delay.

A significant aspect of the Provisional Committee is the presence in its composition of a number of people who in the past have been prominently identified with the work of defense organizations in administrative, publicity and executive capacities. This, taken together with the active cooperation of experienced militants of various organizations which the initiating group has already enlisted, constitutes a certain assurance that the task as well as the way to accomplish it is understood.

This confidence has been further reinforced by the efficient handling of the Bellucci case and the protest movement for the four young German Communists who were handed over to the Hitler police by the Dutch authorities. The work done in these instances is now to be followed by the organization of a movement in behalf of the imprisoned hotel strike pickets, Robins and Gras, who have entrusted their case to the Provisional Committee. The method pursued by the Provisional Committee—directly organizing concrete defense activities while simultaneously negotiating with other organizations to broaden the base of the movement—strikes us as the correct and business-like way to proceed. Patently, the formation of a real defense organization on a firm foundation is in the making.

It is high time. The strangulation of the I.L.D. by the Stalinist adventurers has long since passed

the point where the possibility of reforming this organization could be seriously debated among working class militants whose eyes are open and whose heads are in working order. After the treacherous sabotage in the cases of Morgenstern and Goodman, Bellucci, the marine workers and many others; after the miserable bungling and complete disorganization of the Mooney movement; after the cynical prostitution of the I.L.D. to the factional needs of the clique of Stalinist bureaucrats serving private interests and not the interests of the class or the class war prisoners—after all this, the question has become clear beyond all dispute: a new defense organization is an unquestionable necessity.

In our opinion the new organization should not represent a system of committees but a solid organization based on individual members assembled into permanent branches; labor organizations of every kind, sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the movement, should be affiliated collectively. In its attitude toward class war prisoners and other victims of capitalist persecution, at home and abroad, the new defense body should be honestly non-partisan, defending them against the class enemy without conditions and providing material aid without any strings attached to it. At the same time, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense organization should be militant in its policy and should proceed in all its activities from the standpoint of the class struggle.

The composition of the new organization, in its leading bodies as well as in its branches, ought to represent a coalition of all the honest, progressive and militant forces, in the labor movement and sympathetic to it, who are willing and able to cooperate loyally in the fight against reactionary persecution. Communists, socialists, anarchists, syndicalists and trade unionists—they all should band together in the defense of the rights of the workers and their organizations. The new defense organization can become the medium for such a united front. At any rate it should strive to do so.

Much depends on it. An honest defense organization, conscientiously carrying out in practice the policy of the united front, will be a support to the labor movement as a whole and a star of hope to the individual victims of reaction. In addition, it can set an example which will stimulate the formation of the united front of the workers in other fields of struggle.

Let us hope that the near future will see the consummation of the program of the Provisional Committee and the definite launching of a new organization for non-partisan labor defense. —J. P. C.

Crime and Economics

Starving Men Steal

In Buffalo, New York, a young unemployed worker is shot dead for taking a loaf of bread. In Chicago, three Negro workers are killed for participating in a protest demonstration against eviction. In New York City scores of men have been beaten and jailed for demanding adequate relief. All over America in 1933—in Los Angeles, Detroit, Minneapolis, Philadelphia—tens of thousands of unemployed workers have been given jail sentences for stealing food, clothing, money.

As the depression deepens it is evident that the crime wave grows in intensity. Even a cursory examination of the latest criminal statistics will disclose the fact that the vast majority of crimes are petty crimes against property. The reason for this is not hard to find; the fountain head for the overwhelming majority of all crime is poverty and want. It is not the well-to-do, the big bourgeoisie, who suffer from want of food and clothing; it is the workers and the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie—the declassed, the dispossessed.

Petty crime, then, has a class basis. It arises from the worker's fight for life. It is on a different class basis than is gangsterism, for instance, which arises from bourgeois greed (in Chicago, for just one example, where has been traced the connecting links binding together the gangsters, Capone, Madden, O'Donnell, Durkin, etc.; the Pinkerton and Burns Detective Agency; the A. F. of L. trades unions, Tim Murphy and other leaders; the International Harvester Company, the Chicago Tribune and other manufacturers and newspapers; the judges, chiefs of police, aldermen, bankers, such as Melvin Traylor, Insull; city corporation counsels such as Ettleson, state's attorneys, etc.)

Prison Statistics
A survey of penal justice in the United States, and the penal code as it is functioning today, enables one to draw some interesting conclusions. Let us look at the following statistics, which indicate how crime increases in direct proportion as the proletariat becomes increasingly impoverished. Here is the prison census for seven years, the figures being taken from the U. S. Bureau of the Census covering State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories:

1926	91,669
1927	97,961
1928	109,346
1929	116,389
1930	120,496
1931	129,050
1932	137,616
1933	not yet available

Isn't it obvious that our American school of criminology, with its cruel sentences, its fantastic jails and jollars, its unrealistic outlook, has not been able to lessen crime. On the contrary, America has arrived at a morass of vice which increases yearly with frightening speed. The stark truth is, of course, that nothing can ever be done to combat crime so long as capitalism reigns; for as capitalism cannot guarantee that no one will starve, it can not

reach the basis of crime. The swampy soil of crime is the economic poverty of the masses which leads to their intellectual and moral poverty. Abolish want and starvation and you strike directly at the roots of 90% of the crimes that are committed daily. Abolish poverty by socializing wealth so that none of us need go hungry or unclothed—then will you see crime disappear as does fog under the noonday sun.

In 1932 and 1933 the following Part I offenses were known to the police of this country:

	Non-negligent	Negligent	Rape
Man-slaughter	2,015	2,806	
Man-slaughter	3,514	2,285	2,922

Robbery Burglary Larceny Auto Theft

	1932	1933
Robbery	51,067	179,572
Burglary	371,327	331,827
Larceny	171,103	50,719
Auto Theft	187,583	374,662

In 1932 there were, then, 741,120 known Part I crimes, of which 722,069, or 98.8% were crimes against property.

In 1933, despite vast increases in federal and state relief, there were 780,193 crimes, of which 771,472, or 98.9%, were crimes against property (robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft).

The Economic Factor in Crime
Figures for previous years are not even available, or have been suppressed, such is the quixotic manner in which our government treats its criminal problem. But enough is indicated for us to see that the overwhelming majority of crimes are crimes against property. And crimes against property are, for the greater part, committed because the offenders are poor and, not being able to find employment, are forced to seek elsewhere for the means to feed and clothe themselves, to keep a roof over their heads.

Yes, the economic factor is the all-important one in these crimes. And do you doubt that this same factor counts powerfully in the cases of non-negligent and negligent manslaughter, in rape; and in the execution of minor offenses, such as boot-legging, dope-peddling, etc.?

THE CAUSE OF CRIME IS POVERTY! Let us turn for a moment to foreign shores. Here is a report by Mr. Negley Parson on crime in Great Britain:

"Increase in crime coincides exactly with the industrial depression in Great Britain. Per million population, we find that burglaries were 3,000 in 1913, 3,500 in 1923, 8,000 in 1931—the rise of 4,500 or 150% during the last two years proves out Sir Herbert Samuel's (the British Home Minister) contention that crime increases in exact ratio with the industrial depression. The industrial depression has not increased crimes of passion, although robbery with violence is daily more prevalent. Roughly, the crime sheet for Great Britain for 1930 works out as follows:

Crimes of violence	
against persons	2,000
Sexual crimes	3,400

Crimes against property with violence 25,000
Larcenies 86,000
In 1930 in Great Britain, then, 116,000 crimes were committed, of which 95.6% were crimes against property. Great Britain's total indictable offences increased roughly by 12,000, or just under 10%. Facing such an increase, British courts have been imposing longer as well as more sentences to penal servitude."

One more set of criminal statistics, those taken over several years in New York City:

	Burglary, Total	Total Larceny, police dept.
Year	Robbery force	expenditure
1900	5,588	7,426
1927	11,491	16,973
1929	13,611	17,780
1931	15,054	19,333

More Criminals—Bigger Jails
In New York City crimes against property have definitely increased during the depression. The living standard of the worker has been pushed lower and lower. And yet all New York City can or will do is to increase its police force, pour more millions into its rotten gangster-infested police department, instruct its courts and judges to hand out more and sterner sentences, build bigger jails.

All Great Britain can think of to combat crime is to "impose longer and more plentiful sentences to penal servitude."

To move to strike at the causes of crime, to relieve the destitution of the masses which leads to the commission of crime—ah, no. Treason! God forbid! Why this might lead to an acknowledgment that all was not well with the system; that would be a betrayal of all those petty theories worked out by our "scientific" sociologists and criminologists.

—CARLOS HUDSON.
(Second Article NEXT WEEK)

Second Strike Wave Under the NRA

(Continued from page 1)

In the main the efforts of the unions to enforce the provisions of the NRA. Now the situation is different. A great deal of disillusionment with the NRA has set in. Simultaneously the pressure of ever rising cost of living, mounting more rapidly than any of the few wage increases, sets the workers into motion.

Index figures from the same source quoted above inform us that in the 89 industries covered by its survey employment rose in March, 1934 to 81 percent, with the same month a year ago showing 59 percent (1923-25 equals 100). On the same scale the payroll increased from 37 to 65. The actual per capita earnings of the workers is supposed to have increased 15 percent in this period, according to the same source of information, while the cost of all food commodities increased 20 percent and clothing 25 percent. It is certain at least that these statistics are not twisted in favor of the workers. Added to this direct economic pressure is the increased intensity of the speed-up system, causing an enormous re-

Toward the National Workers' Alliance in Spain

(Editorial in "La Antorcha," new fortnightly organ of the Spanish Communist League—Bolshevik-Leninists—May 1st, 1934)

Catalonia gave the signal and it resounded with an echo of clamorous enthusiasm throughout the country. The idea of the united front was translated into a hope-inspiring reality, the Catalan Workers Alliance became the first step towards the formation of the proletarian block, towards united action of all working class political and trade union organizations, in order to withstand the ever-increasing Fascist menace.

The Catalan pact contained at least one virtue: that of instilling into the Spanish proletariat confidence of its own strength, of overcoming the momentary discomfiture that might result from the electoral victory of the rightists. With extraordinary rapidity the idea of the Alliance won great sympathy among the masses, and it can today be roundly affirmed—it is the burning aspiration of the immense majority of the working class.

Vitality of Alliance
The example of Catalonia was immediately followed by Valencia. The Catalan Alliance demonstrated its vitality on the 13th of February, declaring a general strike, which, while it is true that it failed in Barcelona due to the period of transition through which the working class movement is passing, was carried through successfully in over forty towns throughout the region. At the present moment the Valencia Alliance is showing its numerical strength and efficiency in combat.

For the moment only these two Alliances exist on a regional scale; but very shortly, the united front will be a beautiful reality in Asturias, and in the rest of the country it has already been established in many cities and towns and is in process of formation in many others. Finally, the proletariat of Zaragoza, without even having established the united front formally, but thanks to the effective united action of syndicalists, communists, anarchists and socialists, has sustained an admirable general strike which constitutes one of the brightest pages in the Spanish labor movement.

Lesson of Experiences
The lesson to be drawn from these experiences is that the cause of the united front is definitely won, in the sense that it counts on the adhesion of the immense majority of the workers. The stupid sabotage of the Stalinists who, with a consistency worthy a better cause, fulfill their fundamental mission of

throwing obstacles into the path of the revolutionary movement, and the stubborn sectarianism of the leaders of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) which is surprisingly close to the anti-Marxist ultimatum of the official communists, do not substantially alter the reality of the general adhesion of the workers to the Workers Alliance movement. On the other hand the idea of the united front is making its way irresistibly among the anarchist and communist workers. This sweeping movement will inevitably crush all who oppose its advance.

But it is necessary to build this movement, it must be organized rapidly and without losing a single minute, if we wish it to render the enormous potential efficiency contained in it. And the first step in this direction—and which may be decisive—is the constitution of the Workers Alliance on a national scale. If the leading central organizations will accept the pact now in effect in Catalonia, Valencia, and other localities of the country, the united front can within twenty-four hours become a living reality throughout Spain. This would be of immense importance, it would produce overflowing enthusiasm in the whole working class and would radically change the course of political events, altering immediately the correlation of forces in favor of the proletariat.

For a National Conference
In the Regional Conference to take place in a few days, the Workers Alliance of Catalonia will take the initiative of calling a National Conference. No moment could be more opportune for this step. All of the necessary premises exist for the immediate establishment of the national united front. The gravity of the situation, the dangers threatening the working class, demand it. The Communist Left, which has labored untriflingly throughout the whole country, in favor of the united front, which has already expended tremendous efforts in order to achieve a national pact, will derive new hope from the initiative of Catalonia, and will not rest until it achieves, with the aid of all willing to cooperate sincerely, the task of forming the proletarian block, in order that the Spanish Workers Alliance may become a reality with the rapidity required by the gravity of the situation. The local organizations and Regional Committees should consider the achievement of this end as the central objective of their activity.

—ANDRES NIN.
Barcelona, April 22, 1934.

New York Organization Notes

The recent period has been distinguished by an intense activity of the Communist League in New York, and a campaign to bring forth the program for the building of the new party of the Fourth International. This campaign was opened with a lecture by Comrade Cannon on the program of the

Fourth International which brought out an audience of about 500. This lecture was so well received that we proceeded to arrange a whole series of lectures covering the primary burning issues confronting the working class today.

To date these lectures have taken up War and the Fourth International, The Trade Union Question and the Fourth International, Fascism and the Fourth International. At these Sunday night lectures, Comrade Cannon addresses an intensely interested audience which manifests a greater enthusiasm for our point of view with each succeeding lecture.

The next lecture in the series will deal with the United Front and the Fourth International to take place this coming Sunday evening, May 20th, at the Irving Plaza Hall.

In protest against the bounding of Comrade Leon Trotsky by the reactionary French government, and the refusal of asylum to the leader of the October Revolution by the capitalist world, the New York Local of the Communist League arranged a mass meeting which was held at the large hall at Irving Plaza on April 22nd. The 700 New York workers who came to this mass meeting to express their indignation against the treatment of Comrade Leon Trotsky were an eloquent testimony to the growth of our movement in New York, to the increased popularity of the movement for a Fourth International.

Another indication of this was to be seen at our May Day mass meeting. After a whole day's marching, despite the fatigue of our comrades and friends who were in the march with us, we were pleased to see the hall filled, and that the weariness of the day did not affect the enthusiastic spirit of the audience in the least. The New York local distributed in the line of the May Day Parade 10,000 four-page leaflets with our statement on May Day which explained why we participated in the Labor May Day Parade rather than in the Stalinist demonstration. About 5,000 Militants, in addition, were given out and a large supply of literature was sold.

Twelve New Members in One Week
All these activities did not remain without any organizational results. Only within the last week twelve comrades applied for membership into the organization.

—A. S.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Mike Gold the Mathematical Wizard
At last the secret is out. A great committee but to the Assembly Laundry to all readers of the *Daily Worker* since the start of the 3rd period has been: What system of mathematics is used in estimating the numbers in the T.U.U.L. unions, mass meetings, parades, etc., and also who are the mathematical Ponzi's in charge? In a recent copy of the *Daily Worker* the whole thing is revealed.

Mike Gold is one of the experts and a new Stalinist form of Geometric Progression is the system— all carried on under the general slogan "Down with Social Fascist Facts." Writing on the Union Square May Day demonstration, Mike cried for a Shakespeare as the only one capable of doing justice to it. After this display of becoming modesty, Mike decided to don the Shakespearean mantle and do some "justice" himself.

And this is how Mike figured it out. There were 200,000 in Union Square and 200,000 more along the line of march. That made 400,000. But, said Mike, let's cut it in half and that leaves 200,000 (what's a fifth of a million to a free-hearted fellow like Mike?).

Take the 200,000. Is it not a fact, Mike asked, that every Communist has 5 sympathizers and friends? That makes a million. (According to my figures that would total 1,200,000—but of course what is a small matter of subtracting 200,000 when you can always multiply by five?).

At this point, overwhelmed by the impensity of the Stalinist movement in New York, Mike says, "Let's not labor the point." But why not? Let us look at it again. The average family in New York consists of four persons. Multiply the million by four and we have 4,000,000. Four million Stalinists and friends! Such a force is sure to gain the leadership of a section of the petit bourgeoisie, say another million. So, after all—Browder and Minor may be running New York and actually building up socialism in one city.

No, Mike, the *Daily Worker* doesn't need a Shakespeare. Possibly a Cervantes might do justice to Don Browder and Sancho Minor. But for estimating parades, meetings, etc., you can't beat Baron Mike and the rest of the Munchausen family who form the present *Daily Worker* staff. 1,000,000 Stalinists and sympathizers in New York City! Was you dere, Mike?

Politicians and Their Price
Senator Warren T. Thayer, the State Senator who never made a speech but who had great influence on the Senate, is being investigated. While chairman of the Senate Public Service Committee he was also on the payroll of the Associated Gas and Electric Co., and in this capacity was instrumental in killing numerous bills, which in one way or another would have interfered with the privileges of the Utility Company.

One bill, providing for the safety of workers engaged in the repair and construction of high voltage

electric lines, did not come to his committee but to the Assembly Labor and Industry Committee. However the worthy Senator wrote the Associated Gas and Electric that they could depend on him to kill it. "Horse thieves", kidnappers and gang leaders are honorable and upright men compared to such demagogic swine as this who spout about democracy and then sell the lives of electric line men for thirty lousy pieces of silver.

We Are Challenged
The series of Sunday night lectures on the Fourth International by Comrade Cannon at the Irving Plaza hall, are attended by capacity crowds who stay until almost midnight to discuss the questions of War, Trades Unions, Fascism and the New International. Though the great majority of the audience have been won for the Fourth International, there are however, representatives of practically all tendencies in the movement present who hotly question the position put forward by Comrade Cannon and advance their own.

At the last lecture a member of Section Two of the New York Stalinist Party challenged Comrade Cannon to debate with a representative of his Party. On Cannon's statement that he would be glad to accept the challenge, the C. P. member announced that he would go back to the Party and demand that the debate be held. So we'll either have a debate or another C.P. member will learn that the Stalinists do not debate with International Communists. At next Sunday's lecture on the United Front he will bring his answer and the answer of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

American Traditions—A Fable
Breaking completely with all alien and international "jabberwocky" movements and traditions a group of professors in the "America for Americans" Party have delved into early history and dug up the story of what may have been the first American Revolutionist.

This was no immigrant of the 17th, 18th, or 19th centuries. None of the "foreign rabble" with their alien theories, who came to America with Columbus or in the few centuries since his arrival, contaminate this tradition. No, this group of professors speaking the American language, drinking American whiskey, and digging with American shovels, have dug up the story of Ajayjaybee, a mound dweller who led the mound dwellers in battle against the aristocratic cliff dwellers.

Unfortunately the revolt was not successful and Ajayjaybee was beheaded, cooked and eaten at midnight sometime following the last ice age. Honoring the memory of this hero, and in order to strengthen the purely American tradition, the "America for Americans Party" are holding a midnight supper at the Kaff-Kazz Cafe. At the supper a collection will be taken up for the benefit of the lineal descendants of Ajayjaybee.

—BILL.

The Johnson Bill and Credits to the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

Militant has discussed the question many times. Here let us note from Litvinov's figures to what extent the Soviet Union's dependence on the world market has grown with its economic successes and what progress makes necessary. Notwithstanding, imports from Russia to the United States in March according to the Commerce Department were also less than one million dollars while from Cuba the U. S. imported more than two and a half times that amount.

Why doesn't the Soviet Union buy more, the U. S. export more? The Soviet Union has explained again and again that it will buy plentifully up to the limit, if it gets favorable credit terms. Despite all the treaties signed by Stalin and diplomatic approaches to capitalist governments the Soviet has been unable to get credits on the scale required.

Until now the United States has discouraged trade with the Soviet Union. Its policy was motivated by fear of the October Revolution and the hope of preventing its growth economically and consequently in the military sphere as well, by withholding from it what it required most—machinery. To a large extent they failed. Despite the capitalist blockade and the false course of Stalinism the Soviet Union achieved gigantic and historic successes.

Now the American imperialists are vitally concerned with the Far Eastern market. In the Soviet Union's strength they see a check to Japan. They are not averse to lend a cautious hand in strengthening the Soviet Union a little—on their terms. And, if they can get it, they want the Soviet market for themselves.

Pressure on Soviet Union
Trade and credits are the subject of the discussions taking place in Moscow now between Bullitt and

Soviet officials. The ruling of the Attorney General is to put pressure on the Soviet Union. It is an act of aggression characteristic of the Litvinov's figures to what extent the Soviet Union's dependence on the world market has grown with its economic successes and what progress makes necessary. Notwithstanding, imports from Russia to the United States in March according to the Commerce Department were also less than one million dollars while from Cuba the U. S. imported more than two and a half times that amount.

What the U. S. demands, what the Soviet Union offers we do not know. The discussions are taking place according to the best rules of Stalinist-capitalist diplomacy—in the dark. No word has leaked out. That is what fills us with misgiving.

Fight for Soviet Credits!

Five years ago the internationalist Communists proposed to the Comintern that it mobilize the masses of the capitalist countries to bring pressure on the capitalist governments to grant the credits, by this means to assist the Russian workers in building up the economy of the country and to relieve their own situation through the employment trade with Russia would create. The C. I.—think of it!—denounced the idea as counter-revolutionary and went hand in hand to the capitalist governments.

Today the C. I. which has no real existence cannot mobilize the masses for a revolutionary struggle to assist the Soviet Union. The Marxists must do it without and against the C. I. That is the duty of the League and all those working class organizations which really mean to defend the Soviet Union, and especially of those which declare for the revolution internationally and in the U. S.

—T. STAMM.

HARLEM BLOW OUT!

Dance and Entertainment
SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1934, 8 P.M.
at 130 East 107th Street
Admission 10c



MINNEAPOLIS SHOWS THE WAY

Learn From Minneapolis!

TODAY the whole country looks to Minneapolis. Great things are happening there which reflect the influence of a strange new force in the labor movement, an influence widening and extending like a spiral wave. Out of the strike of the transport workers of Minneapolis a new voice speaks and a new method proclaims its challenge.

It was seen first in the strike of the Coal Yard Drivers which electrified the labor movement of the city a few months ago and firmly established the union after a brief, stormy battle of unprecedented militancy and efficiency. Now we see the same union moving out of this narrow groove and embracing truck drivers in other lines.

Behind this, as was the case with the Coal Drivers, there are months of hard, patient and systematic routine work of organization. Everything is prepared. Then an ultimatum to the bosses. A swift, sudden blow. A mass picket line that sweeps everything before it. The building trades come out in sympathy. The combined forces, riding with a mighty wave of moral support from the whole laboring population of the city, take the offensive and drive all the bosses' thugs and hirelings to cover in a memorable battle at the City Market.

The whole country listens to the echoes of the struggle. The exploiters hear them with fear and trepidation. Weaving the net around the automobile workers with the aid of treacherous labor leaders they ask themselves in alarm: "If this spirit spreads what will our schemes avail us?"

And the workers in basic industry, vaguely sensing the power of their numbers and strategic position, can hardly help asking themselves: "If we should go the Minneapolis way could anything or anybody stop us?" The striking transport workers are a mighty power in Minneapolis today. But that is only a small fraction of the power of their example for the cheated and betrayed workers in the big industries of the country.

THE MESSAGE OF MINNEAPOLIS

The message of Minneapolis is of first rate importance to the American working class. A careful examination of the method from all sides ought to be put as point one on the agenda of the labor movement, especially of its most advanced section. A study of this epic struggle, in its various aspects, can be an aid to their application in other fields, and, by that, a rapid change of the position of the American workers.

There is nothing new, of course, in a fight between strikers and police and gunmen. Every strike of any consequence tells the old familiar story of the hounding, beating and killing of strikers by the hired thugs of the exploiters, in and out of uniform. What is out of the ordinary in Minneapolis, what is most important in this respect, is that while the Minneapolis strike began with violent assaults on the strikers it didn't end there.

In pitched battles last Saturday and again on Monday the strikers fought back and held their own. And on Tuesday they took the offensive, with devastating results. "Business men" volunteering to put the workers in their place and college boys out for a lark—as special deputies—to say nothing of the uniformed cops—handed over their badges and fled in terror before the mass fury of the aroused workers. And many of them carried away unwelcome souvenirs of the engagement. Here was a demonstration that the American workers are willing and able to fight in their own interests. Nothing is more important than this, for, in the last analysis, everything depends on it.

Here was a stern warning to the bosses and their hirelings, and not only those in Minneapolis. Transfer the example and the spirit of the Minneapolis strikers to the steel and automobile workers, for example, with their mass numbers and power. Let the rulers of America tremble at the prospect. They will see it! That is what the message of Minneapolis means first of all.

MASS ACTION

A second feature of the fight at the City Market which deserves special attention is the fact that it was not the ordinary encounter between individual strikers and individual scabs or thugs. On the contrary—take note—the whole union went into action on the picket line in mass formation; thousands of other union men went with them; they took along the necessary means to protect themselves against the murderous thugs, as they had every right to do. This was an example of mass action which points the way for the future victorious struggles of the American workers.

It is not a strike of the men alone, but of the women also. The Minneapolis Drivers' Union proceeds on the theory that the women have a vital interest in the struggle, no less than the men, and draws them into action through a special organiza-

tion. This policy, employed so effectively by the Progressive Miners, is bringing rich results also in Minneapolis. To involve the women in the labor struggle is to double the strength of the workers and to infuse it with a spirit and solidarity it could not otherwise have. This applies not only to a single union and a single strike; it holds good for every phase of the struggle up to its revolutionary conclusion. The grand spectacle of labor solidarity in Minneapolis is what it is because it includes also the solidarity of the working class women.

THE SYMPATHETIC STRIKE

The strike of the transport workers took an enormous leap forward and underwent a transformation when the building trades union declared a sympathetic strike last Monday. In this action one of the most progressive and significant features of the entire movement is to be seen. When unions begin to call strikes, not for immediate craft gains of their own but for the sake of solidarity with their struggling brothers in other trades, and when this spirit and attitude becomes general and taken for granted as the proper thing, then the paralyzing divisions in the trade union movement will be near an end and trade unionism will begin to mean unity.

The union of the truck drivers and the building trades workers is an inspiring sight. It represents a dynamic idea of incalculable power. Let the example spread, let the idea take hold in other cities and other trades, let the idea of sympathetic strike action be combined with militancy and the mass method of the Minneapolis fighters—and American labor will be a head taller and immeasurably stronger.

Those who characterize the A. F. of L. unions as "company unions" and want to build new unions at any price will derive very little consolation from the Minneapolis strike. We have always maintained that no form of a labor organization, while important, is not decisive. Minneapolis provides another confirmation, and a most convincing one, of this contention. Here is the most militant and, in many respects, the most progressively directed labor struggle that has been seen for a long time. Nevertheless it is all conducted within the framework of the A. F. of L.

The Drivers' Union is a local one of the most conservative A. F. of L. internationals, the Teamsters'; the building trades, out in sympathy with the drivers, are all A. F. of L. unions, and the Central Labor Union backing the drivers' strike and a possible organizing medium of a general strike, is a subordinate unit of the A. F. of L. The local unions of the A. F. of L. provide a wide field for the work of revolutionary militants if they know how to work intelligently. This is especially true when, as in the Minneapolis example, the militants actually initiate the organization and take a leading part in developing it at every stage.

THE BOLSHEVIK MILITANTS

Further development of the union, and perhaps even of the present strike, on the path of militancy may bring the local leadership into conflict with the reactionary bureaucracy of the International and also with conservative forces in the Central Labor Union. This will be all the less apt to take the local leaders of the militant union by surprise, since most of them have already gone through the school of that experience. In spite of that they did not turn their backs on the trade unions and seek to set up new ones artificially.

Even when it came to organizing a large group of workers, hitherto outside the labor movement, they selected an A. F. of L. union as the medium. The results of the Minneapolis experience provide some highly important lessons on this tactical question. The miserable role of the Stalinists in the present situation, and their complete isolation from the great mass struggle, is the logical outcome of their policies in general and their trade union policy in particular.

The General Drivers' Union, as must be the case with every genuine mass organization, has a broad and representative leadership, freely selected by democratic methods. Among the leaders of the union are a number of bolshevik militants who never concealed or denied their opinions and never changed them at anybody's order, whether the order came from Green or from Stalin. The presence of this nucleus in the mass movement is a feature of the exceptional situation in Minneapolis which, in a sense, affects and colors all the other aspects of it. The most important of all prerequisites for the development of a militant labor movement is the leaven of principled communists. When they enter the labor movement and apply their ideas intelligently they are invincible. The labor movement grows as a result of this fusion and their influence grows with it. In this question, also, Minneapolis is showing the way.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

Non-Partisan Labor Defense Protests Police Attack on Workers

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

New York—Charges against the New York police will shortly be laid before Police Commissioner O'Ryan as a result of incidents which occurred Thursday night in the West Side Night Court. Speakers for the Socialist Party, the Communist League of America, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and the Spartacus Youth Club which led Thursday night's demonstration against the pro-fascist Madison Square Garden Meeting

and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense which represents several individual complainants, announced today that they have sent a letter to the Police Commissioner requesting an appointment.

The letter charges that police on duty in the court attacked spectators and bystanders without provocation, beat them with weapons and fists, restrained them illegally from leaving the court, and in one case drew a pistol on Dave Schwartz of 1463 Ocean Avenue,

Brooklyn, a member of the Y.P.S.L. The attacks occurred in the lobby of the courtroom presided over by Magistrate Burke, where a number of persons were to be tried for participating in an anti-Nazi street meeting in Times Square. When the cases came up, some fellow demonstrators in the courtroom incurred the wrath of the Magistrate by voicing their objection to proceedings. A number of skirmishes between the police and spectators ensued.

Militant Mass Picket Line Routes Scabs, Cops, Special Deputies and Thugs and Stops All Commercial Transport

Building Trades in Sympathy Strike; Womens Auxiliary Active in Fight; General Strike Sentiment Growing; Workers' Spirit Soars

(TELEGRAM TO THE MILITANT)

MINNEAPOLIS, May 22.—In the most imposing display of labor solidarity and militancy Minneapolis has ever seen, a mighty picket line of the General Drivers' Union, five thousand strong, swept through the Wholesale Market today, clearing the place of every scab, cop and deputy and putting a complete stop to every attempt to move commercial trucks except those authorized by special permission of the union.

Today's action followed daily pitched battles on Saturday and Monday in which the cops and special deputies slugged and arrested men, women and children on the picket line. With the entire labor movement roused to fury by these attacks the striking drivers, reinforced by other unions, returned to the scene of conflict today and took back to union headquarters the badges of all the rats serving as special deputies who failed to get out of the market in time.

Tonight the strike is one hundred percent complete. Not a truck is to be seen on the streets that does not carry the special authorization of the union.

On Monday 35,000 building trades workers declared a strike in sympathy with the drivers. The Communist League has raised the slogan of general strike throughout the twin cities and sentiment for it is spreading like wildfire.

After today's battle a 24-hour truce was accepted by the union under the terms of which the employers agreed "that all transportation in so far as it concerns those represented by the employers' committee shall cease." Meanwhile negotiations are under way. The union is demanding recognition and wage increases. If the negotiations fail a general strike of sympathy with the drivers may result.

Class lines are tightly drawn. Over two hundred pickets have been arrested. The union is organized for all emergencies, even to the extent of removing injured pickets and providing medical attention for them away from the hospitals where pickets previously taken for treatment were arrested. "Cruising squads" of militant pickets cover every strategic point. The appearance of a truck on any street brings immediate action.

A great feature of the strike is the militant participation of the strikers' women on a mass scale. On Monday seven hundred women, members of the Drivers' Union Auxiliary, marched on the mayor's office demanding the withdrawal of the special police. They carried banners reading "Take away your hired thugs" and similar slogans. Mrs. Grant Dunne, president of the auxiliary and Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, secretary, led the demonstration.

In a move to head off the general strike the Regional Labor Board, on direct orders from Washington, is attempting to bring about a settlement. Dunne, Shoglund and other militant leaders of the union have consistently explained the strike-breaking role of this agency and are warning the strikers now to watch out for any trap it may set for them.

Everything the union has gained, since its inception with a small nucleus of Coal Yard Drivers, has been the result of its own strength and militancy and the direct mass action of its members. These workers have been steeled in heroic battles for their rights. They have learned some lessons. It will not be easy to fool them. It can be said with assurance that the "Automobile settlement" cannot be put over here.

Youth Demonstration Against War And Fascism on May 30th

New York City.—Challenging the bosses' "Memorial Day", imperialist war preparations and the growing wave of fascism, the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism calls upon the young workers and students of the city to demonstrate under its banner on May 30th. Despite efforts to achieve a common demonstration with the youth conference called by the Youth Section of the American League Against Fascism, there will be two demonstrations in the city. The Stalinists have rejected the most elementary conditions for such a united front: a common acceptable name for the demonstration, a common leaflet, a joint committee representing both conferences.

Stalinists Force Split

Every possible concession was made by the United Youth Committee to achieve this common action. To no avail! The Young Communist League in essence proposed that this Committee either join their National Youth Day or no united front would be achieved. Even while the United Youth Committee was still considering, with the knowledge of the Stalinist committee, ways of overcoming the obstacle in the road toward unity, the Daily Worker already contained an attack

on the Committee as splitting the united front.

Notwithstanding this attack the United Youth Committee continued to approach the American League conference for common action. The letter of the Committee was "answered" by the Youth Section of the American League addressing itself, through the Daily Worker, not to the Committee itself, but to the members of the Y.P.S.L., Young Circle League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy! The terms stated in this letter omit any mention of the decisive questions—a common leaflet and a common name other than National Youth Day—N.Y.D. is not even referred to—although it is clear from representatives of the Stalinists that they will not retreat from this position.

Mobilize for May 30

This unscrupulous attempt to place the responsibility of the split on the United Youth Committee is a piece of arrogance that must be exposed. The Committee will issue a public statement on the negotiations. (The next issue of the Militant will contain the statement of the Spartacus Youth Clubs.) All militant youth must be mobilized in full force for May 30th. Under the slogans of: Against Im-

(By Mail—Special to the Militant)

Minneapolis, Sunday, May 20th.—Against the combined forces of the bosses, their legal thugs in the police department, augmented by thousands of deputies and imported gunmen, together with the American Legion and the yellow press, the General Drivers' Union, Local No. 674 is heroically defending the very right of the workers to organize. This struggle is the result of the intolerable conditions forced upon the workers by the truck-owners, produce companies and all commercial delivery bosses. The issue of unionization of labor has been so sharply raised that the fate of the entire trade-union movement hangs on the balance. Never before has Minneapolis seen such a battle. The members of the Communist League are in the vanguard of the fight, in the union and its leadership, on the picket line, in the militant Women's Auxiliary—they are everywhere, permeating every aspect of the struggle with the spirit of Bolshevism.

The strike was called Tuesday, May 15th at 11:30 P.M. It came as a result of the failure of the bosses to grant recognition of the union and an increase in wages. The strikers massed five thousand strong at a large garage that served as a strike Headquarters and dispatched pickets to strategic points throughout the city and brought all trucking to a standstill, with the exception of the milk, ice and beer drivers who are organized and have permission to operate. Flying squads of pickets, toured the city pulling out all gas station attendants.

Battle at the Market

The Farmers' angle was different. The County Sheriff swore in seventy deputies. They were to convoy the "poor" farmers into market. Big business was going to use the small farmers to pull their chessnuts out of the fire for them by using their as pawns to open up the market. They wanted the farmers to do something that the big produce importers and distributors, the packing trust, the fruit trust, and the milling trust did not dare do themselves. In a running battle that lasted over an hour, the Sheriff's men were defeated, partly by being stopped, and partly because the farmers left them and went back home. Only three farmers' trucks got to market on Saturday morning.

Bosses Try Terror

When these two tactics of the bosses failed they turned to the only tactics left—brutal terror. The Mayor doubled the police force, then tripled it. Gunmen were imported to get after the leaders of the strike. Determined attempts were made to break through the picket lines on Friday night and Saturday. Two hundred arrests were made. A heavy clash occurred in the City Market before three wholesale vans got through. Twenty pickets and police were sent to the hospital. Saturday night the "regulars" and "special" police rushed a truck load of women pickets on the "newspaper row" and beat them unmercifully, sending five to the hospital. It is these tactics of the police that inspired the striking drivers to fight all the harder and puts to shame any workers that stand on the side lines.

Floyd B. Olsen, the Farmer-Labor Governor, attempted to bring the bosses and the strikers together to negotiate for a settlement. The bosses refused to make any concessions whatsoever and demanded that Governor Olsen call out the Militia. The strikers' committee declared their willingness to negotiate and demanded that the police be called off if negotiations were to be taken up again. This has resulted in a deadlock, with each side massing for the big attempt of the bosses to settle their point on Monday morning. The swift developments of the strike are putting the Governor on the spot. Whether or not to call out the Militia he can't decide. No reliance can be put upon the Governor or the Labor Board to settle anything favorably for the workers. This is tirelessly explained by the militant leadership of the strike. All energy and all hope is directed to the mass picket line, the largest and most militant Minneapolis has ever seen. A new type of labor struggle is unfolding here. The bosses and their hirelings

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Gigolos and Kings

The falling off in the custom of American and British dowagers hit the French gigolos hard. One of the best at the trade whose service fee had been \$32.50 per hour was driven to suicide. Competition from royalty and other titled gentry was too much for him. Let no one think, however, that the slump in the gigolo business means the end of this trade. Quite the contrary. The success of the season's first court reception held by King George in Buckingham Palace shows that the drop in the Paris gigolo market was a shifting of the consumer demand to the higher priced lines. This reception, according to press reports, was a scene of unequalled splendor. Diamond diadems, banks of flowers, concealed orchestra music, glittering uniforms, trailing gowns with 12-foot trains, were some of the features. Bejeweled American daughters of "rugged individualism" were ready to exchange some of papa's millions for titled gigolos. And the titles were on display like bananas in the First Avenue market.

In some resorts in Paris gigolos are given as prizes in lotteries. The wealthy harlots, usually English and American dowagers whose husbands are too busy skinning the workers, buy as many as fifty to one hundred tickets. Once won as a prize, the gigolo must spend the next twenty-four hours with the pillar of society who won him. In court receptions, not raffles, but auctions, are held, bidding being carried on secretly. Once bought the titled male remains with the purchaser until divorced. He is then again in the market just like a used car. In King George's market, which is somewhat exclusive, such "second hand models" are not allowed on display.

The New York Times reports that, following the King's reception, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales left to visit the unemployed. How long will the British workers put up with such insults?

May 1st and May 17th

The Daily Worker report of May 1st told of anything from 150,000 to Mike Gold's 400,000 as taking part in a "united front against fascism" under the leadership of the C. P. The Daily Worker report of the anti-Nazi demonstration against the Hitlerite rally in Madison Square Garden, May 17th, stated that a demonstration of 1,000 Y.C.L.'ers and Y.P.S.L.'ers took place. A few questions are in order. 1. Where were the paper 400,000-150,000, or even the actual 25,000 who took part in the May 1st Stalinist parade? 2. If the C. P. decided to do nothing on May 17th, then how come the reported Y.C.L. participation? 3. As the actual fact is that the Anti-Nazi demonstration was organized by the Communist League (counter-revolutionary Trotskyites) and the Y.P.S.L. (Social-Fascists) how come that the Daily Worker, instead of denouncing this "Unholy Alliance" gave credit to the Y.C.L. for it? And last, why those who so effectively broke up the Anti-Fascist Madison Square Garden meeting of the S. P. and the trade unions didn't do a damn thing against the Nazi rally? Or do they consider a miserable meeting in Cooper Union to listen to Rabbi Goldstein the way to defeat Fascism in America?

The Crisis and the Socialist Party
Speaking on votes lost to the Communist Party in Germany in 1931, Tarnau, a leader of the German Social Democrats said at the Leipzig Congress, "If the spectre of unemployment had not hovered over the ballot box, this day would have been written differently in the pages of German history."

The Socialist New Leader of May 12, 1934, writes: "Since the Danish Socialist Labor Party took over the government in 1929 and since the five past years were years of depression and unemployment, one had the right to expect that the Socialist Party would lose some support among the workers."

What manner of "revolutionary" party is there that expects to lose support as capitalism breaks down. "If the atrophy of capitalism produces the atrophy of the Social Democracy, then the approaching death of capitalism cannot but denote the early death of social democracy. The party that leans upon the workers but serves the bourgeoisie, in the period of the greatest sharpening of the class struggle, cannot but sense the smells wafted from the waiting grave."—(Leon Trotsky—"What Next?")

Olgin on Browder's Masterly Report
"There was a spell over the audience as one chapter of the report after another was unfolded by Comrade Browder"—writes Olgin, Daily Worker, May 21st.

Does Olgin mean that the audience had gone to sleep? Or is it a typographical error and "spell" should read "smell"? —BILL.

The Foreign Policy of Japan

Probably the most interesting statement of foreign policy was issued by the representative of Japanese imperialism, Yosuke Matsuo. Abandoning the customary cabalistic language of diplomacy he stated categorically that Japan "regards with disfavor any activities of Western nations in China."

He cynically portrays the role of white imperialism as played in the exploitation of backward China, and makes a strong plea for the right of yellow imperialism to a "legitimate" share of the loot. In this connection, he raises the race question and attempts to conjure up a white peril with which to frighten both the Chinese and the Japanese.

He would have us believe that the white capitalist robbers have been unfair in the distribution of the surplus value sweated from the backs of the Chinese workers and peasants, not because of the greater strength of white imperialism itself, but solely because the Japanese are of the yellow race. This deception is at the bottom of his cry for a united front from below of the Chinese and Japanese peoples under the leadership of the capitalist class of Japan against "a return of the white peril to the East."

Japan's Claim to Hegemony

Matuoka invokes the Lansing-Ishii Agreement as an example of the diplomatic means Japanese imperialism would prefer to use in "obtaining the recognition of our pre-eminent rights and interests" in China. But under no conditions, he continues, not even short of war, would Japan abandon her imperialist hegemony over prostrate China.

He goes on to explain that China needs help to save it from chaos and Bolshevism. But this help, he explains, cannot be supplied by the imperialist powers through the League of Nations, because the League utilizes methods inapplicable to a weakly capitalist nation.

"The attempt at making China a republic has been disastrous. Corrupt and incompetent as the old Manchu dynasty was, it was understood by the Chinese; the republic is not."

This protest against the attempt to create a republican—a bourgeois-democratic—political form expresses the aim of Japanese imperialism to thwart the formation of a united capitalist China. For it sees in a bourgeois-democratic China a rival for the internal market of China itself and a military menace to her imperialist ambitions in the East in general.

From this angle the protest of the Japanese Foreign Office to the white imperialist powers against political loans, that is, loans for military purposes, will not fall on deaf ears. For the white imperialists themselves stand to lose nearly as much as Japan from a strongly bourgeois-democratic China. As long as the Open Door is respected Japan need fear little opposition to her imperialism in the East. England already is insisting that her economic difficulties with Japan can and will be amicably settled. Also her tacit agreement to Japan's seizure of Manchuria shows which way the wind is blowing. It is inconceivable that England would so restrain herself regarding Japan, who has made such drastic inroads on her foreign trade, if some more important need of British imperialism was not involved in the matter at issue.

British Policy

British imperialism recognizes Bolshevism as to the central danger to its colonial rule. The menace to its far-flung empire looms so large that compromise with Japanese imperialism proves absolutely essential. On no other basis could Japanese capitalism venture to heed American capitalism and the Soviet Union. For the natural resources of Japan are completely inadequate for the prosecution of a large-scale war. Her recent activities indicate a secret agreement with England for a struggle against the Soviet Union as a way out of the crisis in which Japanese capitalism finds itself. In the meantime, Japan takes advantage of her strategic political position by asserting her rights in China to the disadvantage of capitalist America.

The manoeuvring of the imperialist powers in China cannot be understood if taken as a separate problem. It cannot be abstracted from the world situation as a whole. It must be viewed in connection with the *Drang nach Osten* policy of Hitler. (This policy was first enunciated by Bismarck, and later was presented by Hugenberg as a solution of the chief contradictions of European capitalism.)

Anti-Soviet Policy

That there is such an anti-Soviet policy is proved by the recent refusal of Hitler to sign a treaty guaranteeing the sovereignty of the Baltic States. Recalling that at the same time Hitler has assured England that he seeks neither colonies nor naval power, it would seem that the *Drang nach Osten* policy is real enough. The destruction of all po-

litical opposition within Germany, and the "co-ordination" of the trade-unions on a Nazi basis, signifies preparation within for warfare without.

England's friendship for Japan and Germany spells defeat for any attempt at reconciling the differences between Japan and Soviet Russia and Germany and Soviet Russia. It can safely be predicted that secret agreements exist between England, Germany and Japan, for the solution of their imperialist contradictions at the expense of the U.S.S.R. This view is reinforced by the fact that the defeat of the Soviet Power would restore one-sixth of the world to the capitalist market and at the same time solve world-contradictions in a comparatively inexpensive form.

Strike of Los Angeles Longshoremen

Los Angeles—After being held back over a period of several months longshoremen over the entire Pacific coast and gulf states finally walked out under the leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association.

In San Pedro, the walkout was nearly 100%, and succeeded in almost paralyzing shipping in the area. In all there are about 2,500 involved in the local strike; but the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles is determined that the strike shall be broken. All machinery of the city and county have been drafted for that end. Workers who are receiving county aid are being sent down to scrub. The Universities of Southern California and of California are supplying scabs. Football men of U. S. C. amongst them the "great" Homer Griffith and Clifford Probst, who have hitherto only learned how to play football are receiving another lesson, and that is how to break a strike.

To combat this use of students as scabs, the N.S.L.'s of the Los Angeles Junior College, U.S.C. and the University of California at L. A. sent a delegation to the strikers to aid on the picket lines; and has also promised its supposed in attempting to arouse campus opinion against the scabbing students through the distribution of handbills.

Militant Builders

SECOND CLUB PLAN DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st

Not One Club Will Be Sold After That Date. Get Your Cards Now

The Club Plan sub drive for 1,000 new subs met with success, bringing a total of 1014 new readers for The Militant. Upon the request of several branches and individuals participating in that drive, a second drive was started. To date we have received 175 new subs.

The Club Plan idea was originated in order to enable workers who cannot afford the full rates to get The Militant at the low price of 25c for six months. Four sub cards for \$1 paid in advance, constitute a Club. This plan cannot be continued indefinitely as the cost of production does not permit of such a low rate.

The Second Club Plan drive will terminate August 1st.

NO CARDS WILL BE SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

GET YOUR CLUBS NOW!

NEW SUBS

New York City Committee 4; Cleveland Branch 14; Newark Br. 4; Los Angeles Br. 4; Philadelphia Br. 8. Total 34.

COMPLETE RECORD

Boston Branch	8
Cleveland Br.	18
Chicago Br.	20
Minneapolis Br.	40
New Castle Br.	4
San Francisco Br.	4
St. Louis Br.	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Toronto Br.	4
Local New York	12
City Office	8
Harlem Br.	4
Newark Br.	4
Los Angeles Br.	12
Los Angeles (Doughty)	8
Philadelphia Br.	8
Davenport Br.	4
Oakland Br.	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
I. Borsook	4
P. Leiser	4
J. Osborn	5
Total to Date	175

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

An "Underground Union"

One of the innovations of the Stalinists is the creation of the only underground trade union organization in the country, the Education Workers League. It was designed early in 1931 by the architects of the third-period trade union strategy to organize the workers in the field of education—principally the public school teachers—into revolutionary unions. It goes without saying that it drew organizational and ideological inspiration from the T.U.U.L. to which it is affiliated. And not alone the T.U.U.L. The E.W.L. is the American section of the Education Workers International, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

In the three years of its existence, the conditions of the teachers in the U. S. have been worsened. Pay cuts have been universal. Every one is familiar with the plight of the Chicago teachers who at one time were not paid for nearly a year and whose pay is still many months in arrears. Curricula have been cut. School terms and the school day have been shortened. In many states hundreds of schools have been closed. It is estimated that 2,000,000 children have been thrown out of school in this way; and that this economy cost 200,000 teachers their jobs. This entire economy program is going forward under the whip of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

No Influence on Teachers' Movement
The teachers have offered very little resistance. There have been scattered protests, small and ineffective strikes, and other spontaneous manifestations of discontent. Most significant of all these struggles were the Chicago demonstrations which won a small measure of temporary relief. But the E. W. L. has not played any role in these isolated struggles. In so far as a national trade union center is concerned it is as non-existent as the other paper organizations created by the Stalinists.

Only in one place has the E.W.L. any existence. It made its debut in New York City where the conditions were guaranteed to demonstrate the utter absurdity of the attempt to build a "revolutionary" trade union of teachers. The 36,000 New York City teachers in 1931 were secure in their positions and were as yet unaffected by wage cuts and the other means by which capitalist economy was lowering the

standard of living of the teachers throughout the nation. On the contrary, the teachers' wages, fixed by law, were appreciating with the fall of the price level.

Moreover the teachers were subjected to the notoriously reactionary regime of the Board of Education. Activity in the revolutionary or left wing labor movement constituted grounds for dismissal from the school system. Teachers are persecuted for protesting against unsanitary conditions in the schools or for criticizing their superiors or the administration of the system.

"Union" Goes Underground
Even the Stalinists realized that to call upon the teachers openly to join a "revolutionary union" would cost some of those who responded their jobs, persecution for others and a general reign of terror and red-baiting against all progressive elements. The Stalinists boldly seized both horns of the dilemma and solved the problem by going underground.

From the depths of its underground the E.W.L. built legal covers for its "revolutionary" activity. It has not built a union—although it still entertains fond visions of doing so—but it succeeded in adding several organizations to the more than seventy that cluttered up the local movement.

Fights Teachers' Union

In all of these organizations its central aim has been to discredit the Teachers Union and develop the others as bases for its new union. In a word the E.W.L. aped the policy of the T.U.U.L. If it has not built a union it can point with pride to a great achievement: its policy has been instrumental in diverting hundreds of employed and unemployed teachers awakening to the necessity of resistance into organizational channels separate from the union and hostile to it. It can inscribe on its banner at least half the responsibility for the perpetuation of the division between the organized employed and unemployed, and also for the division among the advanced teachers in the organized employed movement.

The experience of three years demonstrates that there is neither a need nor a basis for this caricature of a union. On the contrary, it is an obstacle to the growth and unity of the teachers movement. It is a reactionary influence.

—T. STAMM.

The Railroad Wage Settlement

The recent compromise wage-cut settlement between the railroads and the leadership of the 21 unions, which include all the organized railroad workers offers the latter a new opportunity to see the stuff of which their leaders are made. A review of the role which this treacherous bureaucracy played in the 1932 negotiations, when the 10 percent wage-cut was first proposed, will help round out the picture.

In the opinion of the union officials at that time (N. Y. Times, Feb. 1, 1932): The 10 percent wage-cut proposed by the railroads was not a "matter of pure right and justice," "nor are wage reductions to be regarded ordinarily as the appropriate means to promote prosperity," nor could they "believe that the public welfare is advanced by reducing the purchasing power of labor."

Was the pay-cut therefore refused? No! It was accepted "in the hope that our action may improve the health of our industry... may stimulate a revival of business, and may advance the general welfare."

Labor Leaders and Capitalists in Mutual Appreciation

This sounds almost like a burlesque. However, it was left to Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, speaking on behalf of the railroad managements, to add the grand finale to the negotiations comedy. In his speech Willard reminded the union officialdom of one of the methods they might have used to look after the interests of the men they represented: "You might have delayed this agreement for months (during which time, of course, no pay-cut—W.) and forced us to take a long and tedious course which would have left bitterness where now (ahem) there is friendship and harmony. Even so you would have been following the law set down by Congress..." At the conclusion of this speech during which he praised the labor skates for their "cooperation, patience, tactfulness, and patriotism," he added, "I am going to ask them (his colleagues) to rise in token of their esteem for you, and together we say to you we thank you!" Whereupon, according to the N. Y. Times correspondent, "The other presidents arose and bowed as the audience of union executives and the union chiefs broke into applause."

Wages are cut and union leaders applaud. One must need search far to find a more brazen betrayal of workers' representatives.

On March 17 of this year, the same union heads, after having permitted the wage-cut agreement, which was to have lasted one year, to stretch into its third, suddenly demanded that it be ended.

Workers' Pressure Forces a Change

Why the sudden change in heart on the part of these gentlemen? The answer lies in the pressure which the workers are beginning to exert, either through wholesale desertion from the unions or through the formation of opposition groupings; expressions of dissatisfaction which begin to endanger the large salaries of the union bureaucracy and their privilege of sitting down at the same dinner table with the railroad presidents. The smoldering fires of discontent are fanned by the fact that the roads are beginning to earn more money. (Loadings for this year are about 30 percent higher than for corresponding periods of last year and the net earnings of 64 class I roads for February of this year is \$28,700,000 compared to \$9,854,000 for February of last year.)

There can hardly be any wonder as to the reasons for the discontent on the part of the railroad workers. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, gives us an inkling as to how the "general welfare" of the workers was advanced by the pay-cut: (N. Y. Times, March 18, 1934): "... railway employees of long service have been turned out to accept charity or starve; hundreds of thousands have gone on part time... track and roadway section men received as little as 25c an hour and worked only three days a week in February. From this weekly wage of six dollars the management deducted 60c under the 10% arrangement... On the Atlantic coastline men are paid \$1.70 a day. On the New York Central, section men receive a basic wage of 43c an hour and are working as little as ten days a month. This gives them \$8.00 a week, from which 10% is deducted leaving \$7.74 a week in a territory where the P.W.A. minimum is \$15. ... The Florida East Coast pays a basic wage of 20c an hour to section men... The Illinois Central pays section men as little as 25c an hour, works them as little as 2 days a week enabling them to make \$4 a week... For the year 1932 there were 140,000 railway employees whose earnings were approximately \$60 a month or less. This number embraces about 13% of all railway employees. Approximately 266,000 railway employees, over 25% of the total, earned \$75 a month or less."

How did the railroad coupon-clippers fare during this period? The pressure upon the union bureaucracy was so great that they were forced to reveal why the capitalists thanked them in 1932 for their "cooperation, patience, tactfulness, and patriotism." According to Whitney the railroad bondholders were paid as follows: 1929, \$11,000,000; 1930, \$300,000,000; 1931, \$518,000,000; 1932, \$525,000,000; and in 1933, \$533,000,000. During 1932 and 1933, however, the roads reported deficits in order to strengthen their arguments for continuing the pay-cut. Whitney explains that this is accomplished by charging interest on bonds to "fixed charges" so that what is actually a profit appears as an expense.

The recent negotiations, during which the above-quoted information leaked out, found the union heads frantically hunting for a formula which would not injure their standing with the capitalists (heaven forbid) and with which they could face their men. To the request for an end to the cut the roads countered with a demand for a further cut. The union chiefs countered with a demand for a ten percent raise above the basic wage from which the original cut was made. President Roosevelt, consistent with his policy to "raise" wages, proposed that the existing cut stay in effect until Jan. 1, 1935; the same proposal as originally advanced by the railroad presidents. This the union heads refused. After much literally speaking, in whispers. The workers are to get back 2 1/2% on July 1, 1934, 2 1/2% on Jan. 1, 1935 and 5% on April 1, 1935; the roads agreeing not to ask for another change (read cut) until May 1935, that is, one month later. The unorganized workers are of course not benefited in any way.

Another Sell-Out Accomplished
This juggling of percentages gave the union chiefs the needed formula. Actually they accepted Roosevelt's proposal or as stated by the New York Times: "Restoration of the wage reduction in 'three bites' instead of one worked out in dollars and cents exactly as if the employees had agreed to the employers' original proposal." It is obvious that the needs of the railroad workers are not going to be helped much by this sell-out.

These negotiations are merely symptomatic of a new chapter which is being opened in the railway in-

dustry from whose every pore oozes the pus of the decaying capitalist system. The basic capital has been absorbed by the capitalists in profits of some form. The roads are loaded with "fixed charges" in the form of bonded indebtedness or as loans. Their national and rolling stock has deteriorated necessitating large scale capital expenditures. An increase in business sufficient to solve these contradictions is out of the question under present day conditions. The capitalists will certainly not make the much-needed new capital expenditures unless the basis for a profit exists.

One way out, which they will seek before anything else, if circumstances permit, is to climb out of the contradictions on the basis of a further lowering of the wages and living standards of the workers. "If circumstances permit" means if the workers permit. From this it follows that the not distant future will find the railroads the scene of gigantic class battles.

Who Will Lead the Workers?

Can or will the present union leadership lead the workers in such struggles? Obviously not. If no other evidence were available their treacherous conduct in the wage cut question above described reveals that they are too closely tied up with the capitalists and their view-point to be concerned with the workers unless the latter endanger their sinecures. The union bureaucracy reeks with corruption. For example, Alvauley Johnston, Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and one of the signers of the original wage-cut agreement in 1932, was recently sent to jail for fraudulent dealings in a bank, in which he and other union officials had an active interest, and through which many union members had their savings lifted. According to James Steele (New Republic, March 14, 1934) the bank president, a friend of Johnston "had declared in a letter to the Chase National Bank that Johnston was actively working for a reduction in railroad workers' wages before the railroads asked for such a reduction."

Nothing can be expected from such people except corruption. What is required is a strong left wing. The pessimism of the workers and their exodus from the unions must be stopped; they must be given new heart and morale; the corrupt and reactionary leadership must be driven out and all the craft unions consolidated into one industrial union capable of and willing to fight for the workers' interests. Under present day circumstances a struggle on the railroads means a political struggle of very high order. All the more reason for a left wing.

—WEAVER.

MARCH OF EVENTS

British Imperialism in Retreat

The great inroads into the export trade of Great Britain incurred in the Japanese drive for world markets are a source of profound disquiet to English diplomats. The fierce impact of Japanese competition exposes to full view the weakness of British capitalism in decay while revealing simultaneously the intensity of exploitation of Japanese labor. England's efforts at retaliation are thus far puny and impotent. The establishing of quotas in the Crown colonies can affect at best some five percent of Japan's textile exports. This economic weakness in meeting the present situation makes it all the easier for Japanese imperialism to wring political concessions from the English government.

In the game of imperialist politics it is Japan's aim either to woo America away from an alliance with the Soviet Union, or failing this—and simultaneously—to checkmate America by balancing the U.S. with England. Given a fair price the English statesmen will not be averse to a trade. The first concession made to Japan is contained in Simon's statement that Great Britain is not pledged to preserve the integrity of China. This establishes the first open serious rift between America and England. For America for its own good purposes views the Nine Power Treaty as precisely such a pledge. British diplomacy tells Japan that it may safely proceed to seize and subdue by force of arms more of the Chinese mainland without English opposition.

Threat of Japanese Bonapartism

Capitalism is everywhere a system held together by a mortar of fraud and corruption. Japanese capitalism is if anything more permeated with thievery than its Western models. The scandal just uncovered in the Treasury Ministry in connection with the Bank of Taiwan and the Imperial Rayon Co. is but one of a long series. Coming however at a time of great internal stress, when the interrelationships of classes are shifting perceptibly, due to the swifter flow of the undercurrents of social upheaval, the Japanese bank scandal is having an effect similar to that of the Stavisky affair in France.

The reactionary militarists in control of the army are setting their forces in motion to stifle the rebellion of the oppressed masses of workers and peasants.

The Soviet Union Slowly Encircled

Since the last war and its outcome in the creation of the Soviet Union, the greatest step forward in the history of humanity and the greatest menace to world capitalism—the capitalist governments are somewhat fearful of precipitating a new war. Their fear is not so much of defeat by the enemy abroad as it is of the revolutionary working class at home. Thus to prepare for the inevitable next war the ruling class is impelled to safeguard its rear, to protect the base at home. Capitalism in decay thus resorts, for this as for other reasons, to fascism, a system of governing by armed force and brutal suppression directed openly against the working class, a system of terrorizing the masses and destroying their independent organizations, a system designed to assure "civil peace" in the rear.

The process of fascization of one country after the other is slowly bringing about the encirclement of the Soviet Union by fascist states. With the help of Germany Latvia has established its form of violent anti-working class dictatorship. Now Bulgaria, probably with the encouragement of France, has experienced a palace revolution, a Bonapartist coup d'état by the monarchy supported by the Junker class, the aim here too being to rid the capitalist state of all revolutionary opposition. Despite the fact that the fascist states assume their own inner alignments in imperialist rivalry, on all sides events sweep steadily, irrevocably, to the outbreak of the next terrible imperialist war with its central aim the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Litvinov and the League of Nations

It is this desperate plight of the Soviet Union, no longer able through the Comintern and mass Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to mobilize the working class of Europe in defense of the Soviet Union, that Litvinov attempts to substitute for such a mass movement by playing off one imperialist group against another. The less Litvinov can rely on the international revolutionary forces of the workers, the more closely he feels bound to the League of Nations under French domination. We cannot wait for events to prove the emptiness of this defense, we must build the Fourth International to defend the workers' fatherland.

—JACK WEBER.

"New Group" For a "New Party"

The Gitlow Group and the Field Clique Form a "Principled Bloc"

The crisis in the international labor movement has assumed such formidable proportions that no group or current, not even the smallest one, has been able to escape its effects. Some of them have been forced forward, as is the case with sections of the socialist movement. Others have recoiled to an even more reactionary position, as is the case with the bulk of the Stalinist movement. None has been able to stand completely still. Even what seem to be the most inert and obscure little groups have at least been compelled to run around in circles in order to create the illusion of motion.

Essentially in the latter category is the "Organization Committee for a Revolutionary Workers Party," formed by the Workers Communist League (Gitlow group) plus B. J. Field and Co., a group expelled for treachery from the Communist League of America. A few preliminary remarks on this union, which do not pretend to exhaust the question any more than is sufficient for the moment, will not prove to be unilluminating.

The Negotiations with Gitlow Group

The last issue of the *Voice of Labor*, organ of the Gitlow group, contains a report of its "Negotiations with the Left Opposition." The report is not only startlingly inaccurate, but it bears such an interesting relation to the subsequent Gitlow-Field fusion, that it requires retutation.

The report reproduces three documents: 1) the brief outline draft submitted by our delegation to the representatives of the Gitlow group as a basis for discussion; 2) the draft resolution submitted to us in its place by the Gitlow group; 3) a formulation against the theory of socialism in one country, proposed by us, and with slight amendments, finally agreed to by Gitlow.

So far, so good. But the *Voice of Labor's* account of the negotiations, and what happened to these three documents, belongs to the school of fictitious literature.

The facts are as follows: 2. The first document to be submitted was our outline draft, which contained, among other declarations the proposal that the two groups "endorse the joint declaration of the four organizations (the committee for the Fourth International) which emerged from the Paris conference—S.) and will participate in the further work of the joint commission established by the four organizations for the further development of their work and the elaboration of an international programmatic manifesto." After having examined this draft, Gitlow and Becker proposed to submit one of their own for discussion. Awaiting this document, we held our own in abeyance, but at no time did we withdraw it from consideration in the negotiations.

Fundamental Questions

2. Upon an examination of the second document submitted in the discussion, the Gitlow group resolution, our delegation decided not to lose itself in a discussion of it point by point without first attempting to establish agreement upon one after another of those points which we considered fundamental—agreement upon which would have facilitated enormously a discussion of the secondary questions, and possible agreement upon them, too. This was essential because the Gitlow document, being more detailed and pretentious than our first draft, was such a muddle of confusion, half-truths, ambiguity and downright semi-Stalinism, as made its consideration as the draft for a joint statement inconceivable. A few examples will suffice:

The theory of the united front from below is rejected, but not a word is said about its complement, equally Stalinist, which yielded such disastrous results in the Anglo-Russian Committee, in the alliance with the Kuo Min Tang—in the period between 1924 and 1928. Why? Because with Gitlow the crisis in the Comintern really begins with the expulsion of the Right wing in 1928-1929. He is against the "third period" of Stalinism fundamentally in the same sense as is Lovestone, as is (or was) Bucharin.

Ambiguous Formulations

The theory of socialism in one country is not even mentioned, its place being taken by the ambiguous, and by no means accurate, term: national Bolshevism. Becker at first denied that the Stalinists have ever stated their advocacy of the theory in print. Gitlow refused to reject the theory specifically because Max Eastman is right: you can't win over the workers with negative slogans! (Compare the social democratic argument against the Communist contention that you can't win socialism by casting ballots for parliament.)

"Stalin's break with Marxism and Leninism on the Russian question" is confined exclusively to those points where Gitlow is really at one with Bucharin: against super-industrialization, bureaucratic collectivization; premature abolition of the N.E.P. The break with Marxism and Leninism of the joint Stalin-Bucharin period—against industrialization and planned economy, the alliance with Kulak and Nepman—is studiously ignored.

"Socialism in One Country"

3. We therefore politely laid aside the Gitlow draft and proposed instead a concise formula on the fundamental question of "socialism in one country." In its final form, jointly accepted after considerable debate, it read: "The theory that the building of socialism can be completed in a single country, according to which a classless society can be constructed in one hand, without the spread of the proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of the world, which presupposes an uninterrupted co-existence of the workers' socialist state and capitalist countries, has had the consequence of a break with Leninism in Soviet internal policy, and in practice on the international field—the abandonment of the world revolution."

Then, says the *Voice of Labor*, "the declaration of the Workers' Communist League (i.e., Gitlow's above-mentioned draft—S.) including the above formulation was agreed upon by both sides." In order to maintain our polite tone, we will simply call this assertion preposterous and incorrect. The formulation on "socialism in one country" was and remains the single, solitary document ever agreed to between the Gitlow and our delegation during the negotiations. It was just as possible for the main Gitlow draft resolution to be "agreed upon by both sides" as it would be for us to apply for membership in the Gitlow group.

Declaration of Four

4. Without returning for a moment to the Gitlow draft, we put forth again the question of the new International and the Declaration of the Four. Gitlow's narrative reads as though we threw this question into the discussion arbitrarily, unexpectedly, unwarrantedly, like a bombshell, without previous mention. But his own report prints our first outline draft in which this question occupies no insignificant position. It had not been withdrawn at any time; it had been held in abeyance, we repeat. Having reached agreement on point the first (socialism in one country), we proceeded to a discussion of point the second.

And here, let it be pointed out, we did not demand for a moment that Gitlow endorse the Declaration of the Four out of hand, as Gitlow infers. Gitlow's draft resolution showed us the inadvisability of such an attitude. We merely presented the Paris Declaration and said: "This contains the fundamental points for fusion. Please tell us where you agree with it, where you disagree with it, and why, and our discussion will be facilitated. Gitlow did not merely refuse to endorse it (which was not requested), but even to state his views on it! Why? Because he had had nothing to do with drawing it up; he would not have some document drawn up by he knows not who, and where, and how, rammed down his throat (!); he had had his fill of the Comintern, not only in Stalin's time, but even in Lenin's; it had been falsely organized from the outset, in 1919; and above all, he stood for the conception that first the national parties must be built up solidly, with a native program and leadership, and then they would all coalesce into an international of equals."

The Paramount Question

Our delegation then went so far as to offer to submit the Declaration not in the name of the four "European" groups which had signed it, but in our own name, as our own discussion draft, for comment, agreement or disagreement by Gitlow. He obstinately refused to move from his position. In the warm discussion, he revealed that his group had indeed taken a step forward in one field by breaking with the Lovestone Right wing; in other fields it still occupied the same ground, or had taken a step backward. The negotiations had come to a stalemate on that paramount question of fundamental importance: internationalism, the surest touchstone of the genuine revolutionary and revolutionary group. Having laid bare our incompatibility in principle with the Gitlow group—at least for that stage of our relationships with it—we nevertheless continued to have relations with it consonant with the degree of political harmony which did exist between us and in that

field where we came in contact. At that time, the field was bounded by the hotel and restaurant workers branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, where a group of our comrades were members, and the Gitlow group had two of its militants functioning. But here too we encountered difficulties, not so fundamental in character, but nevertheless, as was subsequently revealed, significant enough.

Policy of the League

The policy of the League aimed at the formation of a bloc between ourselves and the Gitlow group in the A. F. W., as a Communist nucleus around which a broader group of Left wing and progressive workers could be rallied for the purpose of strengthening the union, assuring it a militant, class conscious leadership and policy, preparing it for a successful strike, and saving it from degeneration in the hands of the conservative, patriotic elements on the one side, and the Stalinist vultures on the other. Gitlow and his group agreed at the outset with this conception.

Fighting this view, alternately with open and covert opposition, was the Field group, at that time organized as a faction without program or principle in the ranks of the League, and specifically in our food workers fraction. Despite repeated warnings from the League—backed by its membership, its policies, its discipline and its committees—the two leading officials of the union, Field and Kaldis, conducted themselves not only in violation of our policy, but with such arrogantly bureaucratic contempt for all and sundry in the Amalgamated as was not only disgraceful for a Communist, but even for an ordinary conscientious trade unionist.

Their outrageous, unconcealed disdain for all their collaborators was displayed not only toward League members in the Amalgamated, but particularly toward two militants of the Gitlow group, Costas and Kaldides. We insisted at one fraction meeting after another upon a comradely bloc of Communist workers with a Left wing program. Field and Co. opposed the bloc with the two Gitlowites, then formally accepted it on paper, and systematically sabotaged it.

The "Pair of Deuces"

Before the strike, this bloc was broken more than once. Each time our League committees were compelled to intervene, rap Field's knuckles, and heal the breach. On two distinct occasions, Costas and Kaldides came directly to our National Committee, begging us to intervene with Field and Kaldis, to demand of the latter that they put an end to their insufferably bureaucratic conduct which was not only driving the two Gitlowites to despair but which (according to them, and they were right in this instance) was endangering the whole prospect of the union and the impending strike. Costas, a regular official of the union, was being treated by Field and Kaldis with the insolence of Prussian officers toward a uniformed peasant. In his arguments against our policy of collaboration with the Gitlowites, Field coined the winged phrase: "They are only a pair of deuces."

With this attitude towards Costas (who was but one of scores who smarted under the same parvenu impudence), Field eventually isolated himself from the League, from the Left wingers in the union, from all the progressive elements, threw the doors wide open to the Stalinists who battered on the discontentment of the workers with Field and Co., and finally provoked his desertion by the workers who, he had so superciliously admitted to everybody, sat in adoration at his feet.

"Deuces" Become Allies

But, strangely enough, in his fight against the League and its policies, as he leaned more and more upon the Rooseveltians and flag-wavers in the union, when the break with the League proved irreparable, Field abruptly converted his "pair of deuces" into allies. He rebounded from the League into the camp of Gitlow. At first, he led his few followers along that road with the explanation that there is nothing wrong with forming a bloc with another group in the trade unions. Finally he merged with the other group into a single political faction with a single political program—not Field's, but Gitlow's!

This faction, the "Organization Committee," has issued its program in the form of a leaflet "For a Revolutionary Workers Party." To read it is to arrive at an unmistakable conclusion: this is Gitlow and not Field. Or, more accurately, it

"These notes do not, of course, aim at an analysis of the hotel strike. They deal with it insofar as it is related to the subject in hand, i.e., the evaluation of the Gitlow and Field groups.—S.

may be Field, but it is not what Field overbearingly assumed everybody he was when he broke from the League.

Example: at a general membership meeting of the League on November 26, 1933, where I reported on our negotiations with the Gitlow group, the jointly accepted formulation on "socialism in one country" was read. One motion was introduced, reading: "The assembled branches view the formulation relating to the theory of socialism in one country in the joint statement as dangerous and misleading." Field and Kaldis were among the tiny group which voted for that motion, as well as for this one (which was also defeated): "The National Committee is asked to reconsider the joint statement as too great a concession to the Gitlowites." At the end of the meeting, the minutes read: "Comrade B. J. Field abstains on account of the subordination of the role of the Party and the Labor Party question in the negotiations and also on the grounds of the X motion and resolution. Esther Field associates herself with the Field statement."

League Not "Radical" Enough

In other words, two things at least were wrong so far as this super-Bolshevik-Leninist was concerned: our formulation on national socialism was too great a concession to Gitlow, and secondly, we had not yet proposed to Gitlow (nor did we ever, for the negotiations came to a sudden stop!) a point opposing his Right wing view on the Labor party.

Now, behold our intransigent, go-the-whole-hog Left Oppositionist, who broke from us with the declaration that he and not the League would thenceforward carry the banner of Lenin and Trotsky in the United States! He has successfully negotiated; he has successfully fused. And the joint program is a step backward even from Gitlow's original draft resolution of October 1933! Its views in a number of fields do not go so far even as those of A. J. Muste (see his article in *Labor Action* on the united front) in point of revolutionary position.

The theory of socialism in one country? Not mentioned. The black sheep of Field (and the white hope of Gitlow), the Labor party? Dead silence. The Fourth International? Careful evasion. They are for a "new international composed of the new revolutionary parties of the world." Which? Of all those to which Gitlow refers in his press with equal enthusiasm, emphasis and impartiality—the I.L.P., as well as the Internationalist Communist League, the Norwegian Labor Party as well as the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland? Of some of them? Of none of them? The Soviet Union? Lovestone or Stalin or a petty bourgeois liberal with his war paint on could have written that paragraph "for the defense" of the Soviet Union.

Mutual Amnesty

The programmatic manifesto of the "Organization Committee" constitutes, politically, a literary picture of Field generously whitewashing Gitlow. But the Emersonian law of compensation is not ignored. Kindness for kindness. In the *Voice of Labor* Gitlow does just as generous a job for Field. Two full pages on the hotel strike—not, white-wash this time, but plain hogwash. The "leadership" of the union may have been a bit inexperienced, do you see, but otherwise its conceptions and conduct were impeccable. The Trotskyists made a mess of things, but not Field, not Gitlow. They collaborated perfectly, only they didn't get anywhere because the gods were against them. . . .

A new group? Not at all. An old group, the Gitlow group with its whole old program. It has merely gained a few new members, which we cannot truthfully begrudge it. It gained them by a little bit of mutual amnesty.

A new party? Not at all. It wants, not the old party, it is true, but a party concocted of political odds and ends: a bit of Brandler, a bit of Stalin, a bit of Lenin and Trotsky.

No, thank you!
—MAX SHACHTMAN.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

A Critical Analysis of the A. W. P.

2. The Political Meaning of "Adaption to the American Scene."

The trouble with the C.P.U.S.A., according to the A.W.P. Program is that "Throughout its history it has thought and felt in terms of Russian and European rather than American working class experience." This line is similar to the Lovestoneite "Stalin right in Moscow, wrong in America," but goes even further in elaborating the myth that "sectarianism" is the root-cause of Stalinist failure. The fallacy of the approach is given away in the fact that the Program treats the fifteen years of the C.P.U.S.A. as of a piece, merely referring in passing to the party's gains up to 1925, and explaining them as due to the party's "basking in the glory" of the Soviet Union. The entire significance of the date of the dividing line between the period of success and ensuing failure, which is the date of the rise to dominance of Stalinism in the Communist International, is lost on the A.W.P. The international scope and causes of the failure of Stalinism are obscured behind the phrase "sectarianism and partisan exclusiveness."

What exactly does this term "sectarianism" mean, which has been so loosely bandied about by Socialists and Lovestoneites, and now by the A.W.P.?

What Sectarianism Means

For Marxists, who gave the term its currency, the word had definite meaning. It was used to denote the first phase of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, when the proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed to act as a class. In this period, said Marx, "individual thinkers, subjecting social antagonisms to criticism, give imaginary solutions to the question, which the working masses have only to accept, popularize, and apply in a practical way. By their very nature the sects formed by such priests hold back from the political struggle; they are aloof from all real activity, aloof from politics, strikes, coalitions—in a word, from all activity of any kind. . . . To sum up: sectarianism is only the outcome of the infancy of the proletariat movement, just as astrology and alchemy represent the infancy of science." An isolated example of sectarianism in a later period is the Socialist Labor Party which, despite its Marxist terminology, was an infantile reaction to the puzzling problem of a rapidly changing American workingclass, and developed a theory which effectively left it outside every form of the day to day struggle.

Only to the foregoing political phenomena can the term sectarianism be applied with any precision. Sectarianism as a generic form cannot be said to characterize any part of the labor movement today without doing violence to the meaning of the term. We do, however, term sectarian certain specific incorrect policies, by which we mean that the specific policy prevents us from drawing the workers into struggle.

False Characterization of C. P.

To characterize as sectarianism the whole course of the C.P.U.S.A. is, therefore, essentially false. Such a characterization makes an incomprehensible mystery of the powerful vitality shown by the party from 1919 to 1924—and then suddenly become operative after 1924? The C. I. and C.P.U.S.A. course from 1924 to 1929 cannot be characterized as sectarianism. As a matter of fact, that period was one of the most unprincipled opportunism, of laughing on to the tail of the reformists, here and everywhere. It is the period of the Anglo-Russian Committee, unity with Chiang Kai-Shek, support of La Follette, loyalty to the A. P. of L., etc. What can it possibly mean to attribute the failures of this period to "sectarianism and partisan exclusiveness?"

The C.P.L.A. came on the scene in 1929, the same year when the C.I. zigzagged from unprincipled blocs

with reformists to the theory of social fascism. It is probable, therefore, that the C.P.L.A.-A.W.P. is reading the whole history of the Comintern and its fifteen years in America in terms of these last five years. If this surmise is correct, the process is unintelligent, but at least understandable.

Origin of False Analysis

What has happened is that trade union progressives, reformists in politics, found themselves confronted by a Communist Party practicing dual unionism, refusing united fronts, and working only in organizations controlled by it. The reformists saw that these policies led to defeat after defeat, and yet were continued. Why? Instead of analyzing the structure of the party and discovering that its membership was powerless to change or even discuss policies; instead of tracing this absence of party democracy to the time when democracy was destroyed in the fight against Trotsky; instead of asking why the Stalinist bureaucracy does not permit party discussion; instead of asking why the C.I. and C.P.U.S.A. line is a mélange of sectarianism and opportunism, of adventurism and cowardice, of everything, in fact, but a revolutionary analysis; instead of tracing the degeneration of the C.I. to the theory of socialism in one country—but the foregoing analysis is one that would only occur to Communists, to revolutionaries. Reformists naturally tended to a shorter analysis: "Dual unionism, social fascism, bureaucratic control, etc.—all this must flow from the doctrines of Communism." Even the clue to the real source of the malady, the absence of party democracy, whose absence could only mean that the bureaucracy rested, not on the membership, but on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union; even party dictatorship was taken by some reformists to be part of the Communist doctrine. (Dictatorship of the proletariat, no democracy in the party—it was all one and the same thing.) We have no desire to rake up from the past the forms by which different C.P.L.A. spokesmen linked up Stalinist errors and distortions with fundamentals of Communism. The point of this reference to the past is merely to show the origins of their notion that the cause of Stalinist errors is "sectarianism." This term would be correct if the failure to set masses in motion flowed from Communist doctrine, as such failure flows from S.L.P. doctrine.

Relics of Reformism

Were the C.P.L.A. group sufficiently self-critical in their break with their reformist past, one of the most obvious elements for them to drop would be this talk of "Communist sectarianism." This phrase, and such phrases as "factional jargon" are relics of a time when not only were the C.P.L.A. group not revolutionaries, but thought that the international struggle of the two major tendencies in the Communist movement was just a cat and dog fight.

But if the Program's analysis of Stalinism reveals reformist hangovers, the references to the C. P. in the speeches at the February 2 dinner formally launching the A. W. P. were reformist pure and simple. Stalinism and its oppositions were lumped together; Muste declared he was "tired of the factional jargon in the labor movement represented by Union Square. The wrangling in obscure terminology alien to America has to go." "Jabberwocky" was the term applied by Budenz to the issues in the Communist movement.

At the recent lecture-conferences, the level of analysis of Stalinism was a little higher, but the A.W.P. leadership was still far from a correct view. One heard no more talk of "factional jargon" or "Jabberwocky"; Muste and, of course, Hook and Burnham (whose roots are very different from those of the C. P. L.A.) spoke of the decisive role in the C. I. of socialism in one country. But there was present as ever the tendency to talk of "Marxists" in one lump, and the familiar refrain of "sectarianism." Characteristic was Louis Budenz' "Marxians have a tendency to be Marxians. Not the workers will be responsible for Fascism, but leaders who see the correct path, but refuse to show the path to workers in such terms as will rouse them to action." "The chief indictment of the revolutionary movement is that it has shut itself out from the mass thought of America."

Who Are the "Marxists"? Who are these "Marxists" that Budenz speaks of? Would he maintain that the Stalinists are "leaders who see the correct path"? Is the correct path (which "they refuse to show the workers") the united front from below and social fascism? What is the revolutionary movement that has "shut itself out from the mass thought of America"? Certainly not the movement which from 1919 to 1924 made a

place for itself which the A.W.P. will be fortunate to approximate in a shorter length of time. And not even the Stalinist movement! For, despite everything, despite progressive degeneration, hundreds of thousands of American workers found their way to the apparent representative of Communism during these last ten years. That they did not stay, that does not mean that the movement had "shut itself out from the mass thought of America." That tells a story which the Communist League of America was the first to underline; but the story is not a story of "sectarianism," but a story of the death of party democracy, the death of internationalism, the triumph and degeneration of Stalinism.

Behind all this talk of "sectarianism" and the exaggerated Americanism of the A.W.P. lies a healthy motive. They would like to cut through the "factional period" and out into the high road of American workingclass struggle. So would the Communist League, but it has the lessons of the "factional period", while the A.W.P. group were not in the revolutionary movement during these last ten years and have yet to assimilate its lessons. Its search for a "short-cut" is futile. It does seem simple to say of the C. P. that "it has thought and felt in terms of Russian and European rather than American workingclass experience." It does seem simple, to declare for a new party on the ground that the Stalinists are in "organizational subordination to the Communist International, which has tended in recent years to become a branch of the foreign office of the Soviet Union instead of the leader of the world revolution." But this ever so "simple" formulation ignores the whole question, why a "branch of the foreign office" is no longer revolutionary.

No "Simple" Analysis

By all means, let us come before the masses with a clear and simple program, understandable to all workers. Let not the A.W.P. forget, however, the distinction between a clear and simple program, and the by no means clear and simple mass of events and theoretical knowledge on which such a program must be based. Marxism in all its ramifications is not simple, but without it as a foundation no program can lead anywhere. Leninism, with its analysis of imperialism and nationalism, its development of the Marxist theory of the state, its contributions to the strategy and tactics of revolution, its enunciation of the role of the party and the non-proletarian masses, its conception of the place of democratic centralism and the soviets—all this is not easily learned, but it must be learned by a revolutionary party. The ten year struggle of the Internationalist Communist, involving a further clarification and refinement of every fundamental question of revolutionary theory and strategy is certainly not a simple story to read, but without understanding and acceptance of its lessons, any new party gravitating toward a revolutionary outlook will find itself drifting between Stalinist centrism and reformist centrism.

There are no easy short-cuts. And the reasons given by a new party for its existence logically determine its policy. If "sectarianism," "failure to adapt itself to the American scene" is taken as the cause of the degeneration of the C. P., then the A.W.P. policy will be a frenzied adaptation, an exaggerated Americanism, which, if it does not degenerate into outright chauvinism, will certainly be a policy of gross empiricism, susceptible to all the errors of all previous workingclass activity, in America and elsewhere.

What strange fruit may be born from the Americanist approach? Consider the implications of the following statement by Hardman at the conferences:

"The revolution in America will be the American revolutionary movement, not the revolutionary movement in America. It was not by accident that we called the party the American Workers Party instead of the Workers Party of the U.S.A."

—FELIX MORROW.

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The Left Face of the Socialist Party

Hitler's victory in Germany was a blow which should have brought the official communists back to consciousness and sobered them up. The bureaucratic apparatus had lost the power to think straight and had consequently taken that power away from most of the members. If the "theories" of social-fascism, united front from below, and dual revolutionary unionism had been a result merely from a state of temporary derangement the Nazis should have succeeded in bringing the Stalinists back to their senses.

But it became apparent after the German catastrophe that the insane tactics of the bureaucracy of the Communist International were not due at all to anything temporary but were part of the bureaucratic organism and, since Hitler's terrific blow did not destroy that apparatus, these theories and tactics remained in all their purity.

What is more, the fascist juggernaut deepened the confusion and senselessness of the official communists. The German working-class was not defeated; the tactics of the Communist Party were, and ever will be correct; the victory of fascism indicated not the weakness but the strength of the workers. Such was and continues today to be the burden of the Stalinist song celebrating Hitler's ascent to power. Every word of protest, even of doubt, was denied the light of day and persistence on the part of any member determined to keep quiet no longer meant inevitable expulsion.

Impetus to Revolutionary Elements

The socialist bureaucracy has not the coercive power of the apparatus of the Comintern. It has no Soviet Union giving it the tremendous prestige and power that the workers' state lends to the communist bureaucracy. It controls no purse strings. As a consequence the members of the various socialist parties are freer to think as they please and the German situation caused a great many of them to do some hard thinking and set them into motion towards the left. The struggle of the socialists in Austria, though utilized by the socialist leaders for showing how brave they were and what a militant organization the Socialist party of Austria was, gave a further impetus to the revolution-ary elements within the socialist parties. The result has been that all over the world socialists have entered into discussion of socialist theories and tactics and a definite drift to the left is apparent. As against the fatalistic, religious acceptance of the dogma of infallibility by the communist priesthood and its followers the ferment in the socialist ranks is like a fresh breeze and has great revolutionary significance.

It must be said clearly that insofar as members of the socialist parties have shown that they can think independently of the leadership they are more important for the building of a new revolutionary party than the docile, unthinking followers of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

No Attraction in Comintern

That the Comintern has practically no attraction for the leftward-moving socialists speaks volumes for the present character of that organization. The fact that the left socialists, instead of going over to the Communist International, are attempting to reform the Socialist International shows conclusively that revolutionary currents in the labor movement do not and cannot flow in the direction of Moscow. The failure of the Third International to attract the socialist workers is both cause and effect of the German catastrophe.

The Socialist party of America like its brother parties the world over finds itself in the throes of a serious discussion. Left-wing groups are challenging its fundamental principles of bourgeois democracy and gradualness; some of the left-wingers are making a determined bid to obtain control of the organization. It is necessary for those of us who are interested in the formation of a new revolutionary party and a new international to study the tendencies of the various groupings, to differentiate between them and to enter into very close relationship with those left-wing elements most likely to come all the way over to our position and thus play an important role in the coming political readjustments in the labor movement.

Heterogeneous Elements

Nothing is more necessary than to understand clearly that the left wing in the Socialist party is composed of heterogeneous elements united only in their opposition to the old reactionary guard now in control. There is a world of difference between the "left wing" Norman Thomas, a really sincere individual who has faint academic doubts about bourgeois democracy and the fighting rank and file coal miners of southern Illinois who are in reality communists who were driven away from communism by the Communist party and are repelled by realistic persons to hate everything connected with the Com-

munist party. Thomas has a powerful influence in the Socialist party, especially over the petty-bourgeois liberal elements in it. Essentially a Christian pacifist, having less than a superficial acquaintance with revolutionary Marxism, his being counted a left-winger merely indicates the depths to which the old guard has fallen. He is a sincere reformer overflowing with a desire to help the downtrodden. His honesty leads him in some questions—as in the united front and in the struggle against the racketeering leadership of the American Federation of Labor—to take a position to the left of the official leadership of the Socialist party. All his writing, however, show conclusively that he could be correctly characterized as a "left-winger" only if he were in the revolutionary movement is concerned his very sincerity and ability constitute dangers because of the influence they give him over the rank and file socialists.

The Middle-West Group

The group that is making a real bid for the leadership of the Socialist party is the one now in control of Illinois and led by Maynard C. Krueger, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, and Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist party. Biemiller of Milwaukee is part of this group, known as a left-wing group and wanting everyone to recognize that it is left.

But it is difficult indeed to discover the platform upon which it lays claim to being left. It has taken great care to conceal its principles from everybody, even from itself. What is its program? Not a soul knows! At the state convention of the Socialist party not a single theoretical question was discussed. To all intents and purposes the delegates were not concerned with any of the problems agitating the minds of the membership.

The theory of Krueger and Senior seems to be that to struggle for the basis of theory, on the basis of a theoretical program with definite principles and tactics is inadvisable. They lead one to infer that what they want is first to obtain control of the organization and then to show their left color.

False to the very core! No principled left-winger would dare permit himself such an opportunistic course. Unless a group is composed of simple careerists, the first necessity is to formulate a program and the second, to make it public and try to win over members upon the basis of the program. A real left-wing group must attract to itself the more advanced elements in the party and must educate the backward elements.

A Typical Centrist Group

How can that be done without a clear-cut program? Where is the group going? What does it want to do? Krueger and his followers must answer these questions. Else the accusation that all they are interested in is the getting of power will have more than a semblance of justification.

Simply pointing to the fact that Krueger and Senior supported the minority resolutions at the International Socialist Conference held in August 1933 is not at all sufficient. Vaguely intimating that one is in favor of revolutionary principles and tactics is still less satisfactory. The whole attitude of the Illinois group is typically centrist. It stresses action and tends to ignore theory. And above all it is impatient with the demand for exactness in theory and for a struggle on the basis of theoretical formulations.

The Illinois group will probably point to articles by Biemiller and Kantorovitch in the American Socialist Quarterly dealing with the problem of socialism and democracy as proof of their interest in theory. Aside from the fact that what is necessary is a well-rounded program of a group and not isolated articles by individuals, the articles themselves leave much to be desired. One must admit that both Biemiller and Kantorovitch take a step forward—but a very hesitating one.

Reformist Theories

When Kantorovitch asserts that "the way to political power in democratic countries will, in all probability, be the way of an electoral victory, if fascism will not intervene and make an end to democracy" (American Socialist Quarterly, Autumn 1933) he is very close to pure reformism. The reformists also threaten to gain power in fascist countries by revolutionary means. It is one's attitude toward the use of revolutionary means to gain political power in bourgeois-democratic countries and not in fascist countries that distinguishes a reformist from a revolutionist.

And to say, as Kantorovitch does in the same article, that "the problem is not so much how to get power as how to hold it, how to use it" is almost putting the cart before the horse. One must presume that power must be gotten first before it can be used and to emphasize the latter in contradistinction to the

former might leave the working class in a position of never struggling to obtain power. Both problems are of tremendous importance and must be tackled diligently and solved without hems and haws.

Biemiller repeats almost the same idea in his article in the American Socialist Quarterly (Spring 1934) when he says "under such conditions... it is probable that socialists can be voted into control in those countries where bourgeois democracy exists". The use of force is limited only to the end of retaining control. We repeat: it is a step forward but it is by no means a revolutionary Marxist position.

Revolutionary Policy Committee
The only group that assumed the obligation of putting its ideas publicly before the membership of the Socialist party and gaining adherents for those ideas is the Revolutionary Policy Committee. Its appeal to the Socialist party membership is a serious though not quite adequate document. To the extent that everyone knows its principles, it is miles ahead of the Illinois left-wingers.

An effective critique of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee was made by Comrade Cannon in the Militant of May 5th and 12th, 1934. It may be pointed out that on the problem of the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class the minority resolution proposed by Ronald Deval (New Leader, National Convention Agenda, April 21, 1934) is more specific than the section dealing with the same problem in the Appeal of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. In its position on the Labor party, trade-union policy and the Soviet Union the influence of Lovestone is visible. But it is hardly likely that leftward moving socialists capable of independent thinking should get off on a track leading nowhere.

Struggle for Leadership

At the national convention of the Socialist party to be held in June in Detroit there will undoubtedly be a struggle against the present reactionary leadership. That struggle will in all probability not be led by the left-centrist elements represented by the Revolutionary Policy Committee but by the right-centrist elements represented by the Illinois leadership, helped by Norman Thomas and his followers. The general tendency of the working class elements and the youth is to the left. Consequently it is not at all unlikely that the Illinois group with its left-front will ride into power. The greater likelihood, however, is a compromise involving the present leadership, the Thomas following and the Illinois group.

The agenda for the convention gives promise of a highly interesting ideological struggle provided the sponsors of the revolutionary resolutions are represented. The agenda clearly mirrors the existence of the irreconcilable groupings in the Socialist party. How can a group announcing the fact that "the Socialist party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods" and a group insisting that "we must be prepared for violence if necessary" remain in the same party? How can a group clinging to bourgeois democracy remain in the same party with a group openly advocating the dictatorship of the proletariat? The answer is that the two groups cannot remain in the same party and in the same international if those who see the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat mean what they say and are ready to draw the inevitable conclusions.

Gist of the Question

And therein lies the whole gist of the matter. The revolutionary socialists must think things through to the very end. Even if they do not openly state it, they must ask themselves some very pertinent questions: What if the party does not accept our principles? (And we can assure them that it won't!) How long shall we remain and keep on trying to transform the party?

Many of the left-wingers point to the degeneration of the Independent Labor Party in England as a warning not to leave the parent organization. But that degeneration is not due to the fact that the I.L.P. left the Labor Party, but that after leaving, it did not resolutely take the road of building a new party and a new international.

No matter what happens at the convention the real socialist left-wingers who are inarticulate, the miners of southern Illinois, the revolutionary youth who are in the Socialist party by virtue of the stupidities of the Communist party will, and not in the very distant future, find their rightful place under the banner of International communism.

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

Manhattan Spartacus Youth Club

Educational Meetings

MAY 31—L. Bord: The Minneapolis Strike.

JUNE 7—Fascism in America

Thursday evenings at 8:15 P.M. at 126 E. 16th Street, N.Y.C.

The Minneapolis Battle

(Continued from page 1)

are in a panic before this avalanche of labor militancy. The spirit of the workers soars to the heights.

League Calls for General Strike
While many labor organizations in the city are actively supporting the strike, the Central Labor Union with a more conservative leadership has yet taken but little action. Pressure must be brought to bear upon them to get that body to call a general strike. This is the central slogan raised by the Communist League. The rank and file of the unions are ready for this action and it is possible that they may go out in a day or two. (Since the above was written 35,000 building trades workers have gone out—Ed.) Mass meetings all over the city have been arranged. The St. Paul drivers voted to go out but failed to do so at the last minute and agreed to arbitrate a point or two. However, they can not hope to gain a thing and will have to struggle in the end for what they want. The street-car-men made a similar decision. The labor movement seethes with indignation against the leaders responsible for these actions in the face of the situation created by the Drivers' strike.

Miserable Role of Stalinists
The Stalinists fumbled again, due to their wrong policies and outlook. In a leaflet issued to the union men, just as they were about to take a strike vote, they denounced the leadership of the union, especially C. Skoglund and Ed. Dunne as "traitors" and "agents of the bosses". The men knew full well that these and other leaders in the union have worked loyally to build the union to the fine fighting organization it is today. They tore up the leaflets in anger and declared that these "Communists" are in the pay of the bosses, for what their leaflet said was too far from the truth. Another example: "Have a rank and file leadership," said the official C. P. leaflet. This is advice to unionists who have a strike committee of seventy-five composed of only workers on trucks!

At this writing the tide of the struggle is rapidly rising. The crest of the wave has not yet been reached. The organization is solid. The strike was well prepared. The coal drivers strike a few months ago—a battle which electrified the city by its stormy militancy and firmly established the union—is seen now as the preliminary skirmish of the present battle. And behind that is the long period of patient systematic work which went into the pioneer work of building the union and inspiring it with the spirit of determined struggle. The trade union policy of the Communist League was our guide in everything we did and in all our activity in the thick of the fight today.

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Brownsville Lecture "THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY"

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN

SATURDAY, May 26, 8 P.M. at 1776 Pitkin Avenue, near Stone

Audience: Spartacus Youth Club and Communist League of America.

Admission 15c

Darrow Speaks For the Middle Class

The Darrow Review Board's findings on the NRA has resulted in a bitter fight on Capitol Hill between the spokesmen for the different sections of the exploiters. Although the Review Board was only appointed March 7th by Executive Order, it has already received its death sentence, to take place next month. The hundred-thousand word report is to be followed in a week, before the expiration of its short life, by another report which promises to reveal more of the NRA doings.

The National Recovery Review Board report says that the NRA is helping the trusts, that the NRA tends toward monopoly, that the little fellows under the codes are stifled. It sharply assails the codes reviewed; especially the steel code where the monopolistic practices are exposed.

The report reveals with facts and figures that the NRA is helping the large concerns and is systematically freezing out small business under all of the codes reviewed. To the readers of the Militant this is nothing new. From the very first day of the NRA we have clearly pointed out this phase of its functioning. What is important in the Darrow review is the fact that the antagonisms and conflicts inside the camp of the exploiters are sharpening. The report is one of its expressions. It will be used by a large section of the middle class.

Darrow Speaks for Middle Class

More significant than what is said in the Darrow report is what is left unsaid. The report gives a little attention to the problems of the working class. But it does not deal with the fundamental problems confronting the working class under the codes. This is not an accident. Darrow speaks for the middle class and not for the working class. The committee and those that back the committee, such as Borah and Nye, are fighting for the little business man and a large section of the middle class. In such a fight they come into conflict with the working class, even though they hope to involve large sections of the

Wolinsky-- Bosses' Agent

The Wolinsky administration called a meeting of the Pocketbook Makers on Monday, May 21st at the Stuyvesant High School. At this meeting the Joint Council gave a report of the demands to be presented to the employers. When the secretary read off the demands which consisted: 1. A 36 hour week, 2. A ten percent increase in wages, 3. The employers should be kind enough to increase employment 10%. These demands were worked out by the legal "advisor", the agent of the bosses, the faked Wolinsky.

When the notorious traitor, Wolinsky, was introduced to defend these demands the workers gave him a reception that he will not soon forget. In a demagogic speech Wolinsky spoke about Roosevelt's NRA, Frances Perkins, and what good things he is doing for the pocket-book makers to make a national agreement with the employers.

A heated discussion followed on the question of the 36-hour week. An amendment was made by David Meyer of the Socialists and one of the progressives that our demands should be a 35-hour week instead of 36. Diamond of the Rank and File Committee made a substitute motion for the 30-hour week. In the discussion Martin, Diamond, David Meyer, Block, Gallick spoke for the 30-hour week, and condemned Wolinsky as an agent of the bosses. Maltzer and Lubliner supported Wolinsky for the 36-hour week. It is interesting that the Wolinsky gang interrupted each speaker and tried to terrorize every one who spoke against Wolinsky's proposals.

The climax came when Wolinsky was again introduced to defend the 36-hour week. A tumult which lasted over an hour prevented Wolinsky from speaking, as yells of "traitor", "sell-out", "scoundrel" were heard over the hall. The audience was in an uproar, protesting against the Wolinsky proposals, and his sluggers were busy provoking fights all over the hall in order to cow and break the morale of the protesters. This meeting and the attitude of the workers present demonstrated clearly that Wolinsky's task of selling out the interests of the pocket-book makers would not go uncontested by the rank and file workers in the union. After the audience was quieted down, a vote was taken on the question of the 36-hour or 30-hour week. In spite of terrorism, the Wolinsky proposal for the 36-hour week received 444 votes, and the 30-hour proposal received 304 votes, giving the Wolinsky gang the majority of 124 votes.

The crying need of the pocket-book makers is a solid unity of all the progressive forces in a single block to fight the Wolinsky machine and its infamous policies.

—A POCKET-BOOK MAKER.

working class in their fight against big capital.

It is true that Darrow and Thompson, in a supplementary report, call for the socialization of industry as an alternative to the NRA. This does not represent a left position. It signifies a position in which left phrases cover the worst kind of social reformist and reactionary ideas. Johnson, in his reply, correctly pointed out that the Darrow position leads either to Communism or Fascism. And correctly so. We do not expect Darrow in his report to specify which road he desires after the NRA—Fascism or Communism. We only point out that these two roads are open. The sloppy middle class report of the Darrow committee which cannot find space for the working class in a hundred-thousand word criticism of the NRA in no sense throws a favorable light upon the committee. A committee's report which criticizes the NRA, which is against big business and for the "little fellow" and which, at the same time, speaks of socialization as an alternative but leaves out any reference to the problems of the working class—such a report can become a basis for the worst kind of a middle class movement to rally the workers "against the trusts".

Pressure on the Workers

How any one can write a hundred-thousand word document and criticism and say so little about the working class is a surprise to us. For every ounce of monopolistic pressure against the little fellow under the codes there is a ton of pressure against the working class. The fact that the Roosevelt New Deal was so capable of putting over its big business measures in the name of the workers calls all the more for an exposure of the clever methods used under the NRA to lower the standard of living of the American workers, and to hold it in check.

The expression of class antagonisms through the NRA has simplified the previously complicated problem of the relation of economics to politics and class interests. In the past the ruling class had the simple task of issuing every measure in the name of the "people". They still do this, but before the ink is dry on the new measures the "people" split up into struggling classes.

Who is the NRA For?

The NRA is detrimental to the working class. The NRA is also detrimental to the middle class, as Darrow points out. And, according to some of the big fellows of the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association, the Steel Association, etc., the NRA is also detrimental to them. If this is the case who is the NRA for?

Under the NRA the working class received crumbs in order to restrain them from taking more in strike struggles and organization. Also, the little fellow is being driven out of business through the operation of the codes. This much of the problem is not so difficult to understand. What confuses many is the fact that monopolists also criticize the NRA. Marx pointed out the significance of such phenomena in the last century. Here we have a striking confirmation of his analysis. The conflict within the national ruling class is sharpening. There is not only a conflict between imperialist nations. There is, likewise, a struggle between groups of imperialists within the nation. The Roosevelt group is in sharp conflict with the Hoover group. Besides this, other groups are struggling for sectional control of the country and of industries.

Finance Capital and the New Deal

The bitter attacks on the NRA have come from the groups of financial capitalists, who are not on the inside of the New Deal. They have more foresight for their own interests. This does not account for the whole of their criticism. Much of their criticism against the NRA has only been leveled at Section 7a. They know that the precedents established at the start will, to a large extent, govern the whole unless labor can demand a change. Therefore, they hammer away against labor. They want to give as few crumbs as possible and, at the same time, make a lot of noise to cover up the increase of profits rolling into them.

The Darrow report is speaking for a section of the middle class and small industrialists. The working class must use their criticism to further expose the NRA. But the workers must steer clear of Darrow, Nye and all of the other liberals and social reformers.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Anti-Nazi Demonstration in N.Y.

A militant, shouting column of workers and anti-Fascists, organized by the Communist League of America and the Young People's Socialist League, paraded for four hours through the White Way district of New York City Thursday night, giving a militant answer to the "Friends of New Germany" meeting called in Madison Square Garden to praise Hitlerism. Within the Garden were 20,000 Nazis and their sympathizers; outside 1,000 police of the "democratic" state guarded the doors and streets. But more than 1,200 New York workers answered the threat implied in that meeting by a fine demonstration of militancy.

A few days before the Nazi meeting the Stalinist press produced its latest orientation on Fascism. Having declared, on May 2, that Trotskyites are not an opposition to be argued with but "class enemies to be destroyed," the Stalinist Party now ordered its followers to discuss matters patiently with honest Fascist rank-and-filers in order to win them from their leaders. With this notion as a basis, the Stalinists made no counter-demonstration to Thursday's Nazi meeting. Instead it mobilized for a meeting at Cooper Union to listen to "Comrade" Goldstein, one of the "honest, rank-and-file" rabbi.

United Front in Action

Efforts made by the Communist League to arrange a formal united front counter-demonstration through the May Day arrangements committee fell through. The League therefore mobilized about 100 members and sympathizers, including Spartacus Youth Club members, at 8 o'clock on the evening of the Nazi rally. A block from the Garden they joined with a group of about 100 Yipsels. The steering committee of both groups merged, the united front of organizations thus being forged in action on the street.

At a signal from the joint steering committee, the groups formed a column, shouting "Down with Hitler!" "Down with Fascist Terror!" The effect was instantaneous: a few hundred of workers on the sidewalk joined the line. Thus began the four-hour march. The column wound up and down Broadway, west to the Garden and east again, looping back and forth. The streets were lined with sympathetic crowds including knots of Jewish Minute Men whose leaders had to restrain them from answering calls to join the demonstration. Before the evening was over the column had grown to more than 1,200.

Efforts to reach the sidewalk just outside the Garden failed. There

were enough cops on hand to block off all approaches.

The Stalinists were active in disorganization work. An hour or so after the march began a few of them drifted into the column. The steering committee, however, had made up its mind to go into Times Square for a meeting, and they managed to prevent the Stalinists from precipitating confusion and disruption.

Meeting in Times Square

The meeting in Times Square lasted about 40 minutes. Two Yipsels and one representative of the A.W.P. spoke, as well as Carl Cowl for the C.L.A. and Joseph Carter for the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The keywords of all the speakers were the same: denunciations of Fascism, condemnation of the Garden meeting and of the police attitude toward anti-Fascists, and promulgation of the idea of the united front of all workers' organizations against Fascism. Carter was loudly cheered when he voiced a protest against the persecution of German revolutionists and the deportation from Holland to Germany of the four German youth delegates at the Laren Conference.

After having failed to disrupt the demonstration a Y.C.L. leader, Larkin, asked for the floor at the meeting. The steering committee gave it to him. He began to yell at the top of his voice about the Communist Party of Germany "which fights bravely against Fascism and against all Social-Fascist misleaders of the workers". The crowd—which was now several thousand strong standing on a traffic island in the midst of Times Square—gave him about the loudest boo heard on the White Way in years. It was so sharp and loud that Larkin lost some of his impudence. The workers put him in his place very nicely.

The chairman, a Yipsel, wound up by calling for the International.

—HARRY STRANG.

Bronx Workers! Attention!

Special Lecture On THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of New Internationalist

FRIDAY, JUNE 1st, - 8 P.M.

AMBASSADOR HALL

3875 Third Avenue near Claremont Parkway

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION

Admission 15c

Audience: Bronx Branch Communist League of America, 1789 Boston Road, Room 5.



STRIKE WAVE SWEEPS COUNTRY

General Strike Looms in Toledo

The state authorities of Toledo are making plans to establish martial law as the 110 unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. prepare to walk out in sympathy with the Auto-Lite workers. 68 unions have already voted for the general strike, while the workers of the Toledo Edison Company and its subsidiaries, the Deane Light and Power Company and Lake Shore Power Company are scheduled to walk out as we go to press. Toledo has already recorded another page in the history of splendid labor battles.

The strike which started at the Electric Auto-Lite Company has cost the lives of two workers while over two hundred have been injured. The bosses and the state have used every means at their disposal to stem the growing militancy of the workers. But the latter have fought back tenaciously and unyieldingly. 31 workers have been arrested and are on trial for violating an injunction against picketing while others have been jailed on other pretexts. This has not however weakened their fighting spirit or solidarity. The repercussions of the Toledo strike is now being felt from coast-to-coast.

A wave of resentment against the deceptions of the Roosevelt-NRA administration is sweeping the country. It is receiving its inspiration from Minneapolis and Toledo. In San Francisco, San Diego and New Orleans striking longshoremen are waging a militant struggle against the brutal terror of the police. Two members of the Communist League were arrested by the police of San Francisco for distributing leaflets to the striking longshoremen. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers have decided upon a general strike for June 15th. The United Textile Workers of America threaten a general strike which will bring out 300,000 textile workers. These are but the first rumblings of the storm to come. The strikes are taking on more and more of a political character as the workers come in head-on collision with the forces of the state.

Background of the Struggle

The events leading up to the Toledo strike are as follows: In June 1931, the Security-Homes Trust Company, which held the bulk of the workers' savings, closed its doors. The workers were left penniless. Some of the executives of the bank were the very industrialists who used the workers' money to expand the auto-parts industry. At the same time, three other important banks also closed their doors, after deceptively declaring that a 90 day notice must precede withdrawal of funds. The workers and small business men were stuck to the tune of 150 million dollars.

Significantly enough, these banks were controlled by the interests which directed the destinies of the auto-parts industry in Toledo. Moreover, C. O. Miniger, president of the Auto-Lite Company, was a prominent member of the directorates of these four closed banks. In this strategic position he was able to salvage enough funds from the wreckage to keep his plants going. As usual, the workers were left holding the bag, which Miniger had emptied.

This precipitated the gravest economic crisis in the history of Toledo. Out of a population of 400,000, at least 100,000 workers had to be fed and clothed from relief funds. In 1932, the jobless and moneyless workers had to stand in line like beggars asking for a handout. Miniger had stolen their money. The bank crash had closed most of the factories, leaving them jobless.

Riots broke out among the unemployed because of the inadequacy and inferior quality of the food. The workers were getting restive under the whip of hunger. They were losing all hope.

Tricked by Labor Board

A brief strike in February was ended by a truce agreement with the Regional Labor Board. This provided that both sides should negotiate the demands of the union, which included a twenty percent wage increase, a closed shop, better working conditions, recognition of the union, seniority rights, and no discrimination against union employees. The Regional Labor Board succeeded in sending the workers back to their jobs pending a settle-

ment. Consequently the workers found themselves tricked because nothing came of the negotiations.

About five weeks ago the issue again came to a head. The workers, organized into the Automotive Federal Union, declared a second strike. Again the workers insisted that the bosses accede to their demands. The company refused. Instead it continued operations with strike-breakers. The aroused workers went into action. They stormed the factory.

One striker, looking up at the broken windows of the plant, remarked: "They wanted an open shop—well, now they have it." Then the National Guard was called in.

When the union organizer, Thomas J. Ramsey, attempted to restrain the workers, he was shoved aside. "To hell with the soldiers. Let's drive them out of town." Otto Brach, secretary of the Central Labor Union, bewailed the fact that he "could not do anything to control the boys now."

No Delay on the General Strike!

The bosses answered the demands of the workers with tear and vomit gas. National Guardsmen, private detectives, thugs, special guards, police, and the most brutal reign of terror. And Governor White who was on a fishing trip stated that he would use the "entire force of the state . . . to insure life and property". At the same time the Auto-Lite company, which pays its workers even below the miserable NRA scale, announced that it will distribute its regular dividend of \$71,000 to preferred stock holders.

The immediate need of the moment is to intensify and develop the struggle. The strike-breaking role of the Labor Board and its multimillionaire agent Charles P. Taft, the son of the late president, must be exposed. No illusion must be

harbored as to the role of "mediators" and "arbitrators". The splendid example of the role the women played in the Minneapolis strike must be utilized. The delay in calling sympathetic strikes plays into the hands of the bosses. The militants should press for immediate action from the Central Labor Council so that every labor union in the city of Toledo takes its stand with their striking brothers. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy must not be

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The American Workers Party and the Fourth International

Special Lecture By
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor "The New Internationalist"

IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th St. and Irving Place
SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 8 P.M.
QUESTIONS : DISCUSSION
Admission 15c
Auspices: N. Y. Local,
Communist League of America

Union Recognition Gained By Militant Minneapolis Battles

Victory is an Inspiration to Workers Everywhere

By JAMES P. CANNON

Minneapolis, May 29. The Drivers' strike conducted by General Drivers Union, No. 574 was settled on the basis of recognition of the union, unconditional reinstatement of all strikers and agreement to arbitrate the demands for wages

and hours. Employers had previously granted substantial wage increases in the attempt to head off the strike and avoid recognizing and dealing with the union. The union is now presenting demands for further increases. Out of the six thousand men involved in the strike, only a few isolated cases of attempted discrimination had been reported to the union since the settlement of the strike three days ago. The majority of these men have already been reinstated on demand of the union.

Last night's general membership meeting was a rousing affair. Thousands of newly organized workers, the majority of whom never belonged to a union before, crowded the big strike headquarters to hear reports on the execution of the settlement and further plans to strengthen and consolidate the union. The speeches of union leaders, Brown, Skoglund, and Dunne, reflected the spirit of the crowd and every appeal for continued militancy and vigilance was cheered to the echo.

The spirit of victory and achievement was in the air, although no attempt had been made by the leadership to exaggerate the gains of the first battle. Recognition of the union, which, in the language of the Minneapolis striker, means "protection" of his job, is regarded as a great achievement for a new union. The workers are determined to hold on to this achievement. And it is quite clear that the

bosses, after the experiences of the 10-day battle, are not anxious for another fight soon. This has been shown particularly by the readiness of the individual bosses to meet with the union officials and adjust any claims of discrimination in rehiring the strikers. It is further shown in the absence up to date of any threat of persecution of the union leaders for the casualties that resulted from the strike battles. A stern warning that any such attempt will bring the workers into action again was sounded at last night's meeting and brought a roar of approval from the workers.

The militancy of the drivers' strike is known to the world. The efficiency of its organization and the quality of its leadership—which released this mighty wave of rank and file militancy with such telling effect—is also acknowledged on all sides in Minneapolis.

The prestige of General Drivers Union, No. 574, and the group of militants at its head, is on the heights. There is little doubt that they will be a force for still greater accomplishments in wider circles of the labor movement. The strike brought a shower of telegrams from workers' organizations and numerous invitations to the men at the head of "574" to come to other localities to lead organizing campaigns.

How the Strike Was Organized

Minneapolis, May 28.—The courage and determination so effectively displayed by the striking Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has proven conclusively that the American working class is very well equipped to fight their exploiters. It only remains for a proper leadership to come to the front in the entire labor movement and guide these dynamic forces to victory.

The striking truck drivers and helpers were suffering from economic adversity but their condition was no different from that of other workers in the United States. These men were simply a representative cross-section of the American working class. The abilities which they brought into play are lying dormant in every group of American workers.

Every effort was made by the leaders to give these natural abilities an opportunity to come to the surface. No stone was left unturned in the attempt to do this. Something more than numbers is required on the picket line. The men must feel that their efforts are well spent, that they are a part of a smoothly functioning machine, that they can successfully hold every position they win. To stimulate and justify this confidence the leaders must perfect a thorough organization and all preparations must be carefully checked to the most minute detail. That was done in Minneapolis.

The Details of Organization

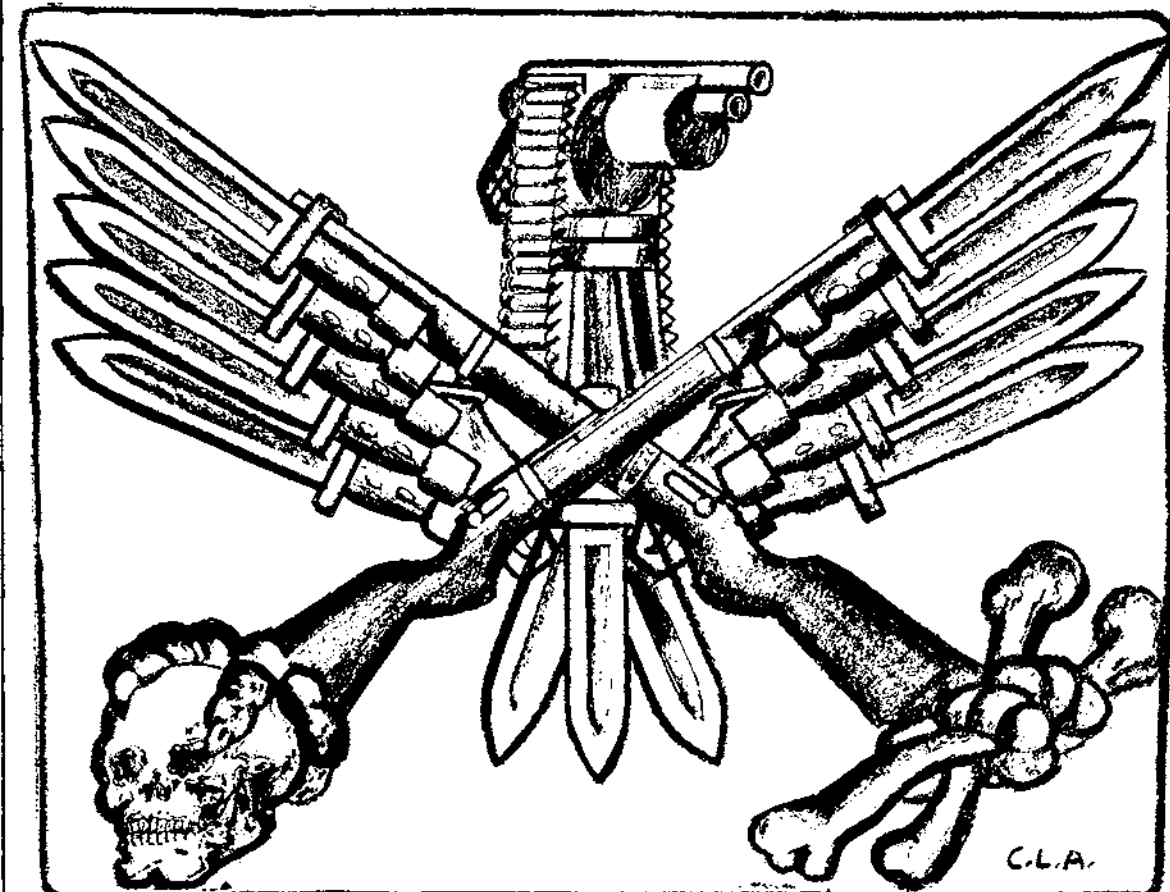
A large garage about 400 feet wide and a block long was selected to serve as the headquarters for the Minneapolis strike. A large sign was painted across the front of the building announcing that this was the strike headquarters. Supplementary field headquarters were set up at points where it would prove necessary to concentrate a sizeable force for mass picketing. At the main headquarters a stage was erected and a loud-speaker system installed to be used in dispatching of pickets and in addressing meetings.

A commissary department requiring a personnel of 35 was set up and maintained throughout the strike. A special service and repair department was provided and a crew of 12 mechanics well equipped with tools, were busily engaged in keeping the cars and trucks of the pickets in good running order. Special arrangements were made to secure gasoline and to obtain the repair service.

A first-aid station was established at the headquarters through the

—A STRIKER.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE BLUE EAGLE

Longshoremen's Strike Ties Up Pacific Coast Ports

Maritime commerce on the Pacific Coast is almost entirely paralyzed by the longshoremen's strike. It began with 12,000 men out and has since swelled to 25,000 with several other unions having joined the walk-out.

A splendid testimony to the solidarity of the strike and the support it receives from other workers was given by the longshoremen's parade on Sunday, May 12th, in San Francisco. Five thousand strikers marched up Market Street and not less than 12,000 took part in the demonstration in the Civil Center. League militants have taken their place on the firing line in the San Francisco Bay District. A couple of them hold the most responsible strike posts, while the whole membership gives its sympathetic support.

All along the ports on the coast the employers are making special preparations to attempt to suppress the strike by force. The Oakland chief of police, Bodie Wallman has issued orders to all subordinates that the docks are to be kept clear of strikers and that any demonstrations are to be met with force sufficient to quell it promptly. For this purpose he has sworn in numerous special police. They are given instructions on how to suppress strikes. Special supplies of tear

gas bombs have been obtained. In Seattle Mayor John F. Dore has given orders to his police department to take full charge of the docks in an effort to save the perishable cargoes which are rotting in ships' holds. In the Los Angeles area 500 uniformed policemen, radars to officers and detectives are patrolling the waterfront daily with instructions to protect property. That means, of course, to prevent mass picketing and suppress all other strike activities. Several efforts have been made along the coast by the employers, through their mediation board, to take over the regular union hiring halls.

Two members of the League, Eloise Booth and Florence Wyle, were arrested last week for leaflet distribution when the San Francisco police, attempted to crush the longshoremen's picket line. Under police protection the Pacific Steamship Company tried to employ scabs on pier 18. Tear gas, bombs, pistols and sawed-off shot guns were brought into play. The several thousand strikers defended their right to a union and fought back in splendid fashion. They suffered several casualties; but four policemen also had to receive hospital treatment. The militancy amongst the workers remain unabated as the strike enters its third week.

The "Red" Issue Enters the Strike

The coast wise strike of the International Longshoremen's Association (I.L.A.) here is well along its third week with the workers holding the line firmly at every point except San Pedro and San Diego where the strike is only partially successful.

The Associated Press reports indicate that there are 60 ships tied up in San Francisco, in San Pedro 25 ships are tied up and in Portland 26. All ships in Seattle and Tacoma are tied up.

On May 21st, Mr. J. S. Mailiard, the president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, issued a red baiting statement in an effort to win the support of the workers away from the strike. This effort on the part of the Chamber of Commerce to drag a red herring

across the trail of the strike was very effectively answered when the Masters, mates and pilots, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Marine Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Firemen and Water-tenders together with several other unions made good their strike vote by walking off the ships and issuing a joint statement that they supported and approved of the strike and would cooperate with the Longshoremen and teamsters already out.

General Strike the Answer if Troops Are Called Out

In the state of Washington the mayors of several jerkwater interior towns demanded that the Governor call out the militia. The unions in Tacoma and Seattle reiterated their former position taken

(Continued on Page 2)

Communist League Makes New Gains On Pacific Coast

Comrades Caesar Booth, Eloise Booth, Victor and Eugene Peterson, fresh from their struggle against the bureaucracy of the Stalinist party, continue their splendid struggle by having become members of the San Francisco branch of the Communist League. Expelled from the party on the routine Stalinist trumped-up charges, these revolutionary workers did not cease in their activity as fighters in the class struggle. The most amusing phase of the shameful expulsion of these comrades was the charge of white chauvinism. But the actual fact that three of the most active Negro comrades were expelled together with them, mainly because the latter stubbornly opposed such a frame-up as well as being firm in their opposition to the local bureaucracy, has been concealed.

With the joining of these comrades who have demonstrated their value to the revolutionary movement by their work, and are known to many other members of the Communist Party, the San Francisco unit is well on the way to becoming a serious factor in mass work.

District No. 13, cracked up to be the strongest section of the Stalinist party in America, is in a process of disintegration. Reports are prevalent that the Sacramento and Stockton units are violently shaken by this new wave of expulsions and from all indications more is to follow. The position of the Communist League is becoming more clear as it does so to the party membership the inexorable axe claims a few more heads.

Under the banner of the League these new members remain at their posts in the class struggle. They carry on with renewed inspiration, ready to meet all sacrifices this may entail. Comrade Eloise Booth has already received her baptism under the new banner as she was arrested together with Florence Wyle distributing League leaflets to the striking longshoremen.

IF THE NUMBER ON YOUR WRAPPER IS 226 OR SMALLER, YOUR MILITANT SUB HAS EXPIRED AND SHOULD BE RENEWED WITHOUT DELAY.

At the Minneapolis City Market "The Battle of Deputy Run"

From the inception of the organization work in connection with the General Drivers strike, it was correctly estimated that our strategic position was the so-called central market place. This takes in an area of approximately six square blocks. It is bounded on the one whole side by the railroad tracks, which are the team tracks where practically all of the market produce is unloaded.

In concentrating on the market, we were guided by the fact that the food situation, especially at this time of the year, was the real point to attack. At the start of the strike this strategy was not so apparent. But on the second and third days, it became plainly visible that the perishable food supply was running low and that the market bosses were going to attempt some drastic action to move their perishable foods.

Through our connections in the market houses it was learned that on Saturday morning there was to be a concerted effort to make deliveries. The strike committee held a conference and it was decided that we would relieve some of our forces from positions where there was not so much activity and hold them in reserve. It developed that although we had a little skirmish on that day that a serious threat was not made for any wholesale delivery.

The Battle of "Deputies Run"

The market situation was watched closely and, after waiting for Sunday and Monday to pass, we learned through unquestionable sources, that the big offensive was to be made Tuesday about eleven o'clock. This information was received about midnight Monday. Immediate action became compulsory. "Concentrate the Pickets," was the slogan. "Cruising squads" of pickets were dispatched, motorcycle riders roared out, street car motormen and conductors on the owl cars carried the word to our pickets at outlying points, telephones and other messengers were utilized for the mobilization of every available picket.

Soon the outlying positions were deserted except for a skeleton picket line. The pickets came pouring in to strike headquarters, thousands of the tired but eager fighters, an-

xious to defend their rights with their lives if necessary. Tons of food had been prepared and was waiting for these fighters; but it seemed that it was hardly touched, so anxious were these workers for the job to be done.

No raised voices; no milling; quietly questioning each other: "Where do we go? When do we start?" The word goes from the dispatcher to the microphone announcer in the big strike headquarters: "Start moving!" Then trucks lined up. Noiselessly they were pushed into place. Next order: "Fill the trucks!" Like one man these eager fighters filled the trucks to capacity.

In code the drivers only were given the destination. "Move out!" Motors roared and in an instant three hundred pickets were on their way to a destination, unknown then, that was to make new history for the American workers.

Adjacent to the market and on one of the border streets, Labor Headquarters is located. Into this hall holding about two thousand men our pickets were concentrated. A skeleton patrol was sent to patrol the market streets and to report any move to start delivery. Word quickly comes back: hundreds of special deputies, special police and harness bulls armed with clubs and guns, squad cars of police with sawed off shot guns and vomiting gas. Quietly the pickets patrolled the streets, curiosity seekers hurrying at the hired strikebreakers.

A truck starts to move, our pickets jump to the running boards and demand that the scab driver stop. A hired slugger raises his club and slashes at a picket. Down the picket drops as if dead. The fight is on. Phone rings at the concentration hall: "Send the reserves!" Orderly, but almost as if by magic, the hall is emptied. The pickets are deployed by their leaders to surround the police and sluggers. The police raise their riot guns but the workers ignore and rush through them. "Chase out the hired sluggers," is their battle cry. The downward sluggers take to their heels and run. The police and strikers use their clubs freely. Many casualties on both sides. The workers have captured the market!

—A STRIKER.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

A Professor Speaks

Dr. Luther Harr, Professor of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, unloads the following: "Business can not pay higher wages because they can not dispose of goods at a profit. On the other hand the laboring population can not understand why they should go hungry when there is too much to eat. Therefore both should get together in order to get purchasing power into the hands of the consumer."

The House of Zion has a saner view. They claim that: "Prosperity will not return until the Prince of Heaven rides out from a cloud on a white horse." The old time boys who tried to lift themselves by the boot straps should be around today. They'd qualify for the "Brain Trust".

Democracy and the T.U.U.L.

When William Quesse, organizer and head of the Chicago Flat Janitors Union, died he left a will in which the union leadership was assigned to Alderman Oscar Nelson on condition that he give up politics. The rank and file had no say in the matter but at least they did know how the successor was chosen and who chose him. In the T.U.U.L., Novelty Workers Local the situation is different. Officials take charge of meetings, delegates are sent to various conferences, etc. but who elects them or when, is a secret that the rank-and-file are not allowed in on. Stalinist bureaucrats of the T.U.U.L. out-distance the late "Big Tim" Murphy of the Chicago Gas Workers in their contempt for the union membership.

The "Higher Strategy" of Stalin

"Strong governments" has always been the cry of reactionaries. To find the Ambassador of the Soviet Union echoing that cry is indeed amazing. Speaking at the American-Russian Society for Cultural Relations, Trotskyansky stated: "It is not Manchukuo but China that is troublesome and what will settle it I do not know. A stronger central government of China, of course, but what else, I do not know." The Soviet Consul in New York, explaining why he settled in Ruth B. Pratt's palatial home said: "Had we taken headquarters in the workers' section, the statement would be made 'that's just what was expected from the U.S.S.R.'." So Stalin fools them. The capitalists expected the German Communist Party to fight, they capitulated. They expected Trotskyansky to support Soviet China, he speaks for a stronger Chiang Kai Chek. They expected Litvinov to denounce capitalist disarmament conferences as a cover for war preparations, instead he supports them. Roosevelt is hailed as a friend of peace, Stalin re-echoes the cry.

Police Brutality

The police whose batting average against gangsters approaches zero are very efficient when it comes to beating up unemployed men and women. Their brutal attack on Mrs. Rose Leach last week caused even hardened press reporters to protest. We haven't heard of the Grand Jury, which became so indignant about the lack of police clubs in the taxi strike, taking any action on the several recent examples of police brutality, nor do we expect that they will. Grand Jurors like the Chairman of Utilities Commission have a keen sense for property rights and keen ears for jingle of the thirty pieces of silver.

Strikers vs. "Labor Leaders"

The belly-aching attitude of the leaders of labor like Green, Hillman and Lewis, etc. in support of the Roosevelt Administration is in glaring contrast to the courage and readiness to struggle of the workers of America as shown in Toledo and Minneapolis. The leaders support the Wagner Bill which legalizes the open shop. The Toledo strikers battling scabs and the unformed strike-breakers of the National Guard, stand before the Automobile factory with its windows shattered to bits and shout "You wanted the open shop, well, you've got it now." What have they in common with the paunchy, Baptist betrayer of Labor, Bill Green?

Roosevelt, the Friend of Labor

All labor and social legislation introduced into the present session of Congress ranks with the "Forgotten Man", as the following report from the Post would indicate. "It has become apparent that House and Senate leaders, with the backing of the White House, have decided to put over until the next session all labor and social legislation which is not considered immediately necessary. The thirty-hour week, unemployed insurance and old age pensions, all embodied in pending bills are to be delayed. . . . The Wagner bill owes its revived chances solely to the Toledo riots."

—BILL.

Longshoremen Strike All Pacific Ports

(Continued from page 1)

When Mayor Dore of Seattle asked for the troops before, that if the troops were ordered out then all organized labor would call a general strike in all industries.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady who still smells of his betrayal of the Detroit auto workers, joined the Chamber of Commerce in its effort to drag a red herring into the issue. He has been sent out here in an effort to arbitrate the strike or as he quaintly puts it, conciliation having failed we must now try arbitration.

The I. L. A. members have had their belly full of arbitration already and are determined that their officers shall not sell them out. They refuse to permit these officers to make any settlement until the membership has had a chance to pass upon the agreement.

Bosses Want Job Control for Company Union

The Union's demands are the 30-hour week, \$1 an hour and JOB CONTROL. The ship owners have indicated a willingness to concede the first two but they demand that the company union composed of strikebreakers, steamship officials, scabs, stool pigeons and similar rats shall have at least fifty percent of the job control. When job control was divided between the two organizations by conciliation a few weeks ago the I. L. A. members found themselves discriminated against on every job both as individuals and as an organization. If the I.L.A. had not had one hundred percent of the longshoremen with them so that the ship owners could not get workers through their company union the I.L.A. would have been driven out of existence. For this reason the I.L.A. refuses to compromise the issue of job control. For the same reason the ship owners refuse to budge an inch on the same question.

In addition to endeavoring to drag the red issue into the situation the ship owners are making threats to declare a month's shipping holiday and not move an ounce of freight in this time. They are also offering bribes to various unions. For example, when the Southern Pacific ferry workers started a strike vote the owners immediately restored one half of the five percent cut which all railroad workers received about a year ago. These workers while not railroad workers work on boats owned and operated by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Thousands of strikers and sympathizers marched in the funeral procession of Parker who was murdered by the San Pedro police when 21 other workers were shot down while picketing the docks in San Pedro.

—FRED CRIQUE.

THE STRIKE IN THE BAY DISTRICT

With the shooting of three strikers, with mobilization of more police on the already massed police lines on the waterfront, and with the opening up of a vicious "Red-scare" campaign, the strike of 3,000 longshoremen in the San Francisco Bay District swings into the third week of militant struggle. It is reminiscent of the splendid fight of the 1919 strike, one long remembered by scabs and bosses.

Previous to 1919, the International Longshoremen's Association represented the men on the waterfront. During the strike of 1919, acting under orders from the steamship employers, a small group of foremen formed what was known as the "Harmony Club". Out of this club grew the union that has been supposedly representing the men for the past fourteen years, known as the "Blue Book" union.

When it was first organized, this Blue Book union stated that no man could work on the waterfront without sanction first being given by one of these bosses. Also at that time many bona fide longshoremen were eliminated from the waterfront for their activities in the I.L.A. and many of these men have never since been allowed to work on the waterfront. From its inception, the rules of the Blue Book have made unbearable the conditions of the workers. No system of hiring or dispatching of working crews was had. The men would come down to the waterfront at 8 A.M. and wait many hours and days before they could find out whether or not there would be work for them. And at that, when there was work, it was given to a select few who would work sometimes 36 hours steady and the rest of the men would have to be content with from 2 to 18 hours a week work. Under the Blue Book company union system, the work was speeded up to such an extent, that cargo that would take 40 hours to discharge normally was done in half that time. Grievances of the workers brought to the Blue Book union were immediately turned over to the Steamship operators and these men freed. Such discrimination was a common practice.

In the fall of 1933, when the wave of union organization spread over the entire country, the activation of a small group of progressive workers brought about the 100% organization of the longshoremen in the International Longshoremen's Association.

In April, 1934, the longshoremen were ready for a strike, but upon the direct request of Roosevelt, the I.L.A. submitted its demands to a mediation board and negotiations were opened between the longshoremen and the steamship operators—but at all times the steamship operators refused to concede to any of the demands of the longshoremen. The members of the International Longshoremen's Association learned from this lesson. Not around tables and in committee meetings will the workers win their demands. Only through a militant fight will they be able to force the bosses to recognize their union.

—F. WYLE.

National Tour Finds League Advancing

For the first time since its formation, the Communist League has been able to organize a successful national tour which actually took a representative of the National Committee from one end of the country to another. Canada included. Up until now, the farthest west we had ever penetrated was Minneapolis and Kansas City. Connections with Communist militants had indeed been established on the West Coast before, but in most of the western localities no public meeting of our organization had yet been held. Now, as a result of the systematic pioneer work that has been effected, together with the tightening up of the organization which the speaking tour of comrade Shachtman helped to produce, it is established that outside of the official Communist and Socialist parties, the Communist League of America is the only one of the radical groups which can lay claim to a truly national organization, to a very solid framework of one at a very least. Our movement is no longer confined to the eastern and central part of the United States.

In virtually every city that was visited, the estimates of the local comrades were that this time the public meetings were the largest ever held by the League. In some places the mass meetings were anywhere from two to three to four times as large as those organized several years ago during the first national tour organized for Shachtman. This feature of the tour not only bespeaks the growing organizational strength and influence of the League, but especially the keen interest of increasing numbers of workers in the slogan raised by us for a new Communist party and a new International, the problem which was dealt with most prominently at practically every one of the meetings.

League Views Receive Serious Attention

Another striking feature of the tour was the obvious fact that among the class conscious militants at least the views of the Communist League are regarded with the utmost attention and growing sympathy. In contrast with our first tour meetings, where the audience was for the most part composed of curiosity seekers who wondered what the "Trotskyists" have to say about themselves. The interest of the audiences, their highly representative quality, the questions asked and the discussion which followed, revealed this time that the ideas of the League have taken deep root wherever we have been able to penetrate with our organization and literature.

The Chicago mass meeting was typical in this respect. Where some years ago we spoke only to a narrow circle of our own sympathizers, this time there were over 250 workers present, with representatives of virtually every trend and current in the radical movement. One after another they took the floor to speak for their respective standpoints as against that of the League. The national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, the S.L.P., the United Workers Party and its broken-off minority, the I.W.W., the Proletarian Party, the anarchists—all of them sought to counter the offensive of the League at the best meeting we ever held in Chicago. (This time, by the way, the Stalinist hoodlums did not make the efforts to break up the meeting that they tried at Comrade Swaback's meetings a few months previously. The burnt child fears no hooliganism; he is too well prepared for that!)

S. P. Members Attend Meetings

Another significant feature of the meetings was the almost universal contacts we have established with militant revolutionists in the

Picnic June 24th

The New York Local of the Communist League of America arranged for a picnic to greet the appearance of the New International, our theoretical organ. This picnic will take place at Zedler's Grove, a beautifully situated place amidst the finest woodland on the western side of the Bronx River between Mount Vernon and Bronxville, with a dominating view of the beautiful Bronx Valley. We are making every effort to make this the largest and most entertaining affair the League has ever held. This will include a program of entertainment, dancing in an open-air pavilion, as well as out-door sports, and competing baseball games.

Directions for reaching the picnic grounds are very simple. Take the White Plains Road 241st St., Lexington Ave. Subway or Elevated to the last stop, where Zedler's Grove buses will take you to the picnic grounds. The admission to this picnic will be 25c, no extra charge for dancing or other amusements. Tickets are available at our city office and headquarters of the various branches.

On the Political Scene In Mexico

THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The presidential elections in Mexico are rapidly approaching. Five candidates are in the field representing five different classes or sections of a class.

Representing the feudal clerical reaction, far to the right is Valenzuela, candidate of the anti-revolutionists. These sigh for the glories of the days of Porfirio Diaz, and are deadly enemies of the few rights gained by the workers and peasants during the revolution.

The capitalist elements who are on the outs with the Party in power are represented by Villareal, candidate of the Confederation of Opposition Parties.

Faithful servants to Yankee imperialism and the big native capitalists, and under the guidance of one of the wealthiest men in Mexico, Calles, the Partido Nacional Revolucionario has for its candidate

Lazaro Cardenas. This party has resorted to an intensified campaign of demagoguery in an attempt to win favor among the proletariat and peasantry. They have inaugurated a minimum salary of 1 and 1.50 pesos a day, (but try and get it). They have established as a platform a six-year plan which attempts to promise the workers some gain—in the future, of course—at the same time not alarming the imperialists. Amid a blare of trumpets, many headlines and much speech-making they have proceeded to give a few hectares of land to some of the landless peasants, carefully not touching the large estates.

The P. N. R. is undoubtedly the party now favored by Wall Street as best fitted to insure the necessary super-profits and making possible an ever-greater field of investment for unemployed capital. Both the anti-revolutionists and the opposition to the P.N.R. grovel in the dust, proclaiming themselves to be much more efficient servants of Yankee imperialism than the P.N.R.

The petty-bourgeoisie, repulsed by Callismo, has adopted a pseudo-socialism, centered around the Left Socialist Party with its candidate, Tejeda. Thousands of workers have been swung into this current.

Meanwhile, the majority of workers follow the line of the non-political leaders of the unions, Lombardo Toledano and Peraz Medina. Thanks to the work of these leaders the workers have virtually deserted the field of politics, showing such apathy that it is only by dint of much fireworks, and much "palique" that meetings held in workers' neighborhoods are partially filled. And the toilers of the land, lacking a real party of the proletariat, with whom to form a fighting alliance, are choosing between Tejeda and Cardenas.

The Bloc of Workers and Peasants, Stalinist-directed, has for its candidate Laborer. The Bloc is more than a mere maneuver to evade the capitalist repression and the fact that the C. P. is illegal. It is in essence an opportunist sectarian farmer-labor party, a two class party.

The Communist Internationalists of Mexico have decided to support the Bloc as the closest approach to a Party with a working class line. The time will come very shortly when the Internationalists will be able to enter the electoral campaign against all the parties of the bourgeoisie, and the fake parties of the workers.

MAY DAY IN MEXICO CITY

The Communist Internationalists the day after May Day were a very much more serious factor in Mexican life than they were before. Thanks to its own activity, and thanks to the rapid fear of the bourgeoisie which gave a large amount of publicity to the Fourth International, the Liga is now a group known to a large number of workers and listened to with a growing confidence by them.

For the First of May our small group published 5,000 manifestoes entitled "For the Fourth International". When in the midst of this work, that greatly taxed the resources of our group, the issue of the Trotsky expulsion from France came up. A special manifesto on this was also gotten out in 5,000 copies.

Four days before the first of May three of our comrades were arrested for distributing the Trotsky leaflet. This hurt the work of the group also, but the comrades left pitched in and by increased activity made good the absence of the others.

According to the fear-fueled imagination of the bourgeois press, the 75,000 or more workers in the march were continually shouting "Long Live the Fourth International" and "Long Live Trotsky". Of course they exaggerate a great deal. But the kernel of truth does remain that to an increasing number of workers the Fourth International is becoming a hope and a promise for successful struggle. To such a degree is this true, that the capitalist press has called for a stern repression of our group.

The May First demonstrations were of a decidedly anti-fascist character. When all the German imperialist firms insolently displayed the Swastika on May First, these banners were hoisted and whistled at by the marching workers. In one case, a group of them climbed up and tore a banner from the pole and threw it to the workers below who ripped it into shreds. This act was carried out in a few minutes before the police could interfere.

While the capitalist press was filled with apologies to the hurt feelings of the German fascists, the class-conscious workers take great pride in this episode of self-initiative.

MARCH OF EVENTS

"Stop Fooling with Labor!"

The first period of the NRA has definitely ended. The assistance tendered to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to help them gain control of the newly organized masses of workers so as to prevent the growth of unions under militant leadership, has been withdrawn under the pressure of big business in the mass production industries. With the revival of business, aided by enormous subsidies, finance capital takes new courage and demands complete "freedom" to amass greater profits. It is in no mood to brook the resistance of labor to the extension of capitalist gains at the expense of the workers' living standards. "Stop fooling with labor", says Girdler, head of the Republic Steel Co. Away with all this nonsensical pretence of the NRA! Girdler would rather shut down the factories than treat with "professional" unionists. Irvin, President of U. S. Steel, declares for the open shop and company unionism. He is echoed by Grace, head of Bethlehem Steel. Sloan, chief of General Motors, lays down an ultimatum for the open shop and rallies the entire boss class against any half-way measures in the most aggressive speech of all; "We should more effectively and courageously stand and, if necessary, fight for those things which are just and equitable (the open shop, against unionism, for company unions, against collective bargaining, against government 'regimentation' and control, for profits) . . ."

Finance Capital to the Attack

Big business thus starts a carefully planned and concerted drive against the working class and its independent trade unions. The pretences of increasing wages and raising living standards become too transparent to be of any further service to the ruling class and the struggle begins to take on a more and more open character. To compete in foreign markets against Japanese competition the American capitalists strive desperately to lower costs of production—by lowering wages. To carry out the program of imperialism the bosses must prevent any vast influx into the trade unions and a brake must be set on the workers' movement towards organization. Ford, Working Class Bureau No. 1, leads the way. Through his spy system he picks out the unionists and concentrates them in a single machine shop. Recently when about two hundred union members came to work with union badges openly displayed, nothing was done at the time, but gradually all were transferred in small groups to the "union" machine shop. Then this shop was shut down and all these workers laid off. No discrimination there! Simply an economy!

"Who Is Bigger?"

Distressed by the openness of the attack on the workers and the callous flouting of bourgeois law by the bourgeoisie, the demagogic New York Post asks editorially, "Who is bigger—U.S.A. or U.S. Steel?" Every day makes clear that Roosevelt and Johnson have been given their new line of march by their masters and they obey orders! The NRA labor section is being dismantled as rapidly as possible. The sham of "collective bargaining" has been exposed by the government's legalizing of the company union and the open shop and its denial of the right of a majority of the workers to represent all the workers in negotiations (an interesting contradiction of bourgeois democracy which reveals the real nature of that democracy). The working class has had enough experience with the Regional and National Labor Boards to understand their function of betrayal. The personnel is sufficient in itself to dispel any illusions concerning these fake "impartial" boards. What Detroit worker would appeal to H. H. Rice, former president of Cadillac and vice-president of General Motors, now head of the Detroit Regional Labor Board? No, there can be no illusion in the mind of workers as to the nature of the government in relation to the working class. The government is carrying out the will of the ruling class. Events are rapidly posing a far different question: who is bigger—the capitalist class or the working class?

The Road to Fascism

The Minneapolis and Toledo strikes are the clearest signs that the workers have learned that they must rely on their own strength and organization to defend their livelihood from the attacks of the bosses. But these militant strikes will infuriate the predatory finance capitalists and will drive them to sterner measures. It is in this struggle that the capitalists will decide whether or not to take the road to fascism.

—JACK WEBER.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Positions of Conflicting Groups In the Socialist Party

It will be observed that the world Congress of the Labor and Socialist International, which came into being, not as a result of the desires of the Bureau, but through pressure of the defeat in Germany, did not serve to check the agitation within the ranks of the L.S.I. The Congress acted as a spur to the internal discussions taking place everywhere. Having briefly discussed the Congress and demonstrated the growth of left wing groupings in the international, we must of necessity occupy ourselves primarily with the American Socialist Party. No one can question the fact that the American groups reflect world events and the decisions of the August Congress. But in the United States, some peculiar and interesting changes took place. The situation here does not mirror exactly the situation in Europe from the point of view of party politics. There is a greater confusion in America as we shall soon detect.

At the Congress, the reactionary wing of the international was in complete control. The Congress reaffirmed the policy of reformism of the L.S.I. In conflict with this position of the Congress and the majority of the delegations, stood the Polish Bund which rallied to its side 18 votes out of 300 or more. The resolution was shown, declared, for an end to the policy of reformism and in favor of the "revolutionary" (?) struggle for power, for the destruction of capitalism and the institution of the dictatorship of the revolutionary party during the period of Socialist construction.

It demanded an end to the policy of "coalition governments", support of disarmament conferences, etc. On each of these questions, the Bund demonstrated confusion and showed that it had not learned anything since it endeavored to aid in the construction of the 2d International. It does not distinguish between the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the "Dictatorship of the Party". Nowhere is there mention made of the Soviets and their role in the struggle for power and after its seizure. It speaks of the "development of the dictatorship by the revolutionary classes (!) into a dictatorship of the workers and peasants". The resolution calls for "new conditions of struggle", and says too, that the Socialist Parties must prepare "without fail for the necessities of direct action".

The Fundamental Questions
All of this, however, does not explain how, or what, is meant. We said last week that now is not the time to write new doctrines. The program of Bolshevism answers every question raised by the left wings in the Socialist International and it answers these questions with clarity and completeness. What the Bund has done has been to reiterate a stand it has held for more than a decade and bring it up to date. The early Congresses of the Communist International answered the questions of the struggle for Power, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the struggle against War, the United Front, etc. They were answered then in detail and with thoroughness. The half answers and half-truths contained in the Bund position, can only lead to confusion. In this respect the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee in America is far clearer than that of the Polish Bund, and even that is not yet a complete Marxist position.

But in spite of the confusing and vague character of the Bund position it served as the starter in the international discussion raging in the Parties of the Social Democracy. For that it deserves merit. But some of the groupings starting where the Bund began are now far ahead of it. The Bund instead of moving ahead is standing still.

In the first article we spoke of the following groups existing in the American Socialist Party: The Revolutionary Policy Committee, the Militants, the Forward Association, the Old Guard (O'neal, Lee, etc.), the Wisconsin Organization, the followers of the Polish Bund, the "Chicago Left Wing" of Senior and Krueger. Politically, there are not so many groups or grouplets. Such a division serves the purpose of differentiation. A political classification would find the R.P.C. and the followers of the Bund on the Left, the Old Guard, the Forward Association and the Wisconsin Organization on the Right, with the leaders of the American delegation, Krueger and Senior, which supported the Bund in Europe (!) and the Militants to whom they really belong ready to fall in line with any majority.

The R. P. C.

I. The Revolutionary Policy Committee. The articles of comrade Cannon have already discussed in detail the political position of this group. It is necessary however to examine their physiognomy a bit more. Without a doubt, the social composition of the group is its greatest weakness. The group is

3. The R.P.C. and Its Program

made up primarily of the petty-bourgeois and intellectual section of the party, a great many of these being graduates of the League for Industrial Democracy. Thus, while the group enjoys a great interest and even support for its views, its lack of roots in the Party proper, hampers its influence over the proletarian section of the organization. The sympathies that it enjoys so far have little realization in organizational gains. The Program is signed by over 80 active party members, few however, having any decisive influence on the Party. Most of these are new in the movement. While its program is ahead of that of the Bund, its closest approximation in this country, the R.P.C. has no connection with the Bund. Similarly with respect to the matter of international connections. Though its existence is to be explained by international events and is a reflection of international currents in the L.S.I., the group leads a completely "national" existence. This is confirmed by its program on "International Relations".

The R.P.C. represents a serious movement within the S. P. towards Marxism. Its program is not yet Marxist, but has moved a long way in that direction. The great number of omissions from its program gives it at best a skeleton character. It is not sufficient, however, to offer skeleton views to the socialist workers. You must take each fundamental question and painstakingly analyze it from the vantage point of Marxism. Each question has to be thoroughly and completely discussed, every variant considered.

R. P. C. Program

The entire program is six pages long. Within these six pages are contained the position of the R.P.C. on: The Road to Power, War, Labor Policy, a Labor Party, the United Front, N.R.A., Farmers, Negroes, the Middle Class, the Soviet Union, International Relations and Conclusions. Quite obviously in such boundaries a program can not touch properly on any of the questions it discusses. But this is not the main criticism we have to make. Our main criticism of the R.P.C. is that on the fundamental questions it is either ambiguous, incomplete, or wrong. This in spite of the fact that in general the program is of a left character, in the direction of Communism.

The question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a case in point. After declaring in favor of it, the program says nothing of the Soviets, their position in the struggle for power and their relation to the establishment and existence of the proletarian dictatorship. On the one hand it speaks of the working class state as "an entirely new type of state", without saying anywhere that the capitalist state must be destroyed and replaced by the workers' state. Because of this lack of clarity it can conclude this section of the program by saying: "Once socialists are in possession (!) of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter-revolutionary resistance, and to proceed to transform the economic and social basis of society." Which state machinery is referred to here? It is by no means clear. Apparently the capitalist state machinery! By the mandate of the workers! What kind of a mandate? The seizure of power as a result of the armed struggle of the proletariat or a ballot victory? The R.P.C. may protest and say: But we have already declared that we are for the workers state, the new type of state based upon the Workers Councils. Nevertheless, it is not clear precisely what is meant in the program.

The Question of the State
The question of the state is the most important question for the revolutionary movement. It is upon the evaluation of the state that the workers' movement remains divided; on this question the 2nd International split. The organization of the Communist International was the outcome. And here too, the syndicalists and anarchists are divided from the rest of the workers' movement. Quite seriously and earnestly, we suggest that the R.P.C. make a thorough study of the documents of the Communist International on the question of the State and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, prepared for the 2nd Congress. Once clarified, the R. P. C. can become the instrument of clarifying and educating the ranks of the S.P., drawing large sections of its workers to the side of the revolution. On "International Relations" the program is wholly inadequate and is in fact false. It says: "The Socialist Party of America must make

every effort to get the above principles (of the R.P.C.—A.G.) adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument in promoting the world revolution". The program concludes with the following declaration in bold type: "THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO REASON (absolutely none—A.G.) WHY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA CAN NOT MEET THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH CONFRONTS IT TODAY IF IT ADOPTS A CLEAR, WELL-DEFINED PROGRAM BASED UPON THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS AND SETS UP ADEQUATE MACHINERY FOR EFFECTIVELY PUTTING THESE PRINCIPLES INTO ACTION." On one of the most decisive questions facing the workers movement today the program actually says little and what it does say is wrong. It orientates itself completely upon the 2nd International. The question of Stalinism, the existence and role of Centrism, and the movement for the 4th International are entirely left out of the program. Without even as much as a mention of these questions it is clear why the R.P.C. has no genuine international orientation.

"Reforming" the 2nd International
These questions are of fundamental character. Around these the R.P.C. can make or break itself. While on many issues it is moving toward a position of Marxism, it is not there yet. When Lovestone says that "in substance, the program of the R.P.C. is Marxist", it only expresses his patronizing attitude toward the R.P.C. and his desire to tie this movement to the kite of Stalinism. Genuine revolutionaries will endeavor to help the R.P.C. to move completely to communism, that is, to revolutionary Marxism. From its position on "International Relations" it is obvious that the R.P.C. orientates itself on the basis of the policy of reforming the Socialist Party and the Labor and Socialist International. There is not the slightest hint that the fundamental character of social democracy make it impermissible to remain within its ranks. The possibility of a break is not even mentioned in the program. And as already pointed out, its relation to the other international movements is not even as much as mentioned. The R.P.C. must begin rapidly to clarify its position on all these questions, and make clearer its point of view on those points expressed in the program. It should root itself deeply among the proletarian layers of the party and seek support there. We shall endeavor to help the R.P.C. make these steps forward and draw the proper conclusions to their present struggle.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

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JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Theoretical Organ Out July 1st

An excellent first number of the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine will greet readers when the long-awaited monthly theoretical review of the International Communists comes off the press on June 15th. The partial list of articles and special features to appear in the first number of the NEW INTERNATIONAL will appeal to all interested in reading a journal of revolutionary Marxism.

Among the features are:

1. Editorial: For the Fourth International!
2. A Review on the N.R.A.—by Jack Weber.
3. The American Workers Party: Communism or Centrism—by Max Shachtman.
4. The Marxism of Sidney Hook—by Maurice Spector.
5. On the Communist Party—by Arne Swabeck.
6. Decline of the Progressive Miners of America—by Joseph Angelo.
7. The Crisis in the Socialist Party—by J. P. Cannon.
8. Stalin—by L. D. Trotsky.
9. Boom, Crisis and Strike Wave—by Weaver.
10. Is France Next?—by Marsh.
11. The Vienna "Commune"—by A. Max (pen name of a prominent German Communist).
12. Archives of Bolshevism (unpublished manuscripts).

Included in the Book Review Section are: Celine's "Journey to the End of the Night", reviewed by Earl Birney; Rivera's "Portrait of America", reviewed by Paula Mendez; Eastman's "Artists in Uniform", reviewed by David Ernest; Bauer and Deutsch on the Austrian Civil War, reviewed by Max Shachtman.

Other material, in addition, will appear, all of which will help to lay the foundation for the growth of a leading theoretical organ of Bolshevism.

The NEW INTERNATIONAL is being published by the New International Publishers Association, and there is the greatest confidence that the kind of magazine so greatly needed and desired by thinking Marxists will come into existence with the publication of the NEW INTERNATIONAL.

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A Critical Analysis of the American Workers Party

Editor's Note—The following is the third of a series of articles contributed to the discussion of the movement for a new party by Felix Morrow.

The preceding articles have discussed two of the main tendencies which stand between the A.W.P. and the road to the new revolutionary party and international.

1. The A.W.P. has failed to break critically with the reformist past of its predecessor, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action; there is danger of reformist hangovers, especially since the contemptuous or indifferent attitude toward theory, expressed by leading A.W.P. members, prevents examination of fundamentals.

II. The most significant example of the A.W.P.'s insufficient break with reformism is that its present criticism of the Stalinist party is little different from that earlier voiced by the reformist C.P.L.A. By placing the blame on "sectarianism", the American scene, and a lack of emphasis on the regeneration of the fundamentals of Communism which gave the Comintern, including the C.P.U.S.A., its powerful vitality up to 1924.

III. When we examine the character of the internationalism espoused by the A.W.P., here again we find the baleful influence of the myth of "sectarianism". The A.W.P. Program says:

"... The workers in each country are faced with certain conditions, they have a certain background, tradition, psychology. A revolutionary party must 'feel' all this, feel how the workers in the country feel and think. This cannot be communicated to it from the outside.

"These fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy have been disregarded by the Third International." (p. 28)

The elevation of national peculiarities into "fundamental principles" and the attribution of Stalinist failure to their disregard—both are false.

The fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy flow from the nature of world capitalist society and its present stage of development. Needless to say—needless to anyone who has read the documents of the early Congresses of the Comintern—special peculiarities in specific countries are to be allowed for; and these the parties in the given countries should deal with.

But the problem of allowing for such specific conditions has never been a crucial one. Certainly this problem was not the cause of Stalinist failure. What, for example, has the theory of social fascism and the united front from below (which are practiced of course on a world scale) to do with "how the workers in the country feel"? What these theories disregard is the nature of

3. What is Its Position On Internationalism?

world capitalist society, specifically the nature of reformism and the proletariat. These errors have nothing to do with national psychology, conditions, etc.

From such a false starting point, the A.W.P. moves, not in the direction of a revolutionary internationalism, but of a loose league of national parties like the Second International. Once the "feel" of the country is identified with "fundamental principles of revolutionary strategy", and it is asserted that "this cannot be communicated to it (the party) from the outside" (outside—what a word to describe the world proletariat!) we cannot but expect that the whole question of the international will be put in terms alien to the Communist tradition. Here are the crucial sentences of the A.W.P. Program:

"Unquestionably, international machinery is needed through which the labor and revolutionary movements may exchange views and organize joint activities to advance the ultimate object of a workers' world. Under certain circumstances, the most direct and practical kind of cooperation between the labor and revolutionary movements of two or more countries is possible, and may profoundly influence world developments, as e.g. a general strike against war in several countries. Joint revolutionary movements may conceivably be carried through simultaneously in several countries in some international crisis, and an international revolutionary general staff is required in such a situation." (pp. 27-28). (my emphasis)

This passage is full of fundamental errors. We shall consider them under two points: 1. The discipline of a revolutionary international. 2. The role of an international revolutionary general staff.

1. Just what is meant by the two references to "labor" is not clear. Let us hope that it cannot mean labor parties, for no revolutionary international can include reformist organizations. Now, no party can belong to a revolutionary international without adhering to its principles and decisions. Decisions are to be preceded by thorough discussion throughout the parties—but the "exchange of views" is to be followed by conclusions by vote of the majority; and the conclusions must be binding on all parties in the international. For what revolutionary parties seek is not the mere unity of the workingclass in and of itself—which is correct, and valuable, on the trade union level—but a fighting unity for revolutionary overthrow; and for this, the highest type of uniform discipline is necessary. To say, as the A.W.P. Program says, that parties "may exchange views"—and to say nothing about coming to conclusions, and the binding nature of the conclusions—this is to be ambiguous about the essence of a revolutionary international.

2. The A.W.P. Program borrows the term "international revolution" from the Communist Party, but what does it do with the term? In communist tradition the term is a synonym for the international itself. The work of the international is a continuous work. Its task is the grand strategy of the world revolution. What is the relation between the general staff and the party leadership of a given country? The party leadership is itself part of the general staff and participates in laying down the grand strategy. But this communist conception of the general staff has nothing in common with that of the A.W.P., which makes the general staff into a united front committee. "Under certain circumstances", "joint", "simultaneously", "staff is required in such a situation"—these are phrases which describe temporary united fronts. They do not describe the role of the revolutionary general staff.

Whether we can agree with the A.W.P. eventually or not, let us at least begin with clarity. Where terms are used without specific meaning being given to them, they have their historical meaning. The general staff is a term of the communist tradition meaning a permanent, continuously functioning, organ of the world party. If all that the A.W.P. proposes as international machinery is the united front, temporary, and occasional, let it say so; but let it not give to this instrument—a useful, but limited and transitional one—the title which is historically associated with the highest organ of the world proletariat.

Were the foregoing quotations all that the A.W.P. has to say on the question of the international, there would be nothing more to say, for such views are not those of a truly

revolutionary party. But on the very same pages with the foregoing quotations appears the explanation of them. The whole section of the Program dealing with the internationalism is, in fact, pervaded with a fear of contradictions arising between the development of the American party and the work of the international. Here, again, it is clear that the A.W.P. has not thought out thoroughly the differences between the perversions of internationalism practiced by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the necessary principles of a genuinely Communist international. This is what is behind such formulations as this in the Program: "The problem of developing an effective international is an exceedingly complex one. The American Workers Party will be concerned to do all that is in its power toward its solution, and remain in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions. . . . Emphatically, however, we assert that our absorbing concern . . . is . . . on our own doorstep. . . . Emphatically, however" is the crucial phrase. This counterposing of the two tasks—the international and the party—is then resolved by declaring that "we shall best serve the toilers of all lands" by making the American revolution. This would indeed be a great service—but has it occurred to the A.W.P. that the internationalism demanded of them is not a question of social service on their part to help the workers of other lands—such, indeed, is the flavor of this section of the A.W.P. Program—but that the cooperation of the workers in other lands may play a decisive role in the American revolution?

It could easily be shown that the indifference toward the role other peoples will play in the American revolution arises from a still unclear theory of the state on the part of the A.W.P. The Program states: "State power is national, not international. It has to be taken in Berlin, London, Paris, Washington. . . . Remember, the power of the American class extends across the two American continents, into China (now becoming as important to America as it is to England), and creeping across Europe. Who shall say, at this moment, that the opportunity for the American workingclass to overthrow the state, will not come because the Chinese revolution will break out just when the American bourgeoisie is most dependent on China. (Of equal weight with its role for China, had it been successful, was the role of the Chinese Revolution of 1923-1927 in facilitating the English revolution). And if the South American, Caribbean and Asiatic workers are part of the domain of the American bourgeoisie, should they not be united with the American workers, not in temporary agreements or mutual expressions of good will, but by a general staff? Once this is agreed to, the relation between two imperialist regimes logically leads to the inclusion of all workers under the one general staff.

Wrong as the international perspective of the A.W.P. is, however, and dangerous as the consequences of the position might be if held on to, it would betray a lack of insight if one were not to see the healthy instinct behind such a remark as Muste's at the recent A.W.P. conference: "The 1917 Revolution was made with no international aid." Of course Muste is wrong; of course he ignores the extraordinary international experience of the Bolshevik leaders; he ignores the international aid of . . . Marx and Engels. But the healthy instinct is there, nevertheless. What Muste is saying is that the American Revolution can be made with no more aid than the Russian, if necessary.

But this healthy instinct has nothing to do with an attitude which may seem to be similar but is poles apart. Muste is wrong; but by his own principles he can be shown, I think, that they logically require a genuinely revolutionary international, a permanent general staff of the world revolution. When, however, at the same conference, J.B.S. Hardman spoke, he said: "Russian interference with other countries was invariably bad—precisely because of the things which made the Russian Revolution successful: Lenin's knowledge of Russia was only surpassed by his lack of knowledge of other people." This is not only to rewrite falsely the history of the Russian Revolution, making it depend on the "feel" of the country. This is also—for Hardman is talking here of the Comintern from its first days—to renounce the possibility of internationalism. For to designate the heroic internationalism of 1919-1924 as "Russian interference"—this is but a step away from chauvinism.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the A.W.P. turns its steps away from this false road, and moves instead in the direction of the new revolutionary party and international. —FELIX MORROW.

Under the Iron Heel of Chiang Kai Shek

Shanghai, May 2, (By Mail).—Cold inertia holds the Chinese labor movement in its paralyzing grip. May Day passed in Shanghai yesterday without causing the faintest ripple. The North-China Daily News reports laconically: "Police authorities took precautionary measures against possible disturbances by reactionary elements. Nothing untoward happened during the day." Even the mild demonstrations of former years, when a few Communists gathered at crowded street corners, shouting slogans, scattering handbills, and disappearing as soon as a policeman came upon the scene, were abandoned this year. In other industrial cities it was the same. In Kuomintang China, the reaction reigns supreme, triumphant, unchallenged.

Last year's wave of workers' defensive struggles occasioned by the growth of oppression and the more and more devastating attacks on the workers' livelihood, has weakened almost to the point of petering out completely. Without independent unions and in some cases without unions at all; deprived of a militant, class-conscious leadership; poverty-stricken and without funds to maintain an effective strike organization—the strikes that took place were doomed in advance. A whole series of defeats, with scarcely a bright spot of partial victory to relieve the gloomy picture, lately culminated in the loss of a strike by the four thousand workers of the Mayar Silk Works, largest of its kind in Shanghai. For several weeks the workers held out against a 10 percent wage-cut and then returned to work in disorderly retreat.

This strike is worthy of some detailed attention, since it is characteristic of the whole recent strike movement in China. The Mayar workers struck alone. Their lead-

ers held no prior consultation with the workers in other silk factories with a view to enlisting their support. There is no union for the entire industry. Indeed, most of the silk workers are entirely unorganized, although they are among the most fearfully exploited of China's industrial proletariat. They work a 12-hour day for a pittance beside which the fifteen-dollar weekly income of a C.W.A. worker in America appears munificent. The Mayar workers struck under other strong disadvantages. There was the last of a series of strikes that have taken place in the Shanghai silk industry during the past two to three years. Other sections of the silk workers had gone down in defeat one after the other. Thus, without prior agreement, there existed no prospect that the Mayar workers would gain the support of their already defeated fellow-workers by means of sympathetic strikes.

Defeat in these circumstances was inevitable. But the Mayar strike should and could have been used as the basis for a great campaign to organize the workers in the entire silk industry with the perspective of a future struggle on an industry-wide scale. This was not done. The members of the Left Opposition, who had valuable contacts with leading strikers, failed to get the necessary slogans put forward. They only thought of them when the strike was already on the wane and plunging to defeat. Moreover, they failed to advance the democratic slogans of the Left Opposition and link them up with the strike struggle, although conditions were most propitious. The strike was proscribed by the authorities and the strikers forbidden to hold meetings or demonstrations. Here was a first-class opportunity to popularize democratic demands among a large number of workers and to link these with our central

slogan for the convocation of the National Assembly.

Despite government prohibition the strikers did demonstrate. But instead of demonstrating before the factories with a view to winning the support of their fellow-workers in the silk industry, they went into largely futile gatherings before the Bureau of Social Affairs, a Kuomintang organ whose function is to break strikes by deceit, cajolery and intimidation.

The Stalinists possess no influence among China's industrial proletariat. Privately they will admit that the optimistic material found in the congress speeches of the "general leader" and his henchmen—Piotnitsky, Manulsky, et al—are so much balderdash. In the strike of the Mayar silk workers they played no part. Their slogans for the workers are vain admonitions to "Join the Red Army" and "Support the Soviet Districts," which in the circumstances are a stupid mockery of the workers' struggle.

Thus May Day, 1934 passed unnoticed in Kuomintang China, except for official Kuomintang gatherings and a Nazi flag-raising ceremony which took place before the German consulate-general in Shanghai, when fascist orators emphasized the significance of May 1 as definitely commemorating "the nationalization of labor as an integral factor of German life today." While these ceremonies proceeded, proletarian China bowed its back under the lash of reaction. In Shanghai, life proceeded as usual. In the pale dawn the workers streamed in their tens of thousands to the factories. Along the water-front and in the streets, with the sun high in the heavens, the coolies strained at their inhuman loads, watering their tracks with their sweat.

Not a voice of protest nor a note of rebellion anywhere! —LUCIFER.

Minneapolis Strike Reveals Splendid Organization and Militancy

Organizing the Strike

(Continued from page 1)

volunteer services of two doctors and two trained nurses. This department rendered an invaluable service because of the speed and efficiency with which injuries were treated and it is notable to record that in no case did an infection develop.

Within the headquarters offices, a crew of men with special instructions remained constantly at the five telephones which were the nerve center of the strike. A corps of women assistants under the direction of the financial officer received applications for membership which poured in by the hundreds and issued permits for the pickets to obtain gasoline and mechanical service. A special committee was set up to hear complaints and requests for special permits to operate trucks. The instructions to this committee were very strict. These special groups served excellently as a buffer to take the burden of routine matters off the shoulders of the leaders and to leave them free to direct the principal strategy of the strike.

Before the start of the strike a complete analysis of the picketing requirements had been made and, with a corps of stenographers and mimeograph operators, the leaders had prepared a complete set of written orders and instructions to the pickets. As a result of this careful preparation, the entire picket line was established and functioning effectively within an hour after the beginning of the strike.

An Effective Strategy of Picketing
The principal strategy of the picketing was to establish stationary picket posts at the city limits on all highways, at all gasoline bulk plants and direct service filling stations, at the wholesale market, in the loop retail district, and at the truck freight terminals.

These stationary pickets were supplemented by "cruising squads" which were assigned to definite districts throughout the town and by other cruising squads which were assigned to cover certain areas where trucking activities would most likely be attempted.

The pickets were transported to and from the stationary posts by truck and the cruising squads were provided with fast automobiles. A reserve force with adequate transportation facilities was kept in the headquarters at all times. Each group of pickets and each cruising squad was commanded by a picket captain, who had been given written instructions as to responsibilities. Each truck driver was also given special written instructions to be followed.

Concentration of Mass Picketing
Wherever mass picketing was required a field commander was appointed and given special credentials with instructions to establish a field headquarters to maintain contact with General Headquarters. This was accomplished by stationing a contact officer at a suitable telephone location and providing him with assistants. In this manner G.H.Q. could phone orders to

the contact officer who would in turn send them to the field commander by one of the assistants. Reports from the field commander to G.H.Q. were also sent by this medium. To supplement this a special squad of motorcycle riders were kept at G.H.Q. to perform special liaison duties.

A number of special cruising squads manned by hand-picked men and captained by qualified leaders were kept under the constant control of G.H.Q. The captains of these squads were given credentials which superseded all other authority in the field. These squads were used to be sent into a tense situation for the purpose of reorganizing the forces and leading the fight. They did their work well and more than justified the continuation of this system.

It is well to note that in spite of the large number of cars, trucks, and motorcycles required for this method of picketing, there was an excess of vehicles volunteered for service by the strikers.

Handling Stool-Pigeons
It was naturally necessary to maintain a guard at the doors of the headquarters. But in spite of all precautions, stool-pigeons will slip through. Once within the building, these miserable wretches can do much damage if left unhindered. They operate principally by attempting to disrupt the ranks through the encouragement of drinking and through attempts to create disorder and discussion.

Special squads of reliable men were kept on duty constantly watching for these people and they did their work very effectively. There is another and more dangerous type of stool-pigeon, who comes well armed with credentials and attempts to insinuate himself into a position entailing some responsibility. It was found that by carefully selecting key men who are absolutely trustworthy and by using great secrecy in issuing orders that it is comparatively easy to discover these people through their great ambition to disrupt.

To summarize the general results of this organizational method, we find that we have a group of strikers who are given food regularly, and medical care for their physical comfort. We find that they have reliable mechanical equipment to do their job. And we find that they soon come to realize that their leaders know at all times where they are and what they are up against. They wage in fearlessly because they know that if they need help it will come, if they need new captains, they will come, and they feel confident that if they win any advantage their leaders will be able to hold it for them.

These Minneapolis workers then are merely representative American workers, who have risen to a new height because of the careful efforts made to uncover and develop their every resource. The Minneapolis workers call upon the workers of America to demand such cooperation and guidance from all labor leaders.

—A STRIKER.

A Lesson in "Law and Order"

Minneapolis, May 28.—The magnificent struggles of the truck drivers, particularly the battle in the market Tuesday morning, May 22, the "Battle of Deputies Run," will be permanently engraved in the minds of the Minneapolis working class.

This fight in which the strikers routed over 1,500 police and special deputies is full of meaning for the future. Coming as it did after a week of lesser fights, it shows the capacity of the workers, once aroused, for determined struggle. It reveals their resourcefulness, courage and intelligence.

Step by step in this 10-day strike the workers learned that "law and order," "constitutional rights," "liberty and justice," "right to organize" were hollow phrases used by the bosses to keep them in ignorance and subjection. No sooner did they learn than they swiftly translated these lessons into militant action, not individual action but organized action. The whole record of the strike is a record of the transformation of workers to whom the idea of unionism was new, into resolute experienced fighters, who have successfully fought their class enemy, the bosses, and know the value of organization and militant leadership.

In the first days of the strike a holiday spirit prevailed. There were no serious clashes with police nor any determined effort on the part of the bosses to move trucks. The sentiment of the men was for peaceful picketing and Law and Order. Many had illusions about impartiality of the cops and the press.

But on Friday the bosses began their offensive. Cops began to arrest pickets by the dozens. A few

showed their defiance. But the cops had had enough and asked the pickets to drop their clubs saying that they would drop theirs. The strikers were not fooled by this and stood their ground. No trucks moved that day.

All Ready for the Big Battle

At dawn Tuesday, hundreds of cops and special deputies began to pour into the market until there were over a thousand. They were concentrated at strategic points. Later the strikers began to arrive by truckfuls. Thousands of sympathetic onlookers lined the streets. The strikers moved with military precision, maneuvering skillfully for vantage points. Their plan was to catch the cops from the rear and divide their forces. Many reserves were stationed in the Central Labor Headquarters nearby.

As the morning wore on, there were numerous skirmishes that aided the battle to come. Just about noon the fight started, when a deputized female attempted to club a woman picket. The plucky woman seized a club from a picket at her side and stretched her flat. With a roar that was heard for blocks, the strikers swept away the specials and cops. The specials made no effort to stem the tide but turned and fled, tossing away their clubs and badges as they ran. Many were cornered in stalls and blind alleys and laid out three deep. Clubs swung everywhere as the fighting picked up irresistibly through the rows of stalls smashing down all opposition. Several truckloads of deputies attempting to escape were surrounded and transferred to the mounting casualty list. In desperation the regular cops drove their cars into the ranks of the strikers in a vain effort to stop them. Ambulances worked overtime taking away the specials.

Within half an hour the strikers had complete control of the market. The cops and deputies were completely licked. More than 50 special cops were injured, two of whom died subsequently. A few pickets were hurt. No further efforts were made to move the trucks. The bosses agreed to recognize the union.

—WILLIAM KITT.

Women Active On Firing Line

When the General Drivers' Union made a strong appeal to the wives of their members to aid in every way possible, they met with a response they had not dreamed of. Women came to Strike Headquarters, ready and willing to do any kind of work assigned them. Girls trained in office work took over the routine work. Others gave their heart and soul to the feeding of hungry droves of men.

Women on Picket Line!
Women pickets took up the cause on the line of battle. Three of our women were seriously injured in riots with police. One's life was despaired of for several days. Another was taken to the hospital with a very seriously fractured ankle. She is at present confined to her bed, and will be there for some time to come.

Still another was so badly beaten in the Tribune riot that an old operation lesion opened up, and there is danger of internal hemorrhages. Still another was beaten across the arm with a billy. She is still carrying her arm in a sling.

Another interesting angle to this situation was brought out when sympathizers began to offer their services. One young woman, a graduate of the University who had specialized in sociology came down to offer her services. She felt that the power of the women had not even been felt in this class struggle. A young couple, friends of the other girl, offered their services. Using these three as an advisory council, the officers of the auxiliary started to raise money.

The Women's Auxiliary
A committee, composed of Mrs. Grant Dunne as president of the auxiliary and Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, as secretary, these three friends, and two other women not connected with the union, met at four o'clock one afternoon. The next night at midnight the auxiliary had in its Commissary Relief Fund, \$418.70. The necessity of feeding the families of the men on strike until they would again be able to draw wages was brought home to us very forcibly during the last few days.

Demonstration at City Hall
The newspapers of Minneapolis, being the instrument of the Citizens' Alliance, were muzzled to such an extent that no news in favor of the strikers was ever published. To attempt to counteract this state of affairs, the women organized a mass demonstration. We marched from the Auditorium on Grant and 14th Streets straight down Nicollet Ave. Led first by four women carrying our banner, followed by about five hundred women, many of them sympathizers,

we broke every traffic rule in Minneapolis. Crowds gathered along the sidewalk and followed the procession to the court house.

We marched straight to the mayor's office. A committee entered to present our demands upon the mayor or his emissary—Mr. Guise. The gentlemen were not in. In fact Mayor Bainbridge was in his usual position—home in bed ill. Mr. Guise would be in by 2 P.M. It was then about 12:30. The committee decided to wait.

A Brush with Deputies
The women, quiet and orderly during the whole proceedings, suddenly were infuriated by something. Inquiry disclosed that the chief of police had thought it smart to parade a batch of his special deputies down the same corridor the women were waiting in. Only quick thinking on the part of the committee saved those deputies from being very badly hurt.

The mayor's secretary arrived in surprisingly short time. The committee waited upon him. They got just what they expected—nothing. The demands were the immediate removal of Chief Johannes, the removal of all special deputies, and no further interference with pickets. The committee then left. The crowd was addressed by Frieda Charles, and dispersed in an orderly fashion.

Women—Into the Class Struggle!
In closing let me emphasize again. Let your women work in this class struggle. Their place is right along side of the men, shoulder to the wheel, fighting for their birth-right. The Women's Auxiliary of General Drivers' Union No. 574 has set an example which we hope will be followed by the working-class women throughout the nation.

—AUXILIARY MEMBER.

Role of the League in Strike

Minneapolis.—Serious and militant workers confronted with the necessity of advancing their demands for a better standard of living, have the problems of organization, program and leadership before them from the very first. In the Minneapolis drivers' strike thousands of workers came to the union for very definite reasons. First: The Union is a mass organization. Second: It had to its credit the achievement of the Coal Yard Workers' strike. Third: ITS LEADERSHIP HAD BEEN TESTED.

The Communist League has always followed the policy in the trade unions of working with all progressive forces to be found in the organizations. Its trade union policy has been proved in action. Today there stands, confronting the bosses, a mighty union which organized the picket line that fought off and routed the police and the armed bands of the Citizens Alliance.

The entire labor movement has been aroused. Every union in the city has been strengthened. The recruiting of workers into the organizations is going forward all along the line. The forces of reaction have been dealt a powerful blow. Tens of thousands of workers stand up today, proud to have been a part of the smashing drive.

The Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League bears considerable responsibility for this achievement. It is well known that its members have been active in the trade unions for a long period of years. It has not pressed forward for place or prestige alone. The League members have at all times acted in accord with the real interests of the union. The program adopted has been submitted to the rank and file from time to time. Proposals, suggestions, criticisms have been welcomed. The League has given its best to the union and to the strike. It is willing to accept its part of the blame for any mistakes that may have been made. We think they were very few. Such errors can and will be made good.

Just as the League accepts responsibility for mistakes that it may make, it insists upon a calm and careful appraisal of its work in the union and the strike. In short we ask the workers to judge us for the work done and for policies and programs proposed.

The real work of Communist militants in the trade unions consists in putting forward correct proposals, fighting for their acceptance; then, by diligent and patient effort, rallying the advanced workers to carry these proposals into action.

That the League membership played an active part in the strike is shown not only by the fact that our comrades were in leading positions in the strike committee. It is also shown in the part played on the picket line where every man and woman available from our ranks was placed. In the work of organizing for the strike our comrades took a leading part. This alone was the work of months. At the headquarters, both before and during the strike, our members

Support From Other Unions

Minneapolis, May 28.—When the General Drivers, Local 574, called their strike for 11:30 P.M., on Tuesday, May 15, very few trade union members realized that within another two weeks one of the greatest labor struggles in the history of the Minneapolis labor movement would be fought.

The members of general drivers and their sympathizers did some fine work. During the first days of the strike they had the truck transportation of a city of four hundred thousand completely tied up with the exception of the deliveries authorized by the strike committee.

By Saturday morning the bosses had decided to defy the strikers and make deliveries of vegetables, fruits and provisions from the city market place. This was stubbornly resisted by the strikers and their sympathizers, but almost entirely with their bare hands, which were not so effective against the bludgeons of the cops.

Many workers who had felt that the cops were more or less friendly were disillusioned by the market fight on Saturday morning. With the announcement that over Sunday some fifteen hundred special deputy sheriffs were to be recruited and armed, the workers set their backs to work and prepared to defend themselves.

The workers on Saturday had suffered more physical damage than the cops. On Monday they were prepared to meet the cops with their own weapons. The fight in the market was about fifty-fifty insofar as injuries were concerned.

By Monday morning the trade union members had begun to real-

ize that an admirable fight was being conducted by the drivers and their sympathizers. At the building trades business agents meeting, due to pressure from the members, they voted to recommend to the building trades unions to strike in sympathy with the drivers. The Central Labor Union executive took like action that evening.

These meetings were followed quickly by the iron workers striking. Then followed many of the smaller organizations, whose membership could be reached quickly. By Wednesday evening the lathers, plasterers, carpenters, asbestos workers, electrical workers and others had voted the sympathetic strike. The electrical workers marched to strike headquarters in a body and placed themselves under the direction of the drivers strike committee.

Other union membership meetings while not officially striking declared a holiday for the duration of the strike and many of their members were active on Monday and Tuesday in the fights in the market. The fight on Tuesday resulted in a complete routing of the fifteen hundred special deputies and American Legionnaires, two of whom have since died as a result of their injuries.

In spite of the armistice agreed to between the strikers and the government forces by which it was agreed to keep trucks off the streets, the unions continued to vote sympathetic strikes. The painters' union marched in on Friday night as the vote to accept the settlement was being completed. Had the strike continued over Saturday and Sunday, no doubt the other driving trades which had not yet been called down, brewery drivers, milk drivers, ice drivers would have been called out and upon the call from Local 574 the garment workers, cooks, waiters, bartenders, city and county employees and the civil service employees would have joined the strike.

One of the big lessons of the strike to be learned by the unionists is the need for a better organizational form, an industrial form, so that the workers can move more quickly and more solidly to protect their interests.

—A SYMPATHETIC STRIKER.

Workers Show Fighting Ability

The Minneapolis General Drivers strike has demonstrated the truth of one fact beyond contradiction. That is, that the American working class, when properly led and organized, will fight. The workers have shown here in Minneapolis the utter falseness of that old adage, the principal excuse that is used by moral cowards everywhere: "The workers will not stick and they will not fight."

We have shown that in spite of all differences, the workers can and will fight for what they consider to be just demands.

The six thousand drivers, helpers and inside workers joined together in one organization, is living proof that they can be organized and that in this manner, and in this manner only, can they make gains against the modern organization of the bosses. Without inspiration and militant leadership they will continue to drift in the same old rut that has led them nowhere. Such leadership consists principally in having the vision to estimate the extent and scope of the movement, a knowledge of what must be done and the energy to do it.

We consider here that the "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration for the bosses must be counterposed by a New Deal for Labor. Not the New Deal of the compromisers of Labor who end strikes but do not settle them. It must be a New Deal which will be a new method and a new form of organization. It must secure for the workers victories and not defeats. This New Deal must have first a broader form of organization. The unions must be reorganized on an industrial union basis. Second, it must have leadership which, by understanding of the class problems, can show the way. And third, it

must have the courage to swim against the current, and, by so doing, inspire the workers to organize a better and more militant fight against the bosses.

While the organization and strike of the Minneapolis General Drivers may not be the perfect pattern for a newer labor movement, it has, we think, set a new tone for workers' economic struggles in this country. There are several things which we think are unique in the American labor movement. Within the almost empty shell of an old-time craft union, which up until now had taken into its ranks only truck drivers and helpers, we organized workers from the whole industry. We took not only the truck drivers and helpers from the various business houses, but their inside workers as well. And so when strike became necessary, we presented a solid fighting front to the bosses. We prepared for the strike, not during the strike but before it. Nothing was left to chance. Everything possible was done before the fight to insure victory. When the general labor movement so prepares and so organizes for its future struggles, there will be more victories inscribed on the banners of the working class.

—STRIKER.

General Strike Looms in Toledo

(Continued from page 1)

permitted to postpone the general strike any longer. Nothing can be expected from the strike-breaking Labor Board. The blow must be struck while the iron is hot. The workers have fought magnificently. They are learning to rely upon their own strength. It should be utilized to its fullest extent and every resource drawn upon. Labor defense and relief organizations should be set up immediately to take care of the needs of the workers in the struggle.

Unite in Support of Toledo!

The urgent need for uniting the forces of labor behind the Toledo strikers is emphasized by an announcement that the automotive industry "will back the Auto-Life Company to the limit in its defiance of labor unions." The Stalinists as usual are sabotaging all efforts for a united front. In New York City, a meeting called to protest the reign of terror in Toledo was answered by every organization approached with the expectation of the Stalinists who called a "united front" meeting of their own. The organizations participating in the meeting include the Socialist Party, the Communist League, the Lovestones, the Jewish Workers Party, the American Workers Party and the I. W. W. Similar meetings should be called throughout the country.

The strike wave spreading throughout the country opens grandiose perspectives for the development of the class struggle on a new level. The place of the militants in the mass movement where they now as ever is in the mass organization lead and guide their struggles.

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Previously reported 44
175

TOTAL 219

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

With the appearance of the theoretical monthly magazine
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
on June 15th

the character of *The Militant* will definitely change to that of an agitation mass paper.

To effect this change,
To guarantee the regular appearance of *The Militant*,
To expand organizationally by keeping comrades in the field

FUNDS ARE NECESSARY.
Watch for further details regarding the

ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN
Literature explaining this campaign will be in the mails next week.



Partial Victory Gained By Toledo Workers

BULLETIN
Toledo, June 6.—The auto workers' strike was settled yesterday by a signed agreement between the committee of the United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18364 and the Electric Auto-Lite Company, and two smaller companies. Main points of the agreement are:

1. Indirect recognition of the union, in the sense that it is named in the contract and the bosses are committed to deal with its committee. This is important because the recent auto settlement establishing the Auto Labor Board made union recognition practically impossible and provided proportional representation on workers' bargaining committees for company unions. The victory of the Toledo auto workers was gained on this point by the fact that the union refused to deal with the Auto Labor Board. This reopens the issue of union recognition throughout the auto industry.

2. No discrimination against union members and representatives. All who walked out to be rehired, but those who did not walk out are also rehired. Men to go back within one week. In lay-offs, the first to go will be those not on the payroll Feb. 23—when the first strike began—that is, the scabs.

3. 5% increase for all workers, and a minimum of 5% above code minimums, which means from 12-17% increase for women, who were being paid below code minimums.

4. The worst feature of the agreement is that the union is committed not to strike until the expiration of the six months' agreement. Fortunately, renewal of the agreement is not compulsory. By 30 days notice before its expiration, the union may cancel the renewal clause.

The agreement was nearly wrecked by an announcement by the company on Sunday that those who did not walk out would be the first to go back to work, and the strikers would follow during the week. The company was able to make this outrageous move only because the scheduled general strike, the threat of which had been hanging over their heads, had been withdrawn definitely on Saturday by the Central Labor Union. However, solidarity of the strikers and the widespread resentment against the company, due to the killings of a striker and a sympathizer last week by the militia, forced the company to back down.

Toledo, June 4.—The scheduled general strike was abandoned by the A. F. of L. leadership, despite the persistent demand and favorable vote of the local unions, and before the settlement for the Auto-Lite plant was agreed to. Negotiations are still being carried on, but the bosses are now negotiating with no danger of a general strike facing them.

The general strike was originally called for five weeks ago, when the auto workers were already on strike. Evidence was produced before the Central Labor Union then to show that the Toledo Manufacturers' Association was planning a concerted attack to destroy the trade union movement in Toledo. The call for the general strike was the answer. Every union in Toledo was to set up its specific demands and all unions were to strike simultaneously.

Ask for Governmental Intervention
However, during the last two weeks nothing was said about the demands to be raised by each union. Then Oliver Meyers, business agent of the Electrical Workers Union of the Edison workers, who took the general strike plan seriously and immediately, led his union in an onslaught on the Edison company, was removed from the chairmanship of the committee of 23 preparing the general strike, and was replaced by a little-known conservative, Aubry, who was put forward to take the rap for the failure to go on with the general strike.

The committee of 23, under Meyers' leadership, had arranged for a monster torchlight parade to be held Friday evening, June 1, ending with a meeting in Courthouse Square at which the date of the general strike would be announced. The night before the parade, the local A. F. of L. bureaucracy, egged on by T. N. Taylor, personal representative of William Green, pushed through a motion in the Central Labor Union to send an appeal to Roosevelt to intervene. This was done after 95 out of 96 locals had voted for a general strike! The appeal to Roosevelt, as the capitalist

press happily pointed out, made impossible announcement of the general strike the next night, since Roosevelt would take time to answer the appeal.

A. F. of L. Leaders Force Retreat

On Tuesday, two days before the Roosevelt appeal, Mayor Klotz, sensing the rising tide, tried to clear himself by blaming Sheriff Krieger and his deputies for the violence at the Auto-Lite plant. This was followed on Thursday by an order withdrawing the troops from strike duty, and the troops began leaving town Friday morning. A significant indication of the powerful growth of workingclass feeling is the fact that, while throughout the country on Wednesday there appeared Arthur Brisbane's column "Today," carrying an attack on the Toledo auto strikers and pointed remarks on the use of the army against radicals, the anti-labor Toledo Blade deleted all references to the strikers and the army from Brisbane's column. Meanwhile, from the day on which the strikers and sympathizers had penned in the scabs in the Auto-Lite plant, on May 23, the

(Continued on Page 4)

Mooney Appeal Goes to the U.S. Supreme Court

Governor Ralph of California is dead. His name like that of Pontius Pilate is sure of a place in history. Two acts of his insured that. One was his approval of lynching. The other his refusal of a pardon to Tom Mooney. Without any further information, future historians will be able to estimate correctly the status of "justice" in California in these years, the class division in society, and the weakness of the American labor movement. The date of his death will also be placed as during the great longshoremen's strike of 1934, which along with the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes is indicative of the rise of a new militancy and a new leadership in the labor movement of America. New hopes arise, new possibilities for the taking up in earnest the fight for the freedom of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

In the meantime, Mooney from his cell in San Quentin sends out a call to the working class of America for funds for his appeal through the courts. We urge our readers to support his plea . . . organize parties, affairs . . . donate what you can and forward money to the Mooney Defense Committee. Mooney's statement follows in part:

My Dear Readers of The Militant:
My Attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, John F. Finerty of Washington, D. C. and George T. Davis of San Francisco, filed my application for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for Northern California, at San Francisco on the 7th day of May 1934.

If the United States District Court denies this writ it will be appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and then the United States Supreme Court, if that is necessary.

The initial expenses for this legal work places a tremendous burden of raising \$5,000 upon my defense committee for briefing the great wealth of material in this eighteen year old case, stenographic, typing and other clerical help, office rent, supplies, printing and binding of briefs, postage, telegrams, telephone and transportation and traveling expenses for at least one of the attorneys, all of whom have volunteered their services without fee.

This whole program will be in jeopardy if we are unable to raise this indispensable sum. This emergency compels me to plead with you for a donation to be used exclusively for expenses directly connected with this Federal Court Action.

Please accept in advance my warmest personal regards, best fraternal greetings and heartfelt thankfulness for any consideration shown this communication.

Sincerely,
TOM MOONEY
Address all communication and make all funds payable to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

Roosevelt's New Cuban Treaty

American imperialism, through the Roosevelt government has discontinued the Platt Amendment, which according to the United States the right of intervention in Cuban affairs. In its place a new treaty has been drawn up which retains the Guantanamo naval base.

The Platt Amendment has been one of the main causes of friction and hatred against the United States in Cuba and throughout the whole of Latin America. Now it is hoped that the new treaty will modify these antagonisms and place American imperialism in a better light. But why does the United States give up its rights under the Platt Amendment and what effects will this have in Latin American relations?

This concession to Latin America is one of the results of the Cuban revolution. Although unable to reach the goal of a Soviet government, the Cuban revolution was powerful enough to shake to the very foundation the rule of the exploiters in Cuba. The few reforms granted in Cuba, and the discontinuing of the Platt Amendment are measures of the American imperialists, in conjunction with the native exploiters, to prevent the rekindling of the revolutionary fires and prevent it from spreading and consuming everything dear to the capitalists and landowners. Under the cover of this bitter persecution of the revolutionists can be continued more effectively.

The abrogation of the Platt Amendment alters nothing fundamentally regarding American imperialism's position on intervention in Latin America. From a tactical standpoint, however, and this is highly significant—it will have a favorable effect for the United States. This forced concession on the part of the United States is passed off as a magnanimous deed and as a new policy toward Latin America. It is part of a new policy; a new policy of greater penetration and domination of Latin America by American imperialism, not through the clumsy big stick method, but by a more subtle and more clever, but just as deadly method.

The friends of Roosevelt should also call this another master stroke of Roosevelt diplomacy. It will appease a large section of the national bourgeoisie of Cuba and will pacify large layers of the petty bourgeoisie throughout Latin America. In this sense it will strengthen American imperialism in its struggle for greater hegemony over America. It will be worthwhile propaganda against the rising wave of anti-American and anti-imperialist discontent in Cuba and in Latin America.

At the same time the new treaty combined with the economic might of American imperialism and the Monroe Doctrine insures American domination not only in Cuba but the rest of Latin America. The new treaty provides for the naval base and so far as the right of intervention is concerned imperialism needs no written permissions.

Latin America has been raped many times by American intervention. Mexico has felt the iron heel of the north. Wherever the American imperialist interests were at stake, intervention in one form or another has been resorted to in the past, and will be resorted to in the future.

The New York Times in an editorial of May 31 says, "But it remains true with or without a treaty, the American Government may lawfully intervene in Cuba to protect its own nationals or their property in case the territorial government is unable to do so." That states the matter bluntly and clearly.

—H. O.

League in Campaign to Build Organization and Press

Expansion of the League and consolidation of its press is now an imperative necessity. Great opportunities for this are at hand but we must find the means with which to take advantage of them.

Minneapolis is setting the pace. Following the successful strike in which the League played such a splendid role the branch has started a campaign to draw recruits from amongst the militants who were in the strike and bring them into our organization. They are engaged in a campaign to extend the circulation of the Militant.

With the appearance of the theoretical organ on July first, serious steps are also under way to popularize the Militant, to make it a more effective mass agitation paper. We are thus beginning to make good on our program of expansion. Our subscription campaign for the Militant went over the top. A new membership drive is being undertaken by the branches from coast to coast. The first new branch in this drive is organized in Richmond, California.

But at this point we must address a serious word to our members, sympathizers and readers. We need your help in this campaign. First of all the existence of the

Nation Wide Strike Looms Throughout Steel Industry

Mighty Attack on Company Union Fortress Planned

A nation-wide steel strike possibly of larger proportions than the strike of 1919 is in preparation. It is scheduled to begin on June 18 unless the NRA administration, President Roosevelt, and the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the union succeeds by some desperate

last minute measure to put over a deal.

Over a considerable period of time the steel workers, counting a total of nearly 450,000 throughout the country, have demanded ever more persistently a showdown on the right to have a union. Thus a mighty attack upon this fortress of company unionism is in the making. The union in the industry, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, has seen its ranks swelled with new recruits joining in large numbers. Many determined militants are coming forward demanding action. Undoubtedly, if the steel strike actually takes place, which at this moment seems quite certain, thousands of unorganized workers in the industry will join the union in its fight, not to speak of the likelihood of this strike engulfing other mass production industries which depend upon iron and steel.

On May 21 the union presented its demands. These demands were

for union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, the 30-hour week, six-hour day, one dollar an hour for common labor with corresponding increases for other grades of work. Failure to meet these demands were to result in a nation-wide strike. Needless to say, the steel trust flatly refused to even consider these demands.

At a union convention held not very long ago the delegates in their overwhelming majority insisted on this program and carried it through over the heads of the union officials headed by Mike Tighe. These delegates however did not entrust the execution of this program to Mike Tighe. They elected a special committee of ten members composed largely of union district leaders to be in charge of the presentation of the demands and to be in charge of all preparations for strike.

But the preparations are not at all one-sided. The steel trust does not ask for mediation. It resents even such interference. It prepares in its own way. Governor Pinchot, for example, reports that "the steel companies are arming with machine-guns, barbed wire, etc." Here we have a private empire with its own hired thugs and gunmen. It speaks in the terms of force—of armed force. It understands no other language. But there need be little doubt that following upon the heels of the Minneapolis and Toledo battles the steel workers will also have learned to understand the mighty power which rests in their mass numbers. A splendid example of militancy has been set for them. Most likely they will not be slow to learn, and it can be said with little fear of contradiction that the most gripping events in the present strike wave are still to be recorded.

The Fear of the Strike Spreading

In face of these armed preparations the fear is growing nevertheless amongst the agents of privilege that the projected strike may spread to other industries. For example, from the captive mines of Pennsylvania word has come to the union that the coal-miners there can be expected to make common cause with the steel workers. Leading automobile manufacturers have been in conference with the NRA administration. They know that the automobile workers are restless and discontented with the sell-out settlement put over on them before. From this so-called settlement the steel workers union have already learned one valuable lesson. Spokesmen for the committee of ten have declared: "We are not going to see a fumble this time like the auto strike was fumbled." They say that they are against mediation of the steel board such as was set up in the auto industry. They say that they are against any proposals for an election to be held in the steel industry to determine the rights of the workers to belong to a union. After the experiences in the Weirton elections they have good grounds for this opposition.

Will the Union Fight It Out?

So far so good. The statements made and the preparations which are under way indicate determination by the steel workers union. It is clear that there is no other way to settle the issue of the right to union recognition and improved wages and working conditions, but through the mobilization of the steel workers in a nation-wide strike. Strong forces are at work to divert the steel workers off this path. The union president, Mike Tighe, is applying all the cunning in his possession to accomplish this aim and to serve his masters in the steel trust. He spares no efforts to create dissension in the union. In addressing himself to the National Labor Board, he characterizes the members of the committee of ten as "irresponsible" and "representing nobody but themselves." He knows, nevertheless, that this committee was duly elected at the union convention. Even the steel trust knows that this is a representative committee and that it speaks for the union. How closely the committee will stick to the program adopted at the union convention remains to be seen. Carrying out its mandate this committee is duty-bound to lead this struggle to its final conclusion, to the establishment of a union in the steel industry.

Strike on Pacific Coast Extends To Shipyards

Oakland, Calif., May 26.—The West Coast longshoremen's strike is entering a new phase. Both the ship owners and the unions are preparing for a long and bitter struggle. Recently new forces to augment the police have been recruited in almost all west coast cities; the recruits coming mostly from the ranks of the war veterans. These new additions to the forces of "law and order" are being used to drive the picket lines back from the waterfront, in an attempt to crush the strike.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce boldly declares that it is going to open the port to shipping. So far the unions have answered all such statements by new and fresh walk-outs, by strengthening the picket lines and by tightening the strike generally.

Communists have played a leading role in this work and served to strengthen the militancy, the morale and the organization of the strike. Of course the scare head editorials in the Western Worker are entirely unreal. Moreover, the official party's T.U.U.L. policy now begins to come into serious conflict with the unity and with the success of the strike. There is the first indication in the resolution of the I.L.A. local union pushed through at a recent meeting stating that only A. F. of L. unions would be considered in the strike settlement. This strike breaking maneuver was successful only because of the incorrect line of the official party. Its fatal T.U.U.L. policy cannot at all meet the splitting attacks of the reactionary trade union officials. It plays directly into their hands and emphasizes in a most direct sense the imperative need of all militants becoming participants in the mass unions.

If this line is permitted to continue the whole strike front will be weakened by the pulling away of the independent unions including the C.P.'s own union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Longshoremen Stand Ground
On May 31, in coast-wide Australian ballot the striking longshoremen in more than twenty cities on the Pacific Coast gave an emphatic no as their answer to the maneuvers of the mediators and the union president Ryan, and voted to stand solid until their demand for a closed shop are met. For good measure they added that the rest of the demands of the seamen unions must also be met.

During the week the strike spread to the shipyards where the machinists and the riggers unions in the major yards of San Francisco and Oakland joined in a sympathetic walk-out.

The week was marked with pitched battles between strikers and police. The strikers armed solely with their fists, bricks from a wrecked building and other such impromptu weapons stood their ground well against tear gas, buckshots, sawed-off shot guns, police horses, nightsticks and revolvers.

(Continued on page 4)

Defend Thaelmann-Torgler

Ernst Thaelmann is to be put through a farcical trial by the Nazis. Hitler will demand that the "Peoples' Court", his newly organized tribunal, finds Thaelmann guilty of sedition and terrorism and condemn him to death.

The trial has been postponed for months. Solitary confinement, barbaric torture, complete isolation from friends or legal counsel; such has been the treatment of Thaelmann by the murderous Fascist regime.

The Nazis feared to put Thaelmann on trial following their notorious failure to frame up Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popoff. The four were found not guilty in the

now infamous Reichstag fire trial. The three non-Germans were permitted to go to the Soviet Union. Torgler was kept imprisoned, where he remains today, to await a charge of sedition.

The victims of Hitlerism, irrespective of their party affiliations, are our class comrades. It is our elementary duty to arouse the working class in their defense.

Symbolic of the anti-Fascists at the present moment are Thaelmann and Torgler. Support the movement for their freedom! Arouse the workers in their defense! Forge the united front against capitalist reaction and Fascism!

Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position At Detroit National Convention

Detroit, June 4.—The national convention of the Socialist Party, which concluded its sessions here last night, recorded a definite shifting of the party to the left—following the main tendency of international social democracy. Centrism has replaced social reformism as the official policy of the party.

The "Militants" combined with Norman Thomas and the Milwaukee group against the New York "Old Guard" to pass a diluted "Declaration of Principles" and elect a slate to the National Executive Committee. The age at which members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League (Ypsels) may enter the party was lowered from 21 to 18, thus insuring an influx of radical young Socialists into the party. On the trade union question the Centrists capitulated to the Old Guard and all criticism of the A. F. of L. leadership—the heart of the trade union resolution—was stricken out.

The New "Declaration of Principles", which was carried by a vote of 99 to 47 (10,822 to 6,512 according to membership represented) evades the central questions of the state and revolution and the struggle against war with ambiguous formulations sufficiently elastic to admit of different and contradictory interpretations, and they were so interpreted in the debate by various speakers, and to attract the combined support of pacifists, Municipal Socialists and those who consider themselves revolutionary Marxists.

The leaders of the "Militants", the principal sponsors of the declaration, appealed to the authority of Illiquit on every contested point and explained the stand taken on the question of war as a re-statement of the St. Louis resolution of 1917. As before stated, the position of the Revolutionary Policy Committee was not brought forward. One delegate, Peter Fagin of Michigan, protested against the Centrist steam roller which prevented the left wing from being heard and several other delegates filed similar declarations with their votes for the adopted resolution.

The "Old Guard", on the other hand, which stands pat on "Democratic Socialism" or the European pre-Hitler type and makes no concessions whatever to the tragic outcome in Germany and Austria,

waged a furious struggle against the resolution. Denouncing it as "an anarchistic illegal doctrine," Louis Waldman of New York declared: "It is inconceivable to me how I can remain a Social Democrat and vote for this declaration." In a voice quivering with indignation and amazement at the suggestion of a possible violation of the rules of class warfare laid down by the capitalists, Waldman shouted: "How can a party dedicated to peaceful and legal struggle speak of mass resistance to war?" Greeted by a storm of boos from the gallery, in which many delegates joined, Waldman declared, "I will stand all the boos, and also agree to defend in court all those who may be indicted on the basis of this resolution."

This was the strain of all the arguments of the extreme right. Be careful—or we will all be arrested. In speech after speech they strove to incite fear of consequences and demanded the restriction of the socialist struggle to the framework of bourgeois democracy. This, said Panken, was a fundamental question, and collectively they rejected a proposal to offer amendments on this or that paragraph. "We are confronted here," said his Honor the Judge, "with a fundamental cleavage of philosophy and theory. Do we want to abandon the demo-

(Continued on Page 3)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Stalinist United Front with God

I don't know whether you would call it the united front from above or from below, or whether it was just a working arrangement with a "rank and file god", but anyhow on Memorial Day there it was. First marched comrade, or should we call him "Father" Tallentyre and also "marched" Father Divine, the "rank and file god" in an expensive limousine, and behind him came his angels dressed in yellow robes and golden wings, eyes turned to Heaven, dancing along the street to the chant: "Father Divine is God, Father Divine is God!" Believe it or not, this was the Young Communist League's National Youth Day Demonstration. The Daily Worker reports that 15,000 youth marched. Even taking into account the Stalinist method of estimating parades, there is still something wrong. 15,000 youth! Unless the majority of the paraders were followers of the new God and have been "born again of the water and the spirit" they couldn't be called youth by any stretch of the imagination. The Daily Worker reports that Father Divine's contingent comprised 3,000 marchers. I don't know about that, but I do know that the intelligent and class-conscious Negro supporters of Communism turned away in disgust when they saw the Stalinists elevating Father Divine and his hoodwinked fanatical following into partnership in the Y.C.L. demonstration against War and Fascism.

We can well believe Father Divine's boast that he made converts from the Stalinist ranks. If one is ready to accept Earl Browder as the brilliant, masterly, etc., etc., leader who cast "a spell over the convention (Ogins) it requires scarcely more than another step on the same path to hail Father Divine as God and God as peace, and wave the arms and shout "Oh, its wonderful!"

Trotzky, Thaelmann, and Stool-Pigeons

The Daily Worker of May 31st publishes the following: "The Tageblatt which is the bitter enemy of Communism reports: 'The man who is building up the evidence against Thaelmann is the same one who discovered the Trotsky affair. Going under the name of Karody... he is actually the foreign specialist of the Political Police...'"

The Daily Worker goes on to say, "... the social democrats continue to act as police stool-pigeons, assisting the Nazis in their campaign of slander against the German working class leader."

Perhaps it would be well for the Daily Worker to remember that when Karody, the Political Police specialist "discovered" the case against Trotsky that it was Earl Browder in this country and similar Stalinist bureaucrats elsewhere who continued to act as stool-pigeons assisting the Nazis in their campaign of slander against the international working class leader.

The "slander" attributed to the Social Democratic Deutsche Freiheit was this: "Thaelmann possesses neither the intellectual qualities nor the character qualities demanded of a leader for the German working class." If this statement is a 'stool-pigeon' act what words can be found to characterize the slimy interview of Earl Browder on Trotsky to the capitalist press. Every last word in the D. W. article including those on Norman Thomas applies with double force to the Stalinists themselves.

Radek and the League of Nations

"Radek writes on the history of League of Nations. Fascism drops out and takes leading role in war preparations."—Headline and sub-head, Daily Worker. In the article itself Radek says—"All that the Bolsheviks said about it when the League of Nations was founded has been fully confirmed. But those powers remained in the League who are interested in the maintenance of peace."

"Fascism drops out"—but we were taught by the Daily Worker that the British and French governments were Fascist, and then there is Poland, Austria, and Bulgaria, to say nothing of Italy itself. If Fascism dropped out, and the non-Fascist nations "who are interested in peace" remain, then we take it that Mussolini is no longer Fascist and is interested in peace. Then why not invite him to join Father Divine, Earl Browder, and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom in the League Against War and Fascism.

Manifestos for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

out. 500 copies \$1.00 plus postage. Cash must accompany order. Readers of the Militant should try hard to distribute the Manifesto. 50 copies will be sent postpaid for 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.

Steel Facts and Figures

The steel industry today is practically a synonym for imperialism. Virtually all of modern economy radiates from this huge monopoly. The world hegemony of Yankee imperialism is to be seen in the fact that Great Britain, France and Germany combined can turn out only two thirds as many steel and iron products as the United States.

Tugging at the roots of the American capitalist giant, therefore, the pending steel strike finds titanic forces girding for battle.

The capitalists, in their press, have opened up their light artillery: "The great majority of the employees in the steel works do not want to strike... The only threat comes from union leaders. No issue exists between the steel companies and the great majority of their employees, etc., etc."

A glance at the available figures, however, is sufficient to show that it took more than "outside leaders" to set the steel workers in motion. According to the U. S. Bureau of census figures the 419,000 employees in the iron and steel industry earned an average of \$1,745 in 1929, whereas 141,000 did not work at all during 1931 (33.7% unemployed), the remaining 278,000 earning an average of \$1,290 (a 26% pay-cut). The U. S. Steel Corporation (Poor's Manual, 1933, p. 947) had, including all its subsidiaries, 203,674 employees in 1931, of whom only 63,619 worked full time, 150,055 part time. The average earnings for the year was \$1,310, a 29% cut from the 1929 figure. In 1932 the number of employed had shrunk to 158,032 (66,948 totally unemployed) of which only 18,338 (1 employee out of every 12 who worked in 1929) worked full time. The average wages for the year were \$847, a 53% reduction from 1929.

What Did the Owners Get

Hardly anything needs be added to these figures to show why the workers must have become convinced of the necessity of organization.

"No issue exists between the steel companies and the great majority of the employees (?)". Yet, while the thousands starved Charles Schwab, chairman of the Bethlehem, drew as salary \$150,000 in 1929, and \$250,000 in 1931, 1932, and 1933; E. G. Grace, president of the same company, \$1,633,653 in 1929, \$297,796 in 1931 and \$180,000 in 1932 and 1933; and Myron C. Taylor, chairman of U. S. Steel, got \$209,351 in 1929, \$241,357 in 1931, and \$197,203 in 1932. "No issue" indeed.

In the coming struggles the workers face a huge concentration of capital. Practically all the steel production in the country is controlled by 32 companies, which own or control, in addition to the steel plants, mines, railroads, steamship lines, cement plants etc. According to the figures submitted by the Iron and Steel Institute (the "union" of steel capitalists) to the steel code authority, the average number of employees in the steel industry proper during the years 1929 and 1930 was 341,622. Of this number 262,508 or 76.8% were employed by the 7 largest companies, the distribution among them being as follows: U. S. Steel, 40%; Bethlehem Steel, 13%; Republic Steel, 6.5%; Jones and Laughlin, 5.1%; Youngstown Sheet and Tube, 4.8%; National Steel, 4.1%; and Wheeling Steel, 3.3%. This concentration is further increased by the fact that some of the companies listed here are independents are subsidiaries of the others. Only one fact is required to complete the picture: J. P. Morgan and several of his partners are directors of U. S. Steel and the financial agent of the corporation is—J. P. Morgan and Co.

On Whom Can the Workers Rely

If the workers have illusions as to any support they might get from the NRA or from Roosevelt, the capitalists know better. Listen to what they say (Iron Age organ of the steel bosses, July 3, 1933): "The president did not write the objectionable features (the right to collective bargaining—W.) of the labor clause of this act. That was done by those legislators who listen attentively and respectfully to the dictates of the labor lobby."

"Congress will not administer this act. The President will. And he is not likely to let any minority interest stand in the way of the desired end. That end is not to close-shop American industry." (My emphasis—W.)

But the courts, the courts, will they not protect the worker under the law? The capitalists never had any illusions about this either: "The employer is as free to make non-membership in a union a condition of employment as the working man is free to join the union. This is part of the constitutional rights of personal liberty and private property, not to be taken away even by legislation." (From decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, Dec. 10, 1917, in the Hitchman Coal and Coke case.) Thus did the Iron Age, emphasizing this decision in two

issues, June 29 and July 6, 1933, foreshadow the decision in the Weirton case. (Emphasis in Iron Age.)

The workers and capitalists are both "free"; they have "equal rights." "Between equal rights, force decides." The workers must therefore depend upon their own strength and upon this alone. Modern conditions of production have welded them into a vast compact army. The power to win is theirs if they maintain unbroken ranks.

—WEAVER.

Capital and Labor Under the NRA

The following figures for the period from March 1933 to March 1934 serve to give an interesting illustration of how the workers fare under the Blue Eagle. During this period, according to government and A. F. of L. statistics which are notoriously conservative, wages increased 9.7 per cent. During the same period according to the same statistics the cost of living increased by 9.3 per cent.

Between October and March, unemployment rose by 780,000 while there are more families on relief now than at any time since the NRA.

The profits of the first 51 industrial companies to report their earnings, in the first quarter of 1934, increased from \$6,322,000 in 1933, to \$18,740,000. This was accomplished by an increase in productivity through speed-up, etc. The Nation gives the following example from a report by the Alexander Hamilton Institute.

"A certain large manufacturing corporation in the Middle West produced in 1932, 563,000 units at a cost of \$752 a unit; in 1933, by increasing production to 869,000 units, costs were reduced to \$567 per unit. The wage cost per unit was reduced from \$254 to \$197, or 22.6 per cent, and the value produced per dollar paid in wages increased from \$3.02 to \$3.22, or 10 per cent. But while wages were not increased, profits increased from \$16,500,000 to \$33,214,000, and an extra dividend was paid to stockholders."

It's truly a New Deal for capital, but the same old deal, from the same old deck for labor.

National Tour Shows League Influence

One of the features of the recently completed national tour was the gratifying success obtained in those localities where hitherto the League had never held a public meeting. To cite a few examples will serve to indicate how vast are the possibilities of rebuilding the movement in the United States on a truly revolutionary basis.

Tonawanda and North Tonawanda are twin cities a few miles north of Buffalo. We have one lone comrade doing the spade work there—a locality which does not have a substantial labor movement. Through the efforts of this pioneer, a meeting was arranged by the local unemployed organization, organized largely by him, which was attended by well over a hundred workers. Most of those present were in the organization as their first connection with any form of the labor movement. Nevertheless they followed through attentively the presentation of the Communist League position on the problem of unemployment, and though jobless, indicated their sympathy with a good financial response. One of the significant results of the meeting was the invitation extended to the speaker, comrade Shachtman, to address the forthcoming district conference of the Paper, Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union, which has a good measure of strength on both sides of the Niagara Falls.

An even better example is Winnipeg. At no time had a public or private meeting under our auspices ever been held in this historic labor community. If the initial reception accorded our meetings during the tour is any index at all, Winnipeg promises to outstrip many of our established branches in short order. The meetings were arranged by less than half a dozen sympathizers and friends, who did an excellent job, too. One meeting, on the fundamental question of our differences with Stalinism, attended mostly by Jewish workers, brought down 75. Another meeting was arranged where Shachtman spoke on the unemployment program of the League to a semi-official district conference of an organization embracing over 7,000 workers. The main meeting, chaired by the most popular revolutionary educator in the city, comrade Bloshstein, was packed by more than 350 workers, at which the sympathy for our standpoint on Stalinism, social democracy and the Fourth International openly expressed by a large section of the

League Continues Gains in Frisco

The Stalinists in the San Francisco Bay area are worried about the rapid growth and development of the League and are moving everything in their power to destroy its activities and its effectiveness. They have instructed their members not to speak to any individual League member. They have threatened to send every "Trotskyite" to the hospital and to break-up our meetings.

Yes the League is growing. A new branch has now been organized in Richmond and a city committee established representing the three branches in the Bay District. The meetings held by Shachtman on his tour were a great help in these developments. But in a direct sense the new Richmond branch emerges due to the increased activities of the Oakland comrades in the city of Richmond where they took a leading part in setting up the California Workers Association, a militant unemployed workers organization.

Following right upon the heels of these developments the Stalinists issued a shop paper in Richmond attacking a worker in the Standard Oil plant by name and causing him to lose his job. The company did not at all believe the slanders against him of being a counter-revolutionary etc. The League is answering this outrageous stool-pigeon work by pushing forward a workers trial to be conducted by the California Workers Association at the Brotherhood Hall.

L.L.D. Refuses to Defend Prisoners

Our two comrades Booth and Wyle, who were arrested on the San Francisco picket line, have finally been released on bail. It took \$4,000 to get them out. The L.L.D. has flatly refused to defend these two class-war victims and it was only after many hours of efforts and with the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union that the bail amount was raised. But this refusal of the L.L.D. to defend class war prisoners is another proof of the desperation and degeneracy of the Stalinists who are in control of this outfit. This shameful attitude on the part of the L.L.D. should be brought home to every worker who may still be under illusions that this is a workers' defense organization. At the same time, however, it emphasizes the need of the creation of a genuine non-partisan labor defense organization.

—F.C.

Weirton Steel Mills

The road leading directly into Weirton, W. Va., is steep and dangerous. Our rickety Ford seemed to protest, its brakes groaned at each curve as we slowly wound our way to the bottom of the valley. We experienced a feeling of uneasiness. Can it be that workers have built a city in this forsaken place?

Weirton is a city built around a huge mill. On the main street the workers walk about, each a living testimonial to the mill's exploitation. One can almost see them try-

ing to rest their bodies so that tomorrow they will have a fresh supply of energy for the mill. In fact, one wonders how a worker can bear living here. Upon asking one of the workers how he could bear it he explained that this was made possible only by first working in the mill. After tasting life in Mr. Weir's "workshop" one found Weirton quite a nice place to live.

The Union Prepares for Strike

The Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America—an A. F. of L. union—has a membership in these mills of about 4,000 including Steubenville and Clarksburg. The president, Bill Long, has promised to present demands for union recognition and to join the nation-wide strike in middle of June if this demand is not met.

At their meeting of May 19, the Stalinists with their handful of followers made a statement that they will support the strike one hundred percent. However, whether they will support the strike as real militants when it is called or use it as a base for recruiting members for their own union as they have done elsewhere on numerous occasions remains to be seen. They have made several attempts to build their own union here but they have so discredited themselves with the workers that all their attempts have been crowned with failure. In April they issued leaflets under the auspices of the Metal Workers Union calling the workers to a meeting at the Ahepa Hall. No one came. Instead of concentrating their energies into a real left wing movement in the Amalgamated the Stalinists make frequent sallies into Weirton from Steubenville in an effort to disrupt the organizing of the workers. Such tactics are reactionary.

At present the tin plate, steel and coke plants are operating on an eight-hour day, five-day week basis while the sheet mill schedule varies from three to five days. Unskilled workers get \$3.53 per day while the rate of pay for piece work is so varied and complicated that one must be a mathematician in order to determine what a worker has earned at the end of a day's work.

How Weir Wins His Elections

Before the company elections took place Mr. Weir set out to prove that the workers were in favor of a company union. Here is how he did it. Maryland Heights, which is Weir's country home, was suddenly thrown open to all the workers. They were invited to come there as his guests and to eat as many sandwiches and drink as much beer and whiskey as their hearts desired. The banquet lasted for two solid weeks. The workers liked going there and why not. It was such a pleasant place, such a contrast to their own existence in Weirton proper. And besides, there was a band playing too.

And now, as the day of the election was close at hand, perhaps Mr. Weir will relax in an easy chair and await the returns with confidence. But no, not Mr. Weir. Sandwiches and beer was only part of his program. What guarantee was there that these delicacies were properly digested. So to make sure that the workers would not "bite the hand that fed them", our "generous host" stationed guardians of the law near the ballot boxes and in their hands he placed generous sized clubs with orders to lend a helping hand to any worker who might go astray.

A Serious Struggle is Impending

During the last strike the methods the company used to whip the workers into submission was nothing short of scandalous. In order to discredit the union the yellow papers shouted that the Amalgamated supported gambling and racketeering and that it must therefore be smashed. In order to fill the city with special police the company raised the cry that the citizens demanded additional protection against the union and these police were used in turn to terrorize the workers. In order to divide the workers further the company raised the slogan of "extra bonus for all workers with more than twenty years service". They left nothing undone.

But the workers go on fighting. They learn through struggle. In the entire steel industry including Steubenville, Weirton, Clarksburg, Yorkville, Cannonsburg, Homestead, McKeesport, etc. The pressure of the strike sentiment on the union leaders is tremendous. How the officials react to this remains to be seen. One thing is certain. A militant struggle is due in Weirton.

—IRVING OKLIN.

Brownsville Forum

WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?

Speaker

JACK WEBER

Dir. International Workers' School SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave.

Auspices: Brownsville Branch Communist League of America

MARCH OF EVENTS

Biro-Bidjan

The Soviet Union has granted to Biro-Bidjan the status of an autonomous Soviet Republic for the Jews. This step is consistently in line with the democratic policy established at the very foundation of the Soviets or granting complete self-determination to the oppressed nationalities, and even to small national minorities. Here is a bit of historic justice—that the country once anathematized by the workers of all lands for its violently reactionary instigations and pogroms against the Jews, should now be the first to grant a vast territory to them for their free cultural development. Coming too, at a time of extreme fascist reaction when the capitalist dictatorships of Germany, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia have taken over Czarist tactics of diverting the pent-up wrath of the masses against the terrible conditions under which they are forced to live, of transforming this as yet unguided anger into a weapon of reaction by making scapegoats of the Jews,—the action of the Soviet Government stands out in bold contrast and will undoubtedly draw the Jewish masses everywhere into closer sympathy with Soviet Russia.

Contrast with Palestine

Inevitably the question will pose itself to the many Jews attracted now more than ever to the idea of a homeland—which one, Palestine or Biro-Bidjan? To the Marxist this question can have but one answer. There can be no question of the idealism of the Jewish masses in supporting Palestine and immigrating there. But Palestine carries a double taint, that of capitalist dividing of the working class and that of imperialist intrigue. It is by no accident (at least so far as the bourgeois leaders are concerned) that the Zionists everywhere set themselves apart from the workers' movement. The sort of national culture desired by Jewish capitalists is reactionary and aims to split off one and not the least important section of the workers from the international movement. True there exists a section of the Zionist movement that carries on a struggle against capitalist influence inside and outside of Palestine. With their struggle against capitalism we are completely in sympathy. But Jewish Palestine remains nevertheless a bit of transported capitalism under the paw of British imperialism. The conflict in which Jewish immigrants immediately find themselves with the Arabs tends to obscure for both the Jewish and the Arab masses the essential need for proletarian unity against the common capitalist oppressors. It permits the semi-feudal Arabian ruling class to gain the support of the Arab masses in a fictitious struggle against British imperialism in the role of expropriating the Arab in favor of the Jew. It permits the Jewish bourgeoisie to foist a fake national unity on their masses by the false plea of common defense.

The Question of Freedom

Biro-Bidjan, on the other hand stands as a symbol for all nationalities and for the Jews in particular. No oppressed nationality or national minority—and this can be said categorically—can gain its freedom under capitalist rule. Today only by enlisting in the international class struggle on the side of the proletariat for the complete overthrow of capitalism, for the abolition of private property and capitalist exploitation, can the oppressed national masses gain their freedom. In every nation there exists, as Lenin pointed out, not one national culture, but two. The dominant culture, that of the present ruling class, is one of robbery at home and abroad, of exploitation and oppression of all kinds, including that of national minorities. The other, existing in embryo only in the capitalist countries, is that of proletarian democracy, of international socialism fighting for unity of the oppressed against all separatist barriers of race, color, religion, including the national barriers. The proletariat of each and every land in liberating itself also leads to the liberation of every other section of the oppressed masses.

Defense of the Soviet Union

That is the meaning of Biro-Bidjan. Here the Jews are given the opportunity to establish a real homeland devoid of capitalist exploitation and built in cooperation, not merely with each other but with the international proletariat. Let no one assume the task is easy for Biro-Bidjan no more than the rest of the Soviet Union is safe so long as capitalism still exists. But the Jewish masses have an added reason for supporting the workers' fatherland and defending the Soviet Union.

—J. WEBER.

Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position at Detroit Convention

(Continued from page 1)

cratic methods? Do we want to resort to violence?"

The veteran Ohio Right Winger, Joseph Sharts, went his fellow attorneys from New York one better and flatly stated that if he had to choose between the flag and "red revolution" he would follow the flag. This brought such a violent demonstration against him that the chairman of the day, Vladak, threatened to "clear the galleries." There was no suggestion to throw Sharts out of the meeting, although someone shouted, "You have no place in the Socialist Party."

Powers Hapgood, in speaking for the resolution, declared that it was not fully satisfactory to him and to other left wing delegates. He said it should be amended not to the right but to the left; that the workers object to the S. P. not because it is too radical but because it is not radical enough. Dan Iloan, the Mayor of Milwaukee, however, assured the terrified members of the Old Guard, who are comfortably enjoying their "socialism" right now in the form of substantial incomes and other emoluments, that they were unduly alarmed. This resolution, he said, doesn't go as far as the St. Louis resolution. And, besides, he added slyly, we didn't carry out the St. Louis resolution.

The sections in the "Declaration of Principles" which evoked such a stormy debate read as follows:

"The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism and war. It purposes to eradicate the perpetual economic warfare of capitalism the fruit of which is international conflict. War cannot be tolerated by Socialists, or preparedness for war. They will unitedly seek to develop trust-worthy instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts. They will seek to eliminate military training from schools, colleges and camps. They will oppose military reviews, displays and expenditures, whether for direct war preparedness or for militaristic propaganda, both in wartime and peacetime. They will loyally support, in the tragic event of war, any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service, come into conflict with public opinion or the law. Moreover, recognizing the suicidal nature of modern combat and the incalculable strain of war's consequences which rest most heavily upon the working class, they will refuse collectively to sanction or support any international war; they will, on the contrary, by agitation and opposition, do their best not to be broken by the war, but to break up the war. They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government, by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practicable impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism.

"In its struggle for a new society, the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objectives by peaceful and orderly means. Recognizing the increasing resort by a crumbling capitalist order to Fascism to preserve its integrity and dominance, the Socialist Party intends not to be deceived by Fascist propaganda nor overwhelmed by Fascist force. It will do all in its power to fight Fascism of every kind all the time and everywhere in the world, until Fascism is dead. It will rely, nevertheless, on the organization of a disciplined labor movement. Its methods may include a recourse to a general strike which will not merely serve as a defense against Fascist counter-revolution but will carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy.

"The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy. Capitalism is doomed. If it can be superseded by majority vote, the Socialist Party will rejoice. If the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist State. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule. True democracy is a worthy means to progress; but true democracy must be created by the workers of the world."

eracy must be created by the workers of the world."

If we take the three main points dealt with in the declaration—war, the state and revolution, and the fight against Fascism—it is easy to see that a straightforward revolutionary answer, proceeding from theory and experience, has not been given in a single case. To be sure, the declaration marks a sharp departure from the position and practice of the international social democracy from 1914 to the collapse in Germany and Austria. That is why the Old Guard, which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing, fought it so bitterly.

Centrism has rearsen and come to dominance in the international Social Democracy precisely because the old methods of social reformism have brought such ignominious defeat and have been so thoroughly discredited. A change in front has become an imperative necessity in order to hold the organizations together and regain the confidence of the workers. This is the role of Centrism. The revolutionary impulses of the workers are met with general formulations which sound extremely radical but which do not mean anything specifically. The Detroit declaration abounds in these treacherous and deceptive formulations. It is a classic document of Centrism.

The resolution promises a general strike against war—which is a myth, impossible of realization in the face of a war mobilization. And even this is qualified to read, "insofar as practicable." Which is a way of saying, "We are only talking about a general strike; we don't really mean it." And in truth that is how many of the proponents of the resolution understand this bombast. That war is inevitable under capitalism, that it cannot be prevented or defeated by refusal to serve in the army or by any other form of passive resistance, that the only answer to war, in fact, is revolution—civil war, or the preparation for it—on all these main aspects of the question of war the resolution either remains silent, or speaks falsely, or resorts to ambiguous allusions and hints which may be interpreted one way or another.

The resolution promises to fight Fascism "all the time and everywhere in the world" and even to "carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy." Brave words! But all that, including the general strike to which the resolution says the S. P. "may" resort, was proclaimed by the German and Austrian Social Democratic parties with no less bluster. Will the S.P. form a united front with all workers' organizations against Fascism? Will it teach the workers that the Fascist bands must be beaten down with their own methods before they have the chance to get the upper hand? Will it explain to the workers that the answer to Fascist violence is the Workers' Militia and that it must be formed on the basis of the united front before the Fascists get state power, not afterward? No. On this crucial question, as on all others, the resolution of the Detroit convention says nothing clearly, specifically and unambiguously. That is why such a conglomeration of different tendencies could unite to vote for it. The resolution was designed as a catch-all for votes, not as a clear guide to the workers in the fight against Fascism.

On the question of the state and revolution the Detroit convention adopted the formula of the American Workers' Party which had been put into circulation long ago by the late Morris Hillquit. The S. P. henceforth is to apply itself to the task "of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy." Just what this workers' democracy is to look like is not explained. Is it the dictatorship of the proletariat? Some delegates thought so and for that reason accepted it. Other delegates thought the contrary and voted for it with that understanding. Like the resolution as a whole the expression "workers' democracy" is a vote-catcher, not a clear guide for the education and action of the workers.

The resolution omits any mention of the revolutionary struggle to establish the so-called workers' democracy. Instead of that it refers to the possibility that capitalism "can be superseded by a majority vote." If the rights of the majority are then denied the forces of reaction are to be crushed "by our labor solidarity." With the aid of such empty verbiage as this, such treacherous double-meaning formulations which satisfy people of divergent views, the "Militants", who express a progressive tendency in the ranks of the party, the Revolutionary Policy Committee, which had set itself up as the spokesman of the revolutionary left wing, and the Municipal Socialists of Milwaukee, who think it is time to become a bit more radical—they all got together on the basis of the new "De-

claration of Principles" to present a new face to the working class of America. But it is not the face of revolutionary socialism.

By this statement I do not mean to deny that profound changes are taking place in the ranks of the S. P. and that the convention at Detroit reflected this process of change. A real movement to the left is under way. It has not yet formulated its position clearly, nor has it found its authentic leaders. The rapid transformation now taking place in the Socialist ranks is marked by a great deal of confusion and contradiction. The Centrists who dominated the Detroit convention exploited this confusion and rode to power with it.

Will they be able now, by a partial turn of the party to the left, to arrest further developments? The answer to that question rests first of all with the revolutionary militants in the party. There are quite a few of them already. They will increase and multiply to the extent that they understand the role of centrism as a barrier to revolutionary progress and wage an unrelenting war against it.

I hope to return to this question and to other aspects of the Detroit convention in future articles.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

Mussolini Sets An Example of "Disarmament"

What may be expected from the "Disarmament" conferences is indicated in a speech by Mussolini in his Chamber of Deputies on May 26th. Italy will spend 1,000,000,000 lire on battleships and a similar amount on its air fleet. This, he remarked sardonically, was done because "disarmament had at last come." The construction of the battleships and aeroplanes will be carried out in spite of a deficit of 1,000,000,000 lire in the budget. Will the budget be "balanced" by taxing the bankers and industrialists? Oh no! As usual the workers have to carry the burden of paying for the war preparations. "We are probably moving toward a period of humanity reposing on a lower standard of life. We must not be alarmed by this prospect." Present day humanity is very strong and is capable of asceticism (!!) such as we perhaps have no conception of. This is his consoling advice to the Italian workers. It was also necessary, he stressed, to lower the cost of production so Italy could face the competition of other nations in the international market. This process he warned would call for a general lowering of salaries and wages.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Will the Soviet Union Join the League of Nations?

The policy of socialism in one country is reaping a new and mighty success. The Soviet Union is about to be accepted into the League of Nations. At the same time that Sarraut and Doumergue are deporting Trotsky from France, the French foreign minister Barthou is negotiating with Litvinoff on the condition for the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations.

The existence of the League of Nations was in reality seriously endangered. Japan and Germany had once more convincingly proved its impotence, even Paraguay and Bolivia flouted it. The differences between France and England threatened to tear it asunder. The League of Nations exploded—a harsh melody in the prelude to the witches' Sabbath of the coming World War. For the immediate present, however, the open collapse would have meant the destruction of all the efforts of French diplomacy of the post-war period, would have destroyed the very last vestige of France's hegemony on the continent. As a result it is for French foreign diplomacy a matter of tremendous importance to save the League of Nations and pour new life into it. The preservation of the League of Nations means for France the preservation of the system of Versailles, the stabilization of the French brigands' peace. This French policy now finds a new support in the Soviet Union. The acceptance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations lends this bankrupt institution a new shimmer. At best only the Swiss Cheeses and the Dutch Cleansers fear the Soviet Union as a revolutionary force whereas the French bourgeoisie has already long ago realized the truth of the statement which a Russian "revolutionary" diplomat sarcastically expressed to Paul Boncour, "You ought to be happy that a Communist Party exists in France, otherwise the revolution would long ago have been made."

Petty Bourgeois Pacifists Will Greet This Move

Not for nothing does the fight against real proletarian revolutionaries, against Trotsky and Fourth International, find Stalin and Doumergue allied with each other. The social traitors and petty bourgeois pacifists of all countries, however, become positively ecstatic as a result of the move of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union prevents the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois policy of pacifism from becoming too apparent. Henderson's pleasure trips in the name of disarmament will now be backed by Litvinoff's authority. Moreover, the leftward trend in the English proletariat pushes the Labor Party politicians directly toward the formation of a new Anglo-Russian Committee. All the easier for them if the League of Nations now assumes this role.

And how can the official Communist parties of all countries condemn the reformists and their petty bourgeois pacifist qualities which objectively further imperialism and militarism? If the imperialist powers, France and England have become "guarantors of world peace" in the eyes of the Soviet Union, and the maintenance of peace at any price—even at the price of abandoning revolutionary policy—is held up as the supreme aim of Soviet foreign policy, how can the French Communists still attack French imperialism and militarism? French militarism, plundering and bloody suppression of Tunis and Morocco,

English imperialism, enslaving defenseless Indians and fellahs have become in the terminology of Soviet diplomacy, guarantors of peace!

What Will the Comintern Do?

With this we have arrived at the most important problem which is connected with the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations,—namely, what are the consequences of this step for the Comintern? Characteristic, by the way, of the incredible decay of the Comintern and the scorn with which Stalin treats it, is the fact that the Daily of the Danish Stalinists, the Copenhagen Arbejderbladet reports the interview of Barthou with Litvinoff a day later than the bourgeois press, adding to the caption "THE SOVIET IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS" a question mark. This question mark reveals far more deeply the pitiful political role which Stalin's Comintern hires plays than ten theoretical articles of ours could do. The Soviet Union enters the League of Nations! Should that not be discussed beforehand in the Comintern and all its sections even down to the lowest unit? Should not a world congress or at least an enlarged E.C.C.I. plenum pass a resolution upon this? Or is it no concern of the revolutionary workers of the world, what sort of a foreign policy their fatherland is pursuing? In place of this, news of this import appears in the Communist press with the introduction "according to the bourgeois press!" And the revolutionary editors are not even conscious of their miserable role.

And what sort of a policy will the Comintern pursue from now on as regards the League of Nations? Did not the Dutchman Wijnkoop—another miserable capitulator of the Comintern—under the pressure of the revolutionary criticism of the League of Nations by our comrade Sneevliet in the Dutch Parliament only a few months ago deliver a thundering attack against this instrument of the French, English and Dutch imperialists "dropping with blood and dirt"? What will the poor Wijnkoops of all countries do now? They will have to learn by heart the foreign policy speeches of their colleagues of the "social-fascist" faction. Must not the result of the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations force the French Communists into a truce with their own bourgeoisie?

What the German Stalinists Say And just at the same moment—in the Rundschau of May 9th—appears the "revised program of social and national liberation" of the Central Committee of the C. P. G. Once more seven whole paragraphs are dedicated to the "peace of infamy of Versailles" which Hitler cannot get rid of. These formulations close with the words: "The proletarian revolution, the revolutionary working class, under our leadership: that is, the one and only force which can smash the brigands treaty of Versailles, do away with all the burdens of tribute (we wonder if some day the news will get to Heckert's ear, that Germany has for a long time not paid one pfennig—W. H.) and open the gates of the empire for the voluntary union of all toiling Germans (only for the Germans? Perhaps according to the principle, 'A German is he who is an Aryan'—W. H.)"

To set up the liberation from the Versailles Treaty as one of the chief aims of the proletarian revolution in Germany in the present situation means that one must sup-

A Criticism of the Draft Program of The American Workers Party

In the May Day issue of Labor Action we are informed by comrade Sidney Hook that: "One of the most significant features of the Draft Program of the A.W.P. is that it breaks with the fetishism of terms in the revolutionary tradition." We take this to mean that new terms are being used for certain ideas already accepted as correct. And since it is a program that is under discussion the question of whether these correct ideas are actually maintained becomes the essential one.

In his answer to this question comrade Hook says: "For the first time in the history of the American revolutionary parties an attempt has been made to present in intelligible fashion the essential meaning content of such terms as 'dictatorship of the proletariat', 'soviets', etc." Further, on the same article we are admonished that it is, "high time to abandon the linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking."

After that follows the explanation of the term used in the A.W.P. program in presenting what it assumes to be the meaning and the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And here we arrive at the crux of the problem. What is presented as a break with the fetishism

of terms is a substitution which changes, or certainly at least, completely obscures the correct idea. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a characterization of the workers' state during the period of transition from capitalism to communism the term "workers' democracy" is used.

It is this substitution that comrade Hook defends in his article entitled "Marxism and Democracy" in which he uses a Marxian terminology but distorts the essential "meaning-content" of Marxism.

In its defense comrade Hook says: "Today for historical reasons it is necessary to stress more than ever before the facts that the workers' state is a workers' democracy." And further on he adds: "The workers' democracy must be counterposed to the capitalist dictatorship in its representative liberal form as well as its fascist form." Of course, under a fascist regime, and against fascism, democratic demands and demands for workers' democracy assume unusual importance. But that is primarily in the sense of agitation and tactical approach to the masses. That, on the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition period signifies a broader democracy than hitherto known is absolutely correct. It signifies a workers' democracy in contradistinction to bourgeois democracy. This is an essential part of that form of state. But that alone does not characterize the content of the workers' state. It is only one of its aspects. The workers' state, to maintain itself in power, must suppress the exploiters who held power before and take away their private property in the means of production as well as eliminate them from the government. It represents a new class rule which makes workers' democracy possible. It is because of these facts that in describing our conception of the workers' state we use the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Is it not correct to say that the spirit of Marx's teachings consist of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is also assumed that the A.W.P. aims to become a Marxian party. But how does it come, that it is precisely on this vital point that its presentation in "intelligible fashion" so closely approximates Norman Thomas when he argued against the left wing in the Socialist Party. He put it this way: "Even in a transitional period the ideal to hold up and to work for is workers' democracy rather than a dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the dictatorship of one party."

The comrades of the A.W.P. want to distinguish themselves from the social-reformists and from their concessions. Comrade Hook will argue that this conception has nothing in common with what he meant. He has also told us before what he thinks Marx meant. He is well acquainted with Marx although

his views are very far from being Marxist views. Comrade Hook and the other A.W.P. comrades will point to the section in their draft program which says: "The revolutionary government must be prepared to meet the violence of the overthrown but still dangerous capitalist dictatorship. Against the forces of reaction, seeking to recall the old order, the workers must fight with every weapon to establish their own democracy. Against capitalist legality . . . must be set revolutionary legality . . .", etc. And how is this to be achieved? According to the Draft Program of the A.W.P. "a time will come when the major sections of the population will support the principles of a workers' democracy. As a measure of defense against the suicidal course of capitalist dictatorship, the workers will take power."

This sounds simple enough. But what is lacking here in strategy flows from the conception the authors have of the workers' state. However, the question of strategy we leave aside for the moment. What is said here about the workers' state, we grant, reads better than comrade Hook's interpretation; nevertheless its shortcomings are demonstrated more clearly by these interpretations. It is just such interpretations and such ambiguities which make possible for those in the A.W.P., who say openly that they are opposed to all dictatorships, to stand with those who claim to be revolutionists on the same program. Thus what is presented as abandoning "linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking" is in reality a lack of clear thinking, or to be more precise—a lack of revolutionary thinking. The intention of the authors may have been the best but "the road to hell is paved with good intentions."

In the program of the revolutionary party ideas and terms must be defined with absolute exactness. We would say that this must particularly apply today to the question of the proletarian dictatorship; and there are good reasons for that. A look at the world movement will convince us that this has become the burning issue with socialist workers adopting a leftward course. On the question of the proletarian dictatorship, they begin to express their break with the whole concept and heritage of social reformism. In all of the recent European experiences this is one of the issues which stand out the most clearly. The leftward moving socialist workers begin to give an evaluation of the proletarian dictatorship and counterpose it in name and essence to the social reformist concept of defense of bourgeois democracy which helped to strangle the proletarian revolution. They witnessed the perfidious part played by social reformism in these European events and they also notice the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus measures which distort the character of the workers' state. In view of this, a party proclaiming itself to be revolutionary, can least of all permit the real meaning of the proletarian dictatorship to become obscured.

Marxism constitutes a generalization of all workingclass experience. This means that for Marxists it is necessary to absorb every new experience gained. If we fail to learn from the most recent ones, from those most fresh in our mind, we shall not be able to learn at all. The A.W.P. cannot proceed as if there were no such experience before it appeared on the scene. Most certainly it cannot assume to be a revolutionary party when proceeding in that way.

Comrade Hook says that the great mass of American workers are non-political and that they must therefore be shown the true democracy—workers' democracy—against the false democracy under capitalism. That is well and good insofar as agitation amongst the masses is concerned. In that it is necessary to adapt one's methods to requirements of existing conditions. But the revolutionary program is an entirely different matter. It is the guide to action and its primary purpose is therefore the education of the party itself. Accepting comrade Hook's interpretations, the shortcomings in the A.W.P. Draft Program become really a matter of adaptation not in methods and approach but adaptation of position. It becomes an adaptation of the program to the prejudices of the backward workers. The result will be neither a revolutionary program nor a revolutionary party. It will repel the advanced workers, and fail to educate the backward workers for they can be educated only through the advanced workers, through the revolutionary section.

The most important historical instrument in the epoch of wars and revolutions is the party of the proletariat. But it can attain its objective only on the basis of its own clarity of principle.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Militant Builders

"Minneapolis Shows the Way"

Minneapolis showed how revolutionary Communists, who have the general interests of the workers at heart, instead of their own sectarian party interests, can lead a strike to a successful finish and come out of it with a union of 7,000 members. All this was not accomplished overnight by some magical formula of a quick road to "mass work" as some of our impatient critics have been demanding of us. It was accomplished by working slowly and fundamentally, preparing every step in advance.

According to indications, the C.I.A. branch in Minneapolis will double its membership soon. This too is not merely the result of the splendid work our comrades did during the strike. It is due in a large measure to the fact that the Minneapolis comrades have been busy circulating the Militant among the workers for a long period. In this field too, "Minneapolis Shows the Way."

In the first Club Plan sub drive, The Minneapolis branch sent in 128 new subscriptions. In the second drive they have already purchased 40 cards. In addition to these 40 cards which they have not yet disposed of they have 150 subscribers and they receive a bundle of 100 copies weekly, paying for them in full at the end of each month. During the strike, they received an additional bundle of 500 copies weekly for which they have already paid.

Now, after their hard and stubborn Jimmy Higgins work in connection with getting the workers of Minneapolis to read the Militant, our comrades there are beginning to reap the results of their devoted labors. Undoubtedly, many of the most militant fighters during the strike were from the ranks of those

who had been reading our paper previously. What Minneapolis did, other cities can do too when the circumstances present themselves.

Every time you get a new reader of the Militant, you get a prospective fighter in the class struggle and a possible member of the Communist League of America.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL CLUB PLAN DRIVE! BUY YOUR CLUB PLAN SUB CARDS NOW!

THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1ST. NO CARDS WILL BE SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE

Boston Branch	8
1. Borsook	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben L. & I. Porter	4
Cleveland Branch	22
Chicago Branch	20
Chicago Friends of The Militant Club	8
Constance N.	4
Davenport Branch	4
Los Angeles Branch	16
Los Angeles (Doughty)	8
Leaser	4
Minneapolis Branch	40
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
New York Local	32
(City Office 28)	
(Harlem Br. 4)	
Oakland Branch	4
Philadelphia Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
San Francisco Branch	8
San Francisco (Osborn)	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4

TOTAL 234

Editorial Note

The Minneapolis Strike

After the Minneapolis General Drivers Union conducted such a splendid fight that the whole labor movement of the city is resounding with praise of its magnificent leadership these men now learn from the Daily Worker that the strike was defeated and betrayed. Fortunately these Minneapolis fighters have shown that they are capable of using their heads as well as their fists and they will know exactly how to estimate such concoctions. As far as these workers are concerned there need be no doubt that they will regard such drive as beneath contempt. Thinking workers elsewhere know only too well what little reliance can be placed in the Stalinist evaluations in regard to facts as well as in regard to theoretical conclusions. That is verified by the thousands of them who had joined the official party and who through their bitter experiences of capitalist exploitation learned to hold the ideals of Communism in high esteem and precisely because of that found it impossible to remain in the party. It is verified by the thousands of other workers who for a time became victims of the fatal Stalinist T.U.U.L. policy and left these hopeless caricatures of militant unions in disgust.

In Minneapolis we had a strike and a leadership which, when viewed as a whole, its militancy, its thoroughness of organization, its loyalty to the class and effective policy is unequalled in recent labor history. For the first time in this present period the entirely correct method of mobilizing every member and every worker involved in a solid phalanx resulted in preventing a single wheel from moving and in routing not only the scabs but also the police and special deputies sent to the scene for their protection. And this strike followed closely upon the heels of the automobile sell-out settlement which served as an enormous stimulus everywhere to the bosses' resistance to union organization. In every one of the formerly unorganized industries the newly-formed unions are still battling for their existence with only a precarious foothold as yet. We are not speaking in this connection of the Stalinist paper unions, of which about the best that can be said is that they justly merit the laughing scorn that has been heaped upon their claim to be called unions, that is, if it had not been so tragic, recognizing the dastardly disruptive role this whole policy plays. The automobile sell-out settlement pushed the surging movement of these new unions in a backward direction. But the Minneapolis struggle came as a turning point, cutting a deep wedge into the capitalist offensive and into the attempt to crush the strike movements by force. This is its capital number one.

At this moment the essential issue is working class organization—trade union organization—as preparation for the much greater class battles to come. The real test of the revolutionists lies today in their ability to establish such organizations and to weld them firmly into a movement against the class enemy. In Minneapolis the revolutionists set to work in earnest and organized a union with such a rapid sweep that it counts today some 7,000 members and is gaining new recruits daily. And rarely has such a determined and fully united bunch of men been welded together into one local union. A tribute to its leadership speaking far more forcefully than the hollow, rapid rantings that all the Stalinist bureaucrats put together could produce in the Daily Worker. This tribute extends to the strike which gained the central objective—union recognition. It is one of the first of the new unions to gain actual recognition. This is its capital number two.

The Minneapolis strike was not a revolution. It fell short of being a revolution. To this we plead guilty. We are interested only in the world of realities. We have nothing in common with the Stalinists and their adventurist estimates which saw a "revolutionary upsurge" of the working masses of the United States in 1930 but slunk back into their true opportunist position in the ignominious capitulation in face of the deadly fascist enemy in Germany. But it is the strikes such as the one in Minneapolis that begin to prepare the basis for the

upsurge which is still to come. It is the organizations of the kind that is built in Minneapolis which holds promise of far greater working class victories. In that strike, and due to its able leadership, the workers involved received a valuable lesson and gained a real understanding not only of what the role of the capitalist state is—and more specifically the capitalist state with a farmer-labor governor at the head—but they also received a lesson and an understanding in the first fundamentals of how to begin to cope with that state. That is their capital number three.

We do not at all intend to take up in this issue the questions arising out of the charges and slanders and concoctions raised by the Stalinist scribes. The comrades who were on the scene in Minneapolis will take them up point for point in the coming issues of the Militant. Nothing will be left unanswered. It is the question of trade union strategy and tactics which is in dispute. Every point raised will be met with the weapons from the arsenal of Marxism. And we promise that a thorough job will be done.

New Attacks on The Unemployed

The relief situation which is now becoming clarified as a result of the City's current policy makes it more evident than ever that the New York City administration is very little concerned with the problems of the unemployed and the starving, except insofar as they studiously avoid taking any action even remotely meeting their demands and problems.

The callous treatment which those on home or work relief have received until now promises to be put in the shade by new cuts and methods of inquisition. Those on work relief have had their wages cut from ten to thirty percent, more days being allotted to them, which, in their entirety may not exceed 54 hours a month, with only one in the family to be given work.

Those on home relief have been hearing the long and incessant booming of the highly touted cash relief system to be inaugurated, and were hopefully waiting with their hats in hand for the deluge of manna from heaven. But like the frogs in the fable who asked God for a king, God obligingly sending them down a monster who ate them up—so with the "cash" relief. To begin with, only about one third of the relief is to be cash, the rest to be gradually added in the distant future. An elaborate spy system is to be set up to see that families don't squander their money prematurely, or disobey the edict that so much and so much shall go for spaghetti, bread, etc., etc.—or God forbid, should anyone attempt to make a down payment on a Rolls-Royce—no sooner does that than that individual will be back on commodity relief.

The funds for the unemployed will be exhausted in about two months, and as yet the city administration resists every effort to have open hearings on what is to be the lot of the unemployed in the future.

At a conference held May 15th, in which the Workers' Unemployed Union, League of Office and Professional Employees, and the Association of Unemployed Single Women participated, these problems were discussed and a program of action adopted. The continuation committee was empowered to work for an Eastern Conference of Unemployed and Relief workers organizations in the near future which in turn is to lay the basis for a national conference. A proposal to include unemployment councils on a unanimous vote basis, it having a vote only as an organization, was carried, and was referred to the Continuation Committee for action.

The Conference also unanimously decided to demand the same conditions for homeless men as for others.

The budget as adopted was \$12.00 for a single person, \$15.00 for a couple, and \$3.00 extra for every dependent.

The dependence of the leadership on the good will of this or that liberal or group of social workers has not lessened, and more than ever a militant policy and leadership are necessary for success.

The unanimous opinion of the conference was that the present period is the calm before the storm in the relief situation. A new onslaught is in sight against the workers' living standards, miserable enough as it is. Who knows but that the present forward march of the bosses and their agents will not result in a retreat for them? Only the workers can and will give that answer! The place of every militant worker is in these organizations to help build them and to make them a militant weapon in the hands of the workers.

—RELIEF WORKER.

New Youngstown Drivers Union

The Youngstown, Ohio, general Drivers have learned a valuable lesson from the Minneapolis general drivers organization campaign and militant strike. They began some time ago building their union and our Youngstown comrades had an opportunity to show what can be done by organizing the unorganized.

One of our militant workers had joined the Teamsters Local Union at the time when it was still weak and doing very little to increase its ranks. He got busy and organized the bakery drivers from three different shops. Next he went to the Bakers Local Union, whose agreement expired May 1st, and proposed to them to take joint action with the drivers. This was accepted. As a result of this united action, both the bakers and the drivers have now obtained an agreement with the bosses. The drivers in addition to gaining union recognition received an increase in wages and better working conditions.

A strike of short duration settled the issue. But the fight became particularly embittered when one of the bakery owners fired a worker for being active in the Union. The drivers compelled the boss to reinstate this worker. Two shops, the Oersky Bakery and Swartz, signed up with the union after this strike, while the joint action arrangements with the bakers continued in preparation for an assault upon a third large shop.

Last week all preparations were completed. With the assistance of this militant worker a strike was organized in the Frank and Sons Produce Company. This company maintains twelve trucks and the drivers put the issue directly for recognition of the union and an increase in wages. The strike was called at 2 A.M. The company tried to man their trucks with scabs but that was immediately prevented by the militant action of the drivers. That same night at 8 P.M. the company signed an agreement with the union with favorable gains for the workers.

While this may only be a small beginning it had the effect of reviving the union. It put pep into its membership and gave some added prestige to the militant workers. The joint action taken with the bakers' local strengthened the contacts between the militants mentioned before and the membership of the latter. On the whole the result of these effective actions and the correct attitude to the workers' problems served as a stimulus to a revival of the teamsters union. Many drivers from different trades are now joining up and the union has experienced growth during the last few weeks.

A New Type of Strike Leaders

Minneapolis, Minn., May 28.—The day after the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike ended, a group of railroad workers were discussing the different phases and aspects of the struggle. In the course of the conversation one of the workers remarked: "Where did the truck drivers get those leaders?" And he added: "They must have been imported." When one of the workers in the group informed him that the leaders were all local men he was still in doubt and raised another question: "But where did those leaders get the experience to organize and lead such a strike?" The questions raised by this worker: Who are those leaders? Where did they come from? Where did they get their experience? are, no doubt, questions which workers by the thousands, here and elsewhere, will also raise.

The correct answer to the questions posed are to the effect, that the leaders were not imported. They are men who make a serious study of all labor struggles in this country and elsewhere in an effort to draw the proper conclusions from them. The leading and directing minds of the truckmen's strike in Minneapolis were those of workers who take labor struggles seriously and study them and not merely read about them to forget them the next day. They are leaders who not only study other strike struggles but also their causes in the light of scientific Marxism.

Workers by the thousands will draw valuable inspirations and lessons from this strike and the way it was organized and directed throughout those ten memorable days. They will learn from the various important details of the strike, such as the organizing of the commissary department, the medical department, the effective mass picketing and the wonderful patrol system of cruising picket which burned up over four hundred dollars worth of gasoline daily in keeping the city streets clean of scab truck drivers.

Good leadership always produces good followers. The Minneapolis truck drivers' union can be congratulated upon having both.

—RAILROADER.

Bellussi's Reply to The I.L.D.

The Daily Worker of May 30 prints a letter by Lawrence Emery, Assistant National Secretary of the I.L.D., discussing the relation of the I.L.D. to me and my fight against deportation to Fascist Italy. He states that: "the I.L.D. was the only organization working in defense of Bellussi" and cites alleged facts to support this boast. It is strange that Comrade Emery has not been able to find out that the man for whom his organization did so much is not D. Bellussi, but Antonio Bellussi and that he was arrested not "sometime in July", but on June 17, 1933, on which day it was jailed and held until March 29, 1934.

What did the I.L.D. really do for me?

On July 17, 1933, Attorney E. White came to see me in Wilkes Barre county jail and said he was conducting an investigation on orders from the I.L.D. I heard nothing more from him or the I.L.D. until August 10 when I was called for a hearing. At that hearing White stated that the I.L.D. would be able to raise the cost of a \$1,000 bail bond (about \$20) and I was sent back to jail. During all the subsequent months the I.L.D. never raised bail for me.

About this time members of the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Trotskyites) asked the I.L.D. to call a meeting to protest my deportation. They got no cooperation and the C.L.A. therefore called a meeting itself. Communist Party members beat up Comrades Goodman and Roberts when they were distributing leaflets advertising the meeting on my behalf.

From August 10 until November 28 I had no word from the I.L.D. or its lawyers. Their next letter asked me to keep the Communist League from "interfering" in the case. Comrade Emery now has the impudence to pretend that the League "deliberately" harmed the I.L.D.'s efforts to get a habeas corpus. This is absolutely untrue. The request for the right of voluntary departure made by the Communist League and the American Civil Liberties Union on my authorization, in no way affected the appeal for a habeas corpus. I defy Emery to demonstrate the contrary.

The facts about the habeas corpus are these: On December 15 the hearing was called and Attorney Mullen of the I.L.D. showed up without the minutes and papers necessary. He had left them in his office and the hearing had to be postponed—while I sat on in jail. Eventually the I.L.D. was denied a writ. This was to be expected in view of the purely legal approach in the matter—only a mass defense movement could have wrong such a writ from the reactionary judge in charge.

Now the I.L.D. seemed to forget me entirely. On December 3 I wrote Stern, Philadelphia organizer of the I.L.D. as follows:

"You say you are working to help me and that you have worked very hard in my defense. I think you must have ruined quite a number of shirts with the sweat of your labor in my behalf. With all your work and labor it was too much for you to drop me a line to let me know what you were doing. So I think you had better take a long rest."

I sent other letters of complaint to Attorney Mullen of the I.L.D. Nobody ever answered these letters! The next word I had was March 25 when the Immigration Service informed me I was to be deported in 48 hours. The I.L.D. had never bothered to inform me that they lost the appeal for a habeas corpus or what to do about getting voluntary departure! I never heard from them again.

I informed the Communist League which cooperated with the A.C.L.U. and later with the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. These organizations were instrumental in getting bail, getting me out of the foul county jail, winning the right of voluntary departure, getting several extensions of time necessary because no government has yet given me a visa, and raising money to finance my trip when I finally get a visa.

As long as I relied on the I.L.D. I sat in a foul county jail, month after month. No bail was raised, no letters were sent, I never got a penny for a package of cigarettes, the legal work was handled sloppily at best. Once I lost patience with the I.L.D. and turned elsewhere, things began to move.

Among the evidence which the U. S. government used as an excuse for trying to deport an anti-Fascist worker to Fascist Italy, were copies of the Militant, organ of the Communist League. Apparently the I.L.D. was also influenced in its attitude by my political views.

In any case the facts are clear and I ask you to give space to them.

Fraternally,

ANTONIO BELLUSSI.

STEVEDORE
Tickets for June 18th Theatre Party must be settled for at once.

Outlawing Strikes

The Wagner Bill Dispute

The much talked of Wagner "Labor" Bill has been finally remoulded to the satisfaction of the class collaboration section of the exploiters, and is to be rushed through this session of the House and the Senate in order that it may become law and a part of the NRA structure before Congress adjourns. The attempt to speed up the Bill is entirely due to the rising wave of strike struggles that are sweeping the country. It is due to the increasing militancy displayed by the workers in resisting the violence of the bosses' agencies.

The Wagner Bill, when introduced, was heralded as a means to settle the disputed questions over interpretations of Section 7a of the NRA. Under this Bill labor would be placed in its highest status. On the other hand, it was designed to outlaw company unions. The final draft of the Bill, as it will be presented for consideration and vote contains none of these objectives attributed to it. What additional reactionary amendments will be tacked on before it gets through the House and Senate no one can predict now. It is vicious enough as it stands. In reality, the Bill is just the opposite of what it was proclaimed to be.

Under the cloak of checking company unions the Wagner Bill will legalize the company unions. The Labor Board to be established will define the difference between "good" and "bad" company unions. Section 7a stands as it did before with President Roosevelt's interpretation, in relation to the Auto Strike settlement, as the main guiding line for the revised Wagner Bill.

Most Sinister Aspect of the Bill

The Wagner Bill presents nothing new to the American way of handling class warfare. It only extends the methods that have been used by the employers for some time. The advanced section of the capitalists find that the NRA apparatus as now constituted does not have a satisfactory machinery to stifle, and to prevent strikes. It is not sufficient to hold in check the rising militancy of the working class. The Wagner Bill is to make up for this defect. It will establish Labor Boards fully in control of the capitalist monopoly owners and their agents that will handle all labor disputes. In whose interests the disputes will be decided should be obvious from the experiences of the Labor Board so far. The Board to be created by this Bill is to be appointed wholly by the President, three representing the so-called public, and one each representing capital and labor. It is to have power to prevent anyone from engaging in what is called "unfair labor practices" . . . that has led, or threatens to lead to a labor dispute that might effect commerce or obstruct the free flow of commerce."

When put into plain language, what is here somewhat concealed will stand out very clearly. It means that the Board will have powers to outlaw strikes. The Board will be a national institution fully backed up by the forces of the State, the courts, the police, the army and the navy.

Why Labor Leaders Support Bill

While it is true that a large section of the advanced capitalists are in favor of the Wagner Bill it is equally true that a very large section are opposed to the Bill. The latter represent chiefly the monopoly concerns in which trades unions have the least foothold. Their main opposition was expressed to the Bill in its original form. Now that it has been revised the opposition

New York United Front In Support of Strikes

Further proof—if further proof is needed—if of the possibility of establishing genuine united-front action for concrete workingclass struggle was afforded by the enthusiastic mass meeting, held in Germania Hall, New York City, in behalf of the class struggle fighters of Toledo and Minneapolis, and in protest against the use of militia, vomit gas and bullets to terrorize the workers.

The meeting was under the auspices of a genuine united front committee, comprising official representatives of the Communist League of America, the American Workers Party, the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonites), the I.W.W., the Left Poale Zion, the Socialist Party, and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, all of which organizations sent speakers. The American Civil Liberties Union was also represented through Roger Baldwin. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press was the chairman. The official Communist Party was invited to join in the meeting, and flatly refused.

Resolutions were passed in support of the class-struggle fighters in Minneapolis, Toledo and the West Coast. A collection was taken towards supplying much needed defense funds in these struggles. The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

Such were the contributions of the Socialists to the radicalization of the Toledo workingclass. They did their bit to help the A. F. of L. retreat from the general strike of Toledo.

—A STRIKER.

ANTI-WAR ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

A special anti-war, anti-Fascist issue of Young Spartacus was distributed at the United Youth Demonstration on May 30th. It contained a popular analysis of bosses' Memorial Day, the capitalist war plans and the advance of Fascism, as well as the statement of the New York City Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs on "Why Two Demonstrations?"

Young Spartacus was eagerly read by the youth, particularly the Young Socialists. A few subscriptions for the paper were obtained.

tion will be less, but there will continue the opposition from the open shoppers who as yet rule undisputed and have no need of arbitration. Their kind of class peace is no different in content from the class peace desired by the others. The difference is in the method. One uses bullets to crush strikes while the other thinks there is a more humane way of killing.

The Wagner Bill aims to satisfy as large a section of the exploiters as possible. It aims also to corral the A. F. of L. leaders. This is not so difficult because both accept the principles of class collaboration. Only the Bill must have a face that will be possible for the labor leaders to hide behind. What differences exist can mainly be explained in the fact that the A. F. of L. leaders are holding out for as much as they can get in the new set-up of Labor Boards against the working class. The labor leaders will do their share and give their services, but they are holding out for a price. Yet before this class collaboration machinery is set up these labor fakers will be on the band wagon. They have their special interests in outlawing strikes.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Toledo Workers Record Gains

(Continued from page 1)

factory had been shut down, unable to operate, the scabs cowed completely. The Edison company was offering the electrical workers a 20% increase in pay, but was holding out on union recognition. Only terrific pressure from the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington was keeping the electrical workers from going out immediately; twice they were bludgeoned into agreeing to 24-hour postponements, the second time only by a vote of 175-135. The workers of Toledo milled about in front of the meeting places of the various unions, talking nothing but strike, strike, strike.

Mighty Demonstration of Solidarity

Twenty thousand workers turned out for the torchlight parade Friday evening, the largest labor demonstration in the history of Toledo.

But the A. F. of L. leadership, after appealing to Roosevelt to intervene, said not a word about the general strike.

The torchlight parade was thoroughly disorganized. One band, almost no banners, no marshalls; the workers, without music or slogans, marched in straggling rows finding it difficult to keep step, without music or slogans. But the worst awaited them at Court House Square. As they reached that point, they were left leaderless, to mill around. For some strange reason, there were no amplifiers set up for the speakers! With a crowd reaching 25,000 at the least, one speaker at each end of the crowd could be heard by only a fraction of those present. Milling around, those who could hear heard no talk of the general strike. The subject had become taboo.

Socialist Party Does Its Part

The chief speaker of the evening was Leo Krzycki, just re-elected national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Milwaukee organizer of the A. F. of L. The issue of the hour was general strike: Krzycki gave the workers an educational speech on the NRA and socialism. The next day he told the Socialist convention that the parade was a failure in arrangements; in Toledo he said nothing. Finally workers in the crowd asked him: What about the general strike? Mr. Krzycki declared his neutrality. "I am not an official of the A. F. of L. in Toledo. I cannot advise you. The decision must be made locally." And when, a few minutes later, the A. F. of L. having adjourned the meeting, leaders of the Unemployed League, Seelander and Pollock had saved the auto strike by mass picketing and breaking the injunction, raised the call for the general strike, they were booed by the Yip-sels present, as "disrupters."

Such were the contributions of the Socialists to the radicalization of the Toledo workingclass. They did their bit to help the A. F. of L. retreat from the general strike of Toledo.

—A STRIKER.

The main danger to the strike front comes from the reactionary international officials and such lieutenants as they have. They are working night and main to stop the further development of the strike. One of their methods is to single out the most outstanding militant elements for attacks and for individual removal from their positions in order to weaken their influence and paralyze this growing strike wave.

—F.C.

New York Youth Demonstrate

New York City.—Against the common menace of imperialist war and Fascism, the militant youth of the city demonstrated on May 30th, under two competitive banners. The Stalinist National Youth Day parade and mass meeting on the East Side had about 10,000 participants. The partial united front of the United Youth Demonstration Against War and Fascism, including the Young People's Socialist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition, the Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle, had less than 1,000 demonstrators.

Yet what a difference! The "National Youth Day" demonstration was neither a youth affair or a genuine united front. The Communist Party had mobilized its membership, its unemployed councils, left wing trade union groups and fraternal organizations. Why call this a youth demonstration?

Perhaps it was a united front demonstration against war and Fascism? A united front it was—not with the youth organizations of the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism, the "Socialist-renege committee"—but with the reactionary fanatic, "Father" Devine. Not the slogan "For the Release of the Four Deported German Youth"—they are "renegades", that is, non-Stalinists—but the cry of "Father Devine is our God", "God means Peace" was heard throughout the demonstration!

"Free the Scottsboro Boys", shouted the militant youth. "The Scottsboro Boys will be freed if they confess their sins", replied the fanatical followers of "Father" Devine!

The Other Youth Demonstration

In contrast the demonstration, held in Harlem, showed a militant youth spirit. The shouts of "Down with bosses' war", "Down with Fascism", the enthusiastic singing of workers' songs, the entire conduct of this small but united demonstration of youth showed the will and determination of the demonstrators for common action against war and Fascism.

The Harlem demonstration was only a partial united front. The Stalinists had rejected united action of youth organizations for May 30th. Their proposal was that either the non-Stalinist youth groups join their "National Youth Day" or be damned as disrupters. Their own splitting tactics are being covered up with slander, lies and fakery.

But more than a few Stalinist youth are ashamed of the so-called "National Youth Day" demonstration. They are reconsidering the actions of their leaders in disrupting the genuine united front. They are eager for real common action with all militant youth organizations.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs will not stop at a partial united front. They will continue their efforts in the building of a genuine common action of youth against war and Fascism.

Strike on Pacific Coast Extends

(Continued from page 1)

There were serious clashes in other cities, in Oakland, San Pedro, Portland and Seattle.

In answer to these vicious attacks upon their demonstrations and picket lines in San Francisco the strikers have declared for a fight without quarter against the police. They have sent delegations and telegrams to the acting governor, Merriam, demanding the right to bear arms in protection of their picket lines and against the bloody attacks upon them.

General Strike Sentiment Growing

The I.L.A. unions are preparing over the heads of their reactionary international officials to issue a call to all other unions asking them to join in a general strike. The sentiment for such a general strike grows steadily. A united strike committee has been set up and the union militants are calling for the formation of a General Waterfront Workers Federation to include all unions on the water front and in the marine industry. The united strike committee is still very loose and the federation remains as yet only a sentiment. But this sentiment is expressed concretely in resolutions from a number of unions.

The main danger to the strike front comes from the reactionary international officials and such lieutenants as they have. They are working night and main to stop the further development of the strike. One of their methods is to single out the most outstanding militant elements for attacks and for individual removal from their positions in order to weaken their influence and paralyze this growing strike wave.

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

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Roosevelt's Program For «Social Insurance»

As Congress nears the close of the present session, President Roosevelt delivered what is supposed to be one of the most important and far reaching messages presented to it. The bourgeois press hailed the message as the dawn of a new day. The message called for "security for all" through a housing program and ask for the enactment of old age and unemployment insurance.

Without a doubt Roosevelt is a master at the art of demagoguery, and in that sense this speech was one of the best. Once we analyze the Roosevelt program presented to Congress we will find that this sugar coated pill, delivered in the name of the "common people", is in reality, a program against the working class.

Roosevelt's speech was designed for public consumption while at the same time it must inform Congress what the President hoped would be enacted before adjournment. The speech is only an outline and if the administration desires its parts to be enacted they must be turned over to the proper sub-committees or administration forces and drawn up in Bills for Congressional consideration. When we examine those parts of the speech that have been presented in proper form for consideration we find that the high points of the President's speech and the parts the press played up could not possibly be enacted this session. Therefore it becomes good propaganda, that costs nothing and will pave the way for the administration's rallying cry for the next election. The points that deal with old age and unemployment insurance are those that catch the imagination of the working class, and take the wind out of the sails of the social reformers.

An examination of the bills pending before Congress will prove that they are measures for and by the imperialist group of capitalists that the Roosevelt administration serves. In last week's issue of the Militant we have dealt with the Wagner Bill and have shown how this bill is not a savior for labor, but a straightjacket. Before we deal with the other acts it is advisable to say a few words about the social insurance features of the Roosevelt program.

It means that America has at last been forced through necessity to realize that the millions of unemployed are a permanent feature of our industrial system. That this so-called un-American foreign debt must be resorted to if capitalism is to continue. It means that the President has at last realized that it will cost no more, to set up a mild bourgeois form of social insurance, than it cost the government at the present to maintain its present form of city, county, state and national charity relief. The estimations presented for the coming period of what will be needed by the nation to continue its present charity relief can be taken care of far more effectively by changing the system of relief from charity to social insurance. Of course it will not be a social insurance as needed by the working class. That is not the purpose of the Roosevelt program. It will head off criticism, cost no more than the present or rather future estimates and requirements, and will at the same time, snatch the fruit from the hands of the social reformers. Roosevelt's propaganda speech is to pave the way, not only to dupe the workers, but also to educate the backward layers of the capitalist class.

The National Housing Act and the Industrial Loan Act are primarily aimed at the worst phase of the crisis and to speed up recovery in the basic industries that have not been touched by the other measures so far passed under the New Deal. The Industrial Loan Act will authorize the R.E.C. to use a half billion fund for direct loans to industries falling in the category of durable goods and will endeavor to stimulate the reinvestment of new capital in the means of production.

The Reciprocal Tariff Act is intended to give the president power to make arrangements with any and all countries in any part of the earth where reciprocal tariff relations on commodities will enable America to increase her exports. The Sugar Control Act and the Cotton Control Act are intended to enable the American imperialists to eliminate the worst features of

free competition and attempt to modify overproduction.

If one reviews the results of the New Deal and the measures enacted, one will find that they are all measures to further strengthen imperialist rule over the United States and strengthen its world position. From the NRA down through the list from A.A.A., to the Gold Reserve Act, the Silver Purchasing Act, to the Stock Exchange Act one finds links comprising a chain that tightens the capitalist grip upon the workers and the middle class. The clever demagoguery in which the Roosevelt administration put through these measures receives its due praise from the Wall Street overlords. The working class must become more capable of distinguishing words from deeds.

—HUGO OEHLER.

I. L. A. Leaders Weaken Pacific Coast Tie-Up

San Francisco, Cal.—The combination of ship owners, mediators and top officials of the International Longshoremen's Association have gained a first and partial success in the unceasing efforts to set the strikers of one port against those of the others, to set one union against the others. To obtain separate agreements in the various ports has been the policy of president Ryan from the inception of the strike. It played directly into the hands of the ship owners who could have no more ardent desire than to break-up first the coastwise character of the strike in a hope to be able to defeat it finally and separately, port by port.

To the Seattle local of the I.L.A. all the demands have been conceded and the men are now loading Alaska freighters. This is the first breach in the strike front. It has had the effect of stiffening the ranks elsewhere among the longshoremen and the other workers involved who realize that in the general and complete character of the tie-up along the whole of the Pacific Coast lies the best prospects of victory for their demands. Nevertheless the effects of this breach may be serious. The gain made in Seattle may prove a defeat elsewhere of serious proportions unless these splitting and dividing efforts are effectively spiced.

Right now the ship owners are striving to get the longshoremen back to work elsewhere and leave the striking seamen and other nations out in the cold. Ryan works hand in glove with these efforts, and sad to say the elements which should form the militant backbone are unable to cope with this situation.

Good Programs Not Carried Out

From the beginning the Longshoremen put up an excellent battle. Solidarity prevailed to a high degree. The seamen's unions in a number of ports, together with other unions in or associated with the maritime industry, made common cause with them and joined the strike. At an early stage of the de-

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The Eggs in the Eagle's Nest



Steel Union Letter to Roosevelt

President Roosevelt, White House, Washington.

We understand you have left for a week-end cruise on the Sequoia. We wish we could join you, but we must return to our lodges to report that all we get out of your National Recovery Administration and Section 7A was an offer to tighten the company union chains that bind workers in the steel industry.

The proposal by the Iron and Steel Institute and General Johnson is an insult to every worker in this country. Millions of us repose confidence in you and your administration, despite the doubts that have plagued us as a result of NRA's refusal to enforce the very plain words of Section 7A, guaranteeing us the right to organize and to bargain collectively with our employers. We have lost the faith which we held in your administration, which promised justice and a new deal to the nation's workers.

Mr. President, the least you can do is to throw the Iron and Steel Institute's brazen company union proposition into the waste basket. And if you really mean to abide by your own recovery law, the least you can do is to summon the steel manufacturers to Washington for a genuine collective bargaining conference with the steel workers.

General Johnson has discredited himself forever in the eyes of the

workers of this country. As if to add insult to injury, he followed up the vicious Steel Institute company union plan by a radio address in which he called us Communists because we want the thirty-hour week. Mr. President, the entire labor movement of this country is a unit in demanding the thirty-hour week, with a just wage. There is no other way to make a dent in the terrible unemployment which grips every industry and especially our own.

General Johnson denounced us for asking for what he calls the closed shop. In this Johnson is just parroting, as usual, the lies of the steel magnates. We have not demanded the closed shop. Our union is a voluntary organization. In mills where our membership comprises a majority of steel workers, we claim the right to represent all the workers in that mill, or department of the mill. Even Johnson himself has said that this is reasonable.

BUILD THE LEAGUE AND PRESS

Never before have the tasks of the revolutionary movement in this country been as great as they are now. Never before has the multiplication of the efforts of our organization been more urgent. In every field, in every center, there is a call for our organizers. In various sections of the land the nuclei of our League are springing forward into new activity. Throughout the country the working class is surging ahead in struggles that have not been witnessed here for years.

Our job is primarily to enter this movement with the maximum of our strength, with our press, with our speakers, our organizers. To neglect this fertile field, or merely to dabble in it, would prove fatal.

To enable the League to drive ahead full steam, we have launched our Organization-Press Campaign. Now is the time for every member, sympathizer and friend to do his utmost to equip the League with ammunition in the struggle. Without the loss of a minute, every comrade must bend every bit of energy to put the campaign over the top to a successful conclusion.

Throughout the country, we are sending the campaign coupon books. Each book contains ten coupons at 10 cents each—making a total of \$1.00 per book. In addition, those able to contribute regularly for the maintenance of The Militant and the League can fill out one of the three auxiliary coupons. Fifty percent of the campaign income will go to The Militant and fifty percent to the League.

With the first number of our theoretical organ scheduled to appear in the next few days, The Militant will be converted increasingly into a popular agitational paper for widespread distribution. Every comrade can help make this change and help sustain the paper and the organization behind it, by selling at least one book.

We want to put over this campaign in the shortest possible time, so that the decks are cleared for action. It is up to YOU! Send all available funds immediately to The Militant, 128 East 18th Street, New York City.

All united for a successful campaign to build the League and its press!

Steel Workers Union In Meeting to Decide Action

Mike Tighe is Conniving to Surrender Demands

In the first round of feverish attempts to avert the nation-wide steel strike the union has stood its ground. But the powerful combination of capital in steel is just beginning to show its teeth. At this moment delegates from the union lodges, now established throughout the important steel centers, are meeting again in convention in Pittsburgh to hear reports of the reception given by the American Iron and Steel Institute to the union demands. Will the outcome lead to another presidential settlement like in the automobile industry or will the union feel sufficiently strong and determined to fight it out? That remains to be answered at this convention. The action it takes will be decisive for the future of the union.

From the Steel Institute the union has received what its rank and file committee spokesmen characterize as a "brazen company union proposition" and "an insult to every worker in the country". That is about what could be expected from the rulers of the steel domain. It is accepted as a challenge. But to what extent will the union be ready to take up this challenge and fling it back into their teeth? Undoubtedly it has a strong foothold in the industry and can speak authoritatively for the workers. Moreover, the steel workers have before them the glorious example of Minneapolis and Toledo.

Steel Trust Names Its Own Board

The Steel Institute made a proposal to the NRA administration declaring its readiness to accept the establishment of an industrial relations board similar to the one created for the automobile industry. But it specified that on that board, of the men representing labor, one would have to be a company union designate. The other, to be appointed by President Roosevelt, could not be a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The steel masters are definitely committed to the maintenance of the company union, they declare, and they will not yield an inch on this point.

which they consider a vital point. Meanwhile the steel trust is rushing its preparations to meet a strike situation. No reports are forthcoming from the Steel Institute as to what these preparations are. It remains silent. But the underlings, the professional strike-breakers, the armed guard hirelings and the steel trust appointees, who in the most brazen and high-handed fashion rule the little towns clustered around the mills, know what to do. They have their orders.

One Mr. Bergoff, with offices at 2 Columbus Circle, New York, proclaiming himself to be the dean of

Browder 'Exposes' Strike 'Sell-Out' In Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—The General Secretary of the C.P. U.S.A., Earl Browder, came across half the country to Minneapolis to prove that the General Drivers' strike had been betrayed by its leadership. The occasion was a state nominating convention of the official party. He had an audience of about 750. But the results were very disheartening to Browder.

The General Secretary found himself before an audience in a city where one of the great labor struggles of the year had been fought. He began by getting familiar with his audience, by asking them questions on the "New Deal". In reply by show of hands, it was revealed that the overwhelming majority were Communist voters, there were a few Socialists and a few who had voted for Roosevelt. "That's bad," I thought I was speaking to a strange crowd. There isn't much use for us to talk to ourselves," he blurted out. Possibly his lieutenant, Karson, told him the crowd represented the Masses of Minneapolis. He jumps into his subject, the Minneapolis and Toledo strikes. "A new upsurge," was his characterization, different from the one last year which was for the President's "New Deal". This one is against it. The workers are fighting now, they are trying to spread their strikes, to make general strikes of them. That was quite true. He proceeded then to give a detailed description of the West Coast longshoremen's strike, not after the fact but after the wish of Browder. He built up an idealized picture of how this strike was growing, against its leadership, with a rank-and-file strike committee, how the workers were carrying on and on to a "complete victory", (fulfillment of all their demands). He was building up his case against the Minneapolis "sell-out". A word on Toledo. A statement from the local F.L.P. press on Olson's use of the troops in the strike.

Then . . . "the Dunne Brothers and their settlement of the drivers' strike,—they were the responsible

(Continued on Page 4)

strike-breakers, brazenly announces that he is now working for three or four big steel companies. His preparations include, according to his own statements, selection of 10,000 extra armed guards, purchase of arms and ammunition, erection of barriers, purchase of searchlights, erection of commissaries, buying of cots—all the preparations for regular warfare, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"As to those 10,000 armed guards," he declares, "most will be sworn in by local sheriffs. We have a tentative understanding with local sheriffs, as has any large agency like ours that knows its business." Yes, the steel trust has the force of the State at its command.

But this is only one aspect of the employers' strike preparations. For them works also the government, its NRA administration and their own agents within the union ranks. President Roosevelt and leaders of both branches of Congress have got their heads together and devised a new scheme. A substitute for the Wagner Bill, to be rushed through Congress immediately. It provides for arbitration in all disputes under the direct supervision of the President. Well, the President handled the automobile workers' situation and what came out of that the steel workers' rank and file spokesmen have already declared is what they do not want.

Reactionaries Prepare Treachery

Mike Tighe on the other hand, is moving all the forces at his feeble command to find some ways of a compromise which he hopes will save his face. At the sell-out game he is an old hand. He is working in two directions. One of his ways is to win the rank and file spokesmen to his ideas of what is acceptable—that is, a presidential settlement like the auto workers got. The other method is to denounce these rank and file spokesmen as irresponsible and representing nobody but themselves, so as to prepare the ground for treachery and to take matters entirely out of their hands. It is ominous that no word has been spoken in this greatest of impending conflicts for union recognition and living working conditions by the upper A. F. of L. hierarchy. The truth is that all of them fear a test of strength in the steel industry, as they fear any strike which brings forward the powerful latent forces of American labor.

That the American workers will fight has been shown in Minneapolis, in Toledo and in many other places. Their great reservoir of strength has not been tapped. It is hardly touched. The hundreds of thousands in the steel industry—not to speak of those other thousands who would possibly make common cause with them—form a mighty army whose challenge strikes fear into the hearts of exploiters and labor reactionaries alike. But it is necessary to say to this mighty army beware. There are many danger signals on the horizon. The cunning and conniving from the bigger and lesser Tighe's in their ranks who represent the steel workers as divided in preparation for treachery.

Rely Only on Your Own Mass Power

Nothing would suit them better than to be able to make an about face and retreat like John L. Lewis did in 1919, when he declared that he could not fight the government. When pressed hard from their union membership they have often resorted to their favorite method of declaring strikes to be outlaw. That is one of the serious dangers facing the steel workers. But by now, even though their union is new and has not yet received its baptism of fire, they should have learned that in the final analysis there is nothing else they can rely upon but their own mass power. They constitute a mighty battalion of labor. There is a key position in heavy industry. A retreat, or a surrender, would be a serious setback. The stabilization of a steel workers' union, its recognition as an actual fact and as the sole representative of all the workers in the industry, vigilant, determined and ready to secure their demands for living conditions would be an enormous gain for the whole of the American working class.

—A. S.

The Great Minneapolis Strike

Sunday, June 17th, - at 8 P. M.

Two Lectures By

James P. Cannon

IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place

The Socialist Party Convention

Thursday, June 21st, - at 8 P. M.

REVIEWING
THE NEWS

Minneapolis and Dunne

Bill Dunne, who wrote the "profound" articles on the 1931 miners' strike for the *Daily Worker* is at it again. In 1931, according to Bill, the National Miners Union was leading the miners and through the miners, the working class of America in an offensive struggle against capitalism. When the smoke of battle had cleared away the N.M.U. was dead as the dodo, Hoover was still president and Earl Browder was "self-criticizing" Bill Dunne. And Dunne went into one of his periodic retirements, until he was recalled to life to write a "brilliant" series of articles on the "counter-revolutionist" Trotsky.

The truck drivers of Minneapolis carried on one of the most militant and successful strikes seen in years. It roused the entire American labor movement. It swept away the previous apathy in the Minneapolis labor movement. It gave such a stimulus to the workers in that city that they are streaming into the unions. Militant and efficient mass picket lines swept the scabs and scab herders off the streets. Women were drawn into the fight. All very good. But the truck drivers of Minneapolis made one "mistake." They didn't turn to those who so "successfully" led the National Miners Union, or the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Industrial Union (Dunne was godfather of that mouthful), the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, etc. etc. for leadership. And when that was not done, the failure of the strike was assured in advance in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. For it must be known that as reported in the *Daily Worker* no strike was ever won that didn't have some such stalwart Stalinist "textile worker" as Johnny Ballam, or "seaman" like George Mink, or "steel worker" like Joe Dallet leading it. And you can search in vain for a report of the loss of a strike led by Stalinists in the *Daily Worker*.

In Minneapolis the workers made a second mistake. They allowed themselves to be organized into a union by Trotskyite "counter-revolutionists" "agents of the police." Where was the C. P. with Browder under Stalin at its head? Where was "Groucho" Bill Dunne, himself? Let it not be said, that the C. P. has no truck drivers. That's a mere detail. Just call in one of the quick change artists. Ballam knows as much about trucks as he does about looms. Dallet was inside a truck at least once and that's a longer period than he served in a steel mill and I am sure that George Mink also travelled by truck at least as a passenger and that's as far as his seamanship extended. There was no shortage of Stalinist truck drivers. But, alas, they were not in the strike. So what's to be done?

Sender Garlin was sent out. And he didn't do bad. He reported "A. F. of L. leaders arranging to have themselves arrested on the picket line." He and two or three other Stalinists, without membership or influence on the trade union movement issued a "call" for a general strike. You see, they had a mimeograph machine, paper, and Garlin can write. Was the call even distributed? It doesn't matter. A copy was kept for the record and one sent to Manusky. That was enough.

When the battle was over and the strikers had won a partial victory, Bill Dunne was called on. Bill went into another "series" of articles. "The Trotskyites betrayed the strike," "Governor Olson could have been driven from office," etc. etc. He damned the leadership of the strike and hailed the settlement as a defeat. He did this with the same enthusiasm as he had in other days hailed Chiang Kai Shek, and Purcell and the "victory" of the British General Strike. However, the readers of the *Daily Worker* should be wise to Dunne and other scabers. A paper that could place the report of Hitler's victory in Germany under the title "Revolutionary Uprising Moves Forward" might well be expected to call the victory of the Minneapolis workers a defeat.

Fascist "Victories"

A leader of New York's Italian Fascists is jailed for extortion. He claimed influence with the city government and hoodwinked a "friend" out of \$3,000. William Pelly, leader of the Silver Shirts is indicted for obtaining money under false pretences. Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts is in jail for perjury. Mussolini has further reduced the living standards of the Italian workers, built some more palaces, closed down some factories and is headed for the financial rocks. Hitler finds trade shrinking, income declining, financial panic advancing and the masses grumbling. These "Strong" men would go down like nine pins before a united and militant world labor movement. Through the divided front of labor they arise and come to power, and by the divided front kept so by Stalinist numbskulls and Socialist treachery they are able to retain power even under such conditions.

—BILL.

League Activities

Chicago Hears Report
On Minneapolis Strike

Chicago—Despite the discomfort of a hot night, more than a hundred and fifty workers on June 8 responded with unrestrained enthusiasm to the two-hour recital of the experiences of the Minneapolis truck-drivers' strike delivered at Communist League headquarters by James P. Cannon. Every political tendency in the Chicago revolutionary movement was represented save of course those who have raised learning nothing to the level of a fine art—the Stalinists. The eagerness and satisfaction with which the revolutionaries present received the report on the Minneapolis developments was a highly encouraging symptom of the response we may hope to get each time we test in action the Marxist principles of revolutionary labor action. The Chicago workers commend the splendid organization work of their Minneapolis comrades and hope soon to be able to match that high accomplishment here.

Cannon's report was repeated by him the following Sunday before 500 Negro and white workers in Washington Park where a puny attempt on the part of a few inspired but gloriously stupid Stalinists to object to his speaking ended in their complete silencing and disgrace. The enthusiasm of the crowd grew as the report proceeded and at its conclusion Cannon, on the motion of the chairman (a Stalinist sympathizer by the way) was by unanimous vote made a life member of the club that holds regular nightly forums in the park.

Public Trial Clears
Militant Worker

Since the League organized its new branch in Richmond, California, the Stalinists have decided that it is time to act to stop these developments. They began their attacks on a courageous worker in the Richmond Standard Oil Plant, making filthy charges, accusing him of being a stool-pigeon and a renegade in a leaflet which they published and distributed in the plant where he was working. This is the biggest oil refinery in the west.

The first this comrade knew of the attack came when he was called into the office of the company, confronted with the leaflet, and in order to find out more about the "reds" in the plant, the company proposed that he should bring the question into court. The comrade naturally refused this "generous" offer, although knowing that his job was at an end and that this would mean the county welfare board for his wife and two children. He was fired.

The League arranged for a public workers' trial in order to clear up all that was involved in the charges and to put the accusers to shame. The trial was conducted by the California Workers' Association, a militant unemployed group which has two Stalinists on its executive board. The A. F. of L. unions were invited to attend and many of the members came. At this trial the official Party was offered a preliminary closed session with the trial board where it could present its evidence. This was done in order to protect it in case there should be any company stool-pigeons in the audience.

The Stalinists refused this offer and one of their members admitted from the floor that they really had no charges. Another member who had distributed the leaflet, stated that while they had no proof they were "morally certain" that the worker under charges was an undesirable element. Undoubtedly he was undesirable to the Stalinist bureaucracy against whom he had fought and who had driven him out of the party and now tried to drive him out of the labor movement.

Being unable to substantiate their charges, the Stalinists tried a little stage play. At the conclusion of their statement made they walked out of the hall in a body. One of their group demanded that they remain until the trial was finished, but that was to no avail.

The result of this filthy attack upon a revolutionary worker has proven a boomerang to the Stalinists. The League has gained new members and new sympathizers. The California Workers' Association, due to this procedure of trying the charges in public, received a valuable lesson in workers' democracy. The A. F. of L. members present promised that they would use their influence to see that the California Workers' Association is strengthened and that unemployed A. F. of L. members support it.

Philadelphia Branch
Increases Activities

Philadelphia, Pa. — The Philadelphia branch is going ahead in fulfilling its part of the League Action Program. In the first militant club plan sub drive, its self-imposed quota of 50 new subscriptions was reached and now with 12 chalked up. Public lectures with national committee speakers will continue right through the summer, to bring our program to persons newly attracted to us. Last week comrade Max Shachtman lectured on "The Crisis in the Socialist Party." Many Y.P.S.L.'s and S.P. members attended. Friday, June 22 comrade James P. Cannon is to speak on "The Lessons of the Minneapolis Strike" at our new headquarters, 1207 N. 5th St.

We were unsuccessful in our efforts to effect a genuine united front May Day demonstration. We judged the closest existing approach to that to be the Socialist sponsored United May Day meeting. We attended in a body, singing the "International" and brought the crowded Labor Institute to its feet in response. Our placards with "The Communist League of America is for the Fourth International" to the front, were the only banners in the meeting.

The favorable response of May 1 permitted us more than one sympathetic ear, particularly among the Socialist youth. The Spartacus Youth Club with two clubs met often in efforts for joint anti-Fascist and May 30th anti-war demonstration action with Y.P.S.L. commitment.

they sit in their vests and shirtsleeves, calculating, alert, red-eyed from loss of sleep—they were sitting 24 hours ago—48 hours ago—there they will stay until the strike is victorious, until the union is recognized, to come forth at the end a hundred-fold stronger than when it entered the battle.

The unforgettable mass meeting at the Parade Grounds. On Tuesday afternoon, but a few hours after the market was won, men and women appear on the downtown streets with armfuls of circulars: NO SURRENDER. And all day Wednesday, on every corner, in the middle of every block, strikers, wives, sympathizers, are handing out these challenges, this call to the mass meeting in support of the workers. Cops and business men, white faced with venom, stare their hatred at these distributors. The meeting at the Parade is called to counter the infamous Law and Order get-together of the Citizens' Alliance which met at the West Hotel on the previous Friday. That first meeting represented the Citizens of Minneapolis, said the capitalist press. Only employers are Citizens in this country, you know. Well, the workers would show what they could do. At 7:30 that night, on the far end of the Parade, under the trees, the workers began to arrive. There was only a rude platform of wood, hastily constructed, and a truck bearing loud-speaking apparatus. At a little after eight, the chairman began to speak. Already there were five thousand, six thousand people there. Men in working clothes, holding little children in their arms, women, veterans, girl factory workers, the unemployed. All so eager to show their solidarity with the strikers, all tense and still to hear what the speakers were saying. How this

Mexican Nazis
Attack Trotsky

There is in Mexico a fascist sheet, organ in Spanish of Hitler's embassy in Mexico. Anti-labor, anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, with all the lack of originality and logic of that movement the paper, thanks to the subsidy it receives from the Nazis, appears, unnoticed by the great majority of Mexicans. Without doubt, the most religious supporters of this paper are the Jews, who pay 5 cents for every issue in a morbid curiosity to see what new strange tales about them appear.

One thing must be impressed, and that is that this paper is the organ of Nazism. About five months ago a new ambassador arrived from Berlin bearing a membership card in the Nazis and a Baron and a Von before his name (need more he said).

When the issue of the Trotsky expulsion from France came up, in this organ appeared an article by a renegade from Communism named Mallen. The article makes a show of erudition that in its shallowness is really painful to behold. But we do not want to criticize the article. Not being very much read it does not merit criticism. What we want to do is merely to comment upon it.

The theme of this article is that the Jews are the only real internationalists, and that the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International is a victory for nationalism. That the struggle between Stalin the Georgian and Trotsky the Jew is really a struggle between nationalism and internationalism.

Let us extract the true core of this matter and leave the rest. That core is that the struggle of the International Communists is in essence a struggle for internationalism, which does not represent the Jew or the Methodist but represents the interests of the worldwide proletariat. Will this frank appraisal by Nazism make some of the rank and file Stalinists think?

The national-socialists of Germany find an ideological rapprochement with Stalinistic "socialism in one country," and find common ground with it in the struggle against the internationalism of Trotsky.

Y.P.S.L. delegates defended the seating of our youth delegates at the Y.C.L. sponsored May 30th conference. Their organization yielded to opportunist whinnies after the rupture with the Stalinist conference, to content themselves with a hike for May 30th. The Spartacus Youth Club then held its own street meeting that day.

At the present time two open air meetings are held weekly. At one corner where Stalinists mobilize to disrupt, they have been effectively squelched. With the new recruits the branch has we look forward to expanding this phase of our work. A Negro comrade, a former I.L.D. functionary is busy organizing a fraternal group of Negro workers.

On Sunday, June 24 the branch has arranged a picnic in Fairmount Park, 33rd and Cumberland St. entrance. All proceeds go for the benefit of the Militant. All our friends are urged to be there with us.

One of the better-known special cops was none other than the once-famed pug, one Dick Daniels (out on bail, after confessing to a half-dozen hold-ups). Daniels figured—and rightly—that our judges, before whom he is to come up in the near future, would view with leniency a bandit who had a distinguished record as a scab to offset any little minor anti-social display such as breaking into a few stores here and there. But, alas, Mister Daniels' record will never furnish material for a fascist saga; the last we saw of him, he was fleeing down toward Washington Avenue from the market, with a handful of strikers tri-umphantly threatening his rear.

And to learn that the good Mr. Lyman, manufacturer, who took time off from a Sunday School convention to go down in the market with a blackjack to show his Christian love for the starving workers, was, before his unfortunate demise, an officer in the Citizens' Alliance, will help to stifle the reader's tears. In one respect, though, Lyman was

mass contrasted with the foppish, hysterical mob of "citizens" in the Moorish Room of the West Hotel! And for over an hour, from the east and south, through the gathering dusk, thousands of strike-supporters continued to stream across the Parade toward the loud-speaker, to silently listen and furiously applaud the militant agitators. There was a wild free spirit abroad that night at the Parade, a spirit surging with hope. There, in the darkness, was welded together a solidarity of the workers of Minneapolis that will hold—hold through another strike, and another, until finally the rotting carcass of this murderous system gasps out its last feld breath and goes down under the heels of the victorious wave of—Soviet America.

From the Militants

The Farmers and the
Minneapolis Strike

Minneapolis, Minn. — During the memorable days of the Minneapolis General Drivers' strike proof was given in concrete fashion that the small farmers can be made allies of the workers. The support they gave to the workers was the kind required by the situation. They declined in the most effective manner to avail themselves of the proffered protection by deputy sheriffs to break the strike. It was the same sheriffs who had the year before been used to attempt to break their holiday movement.

When the Battle of Deputies Run was in progress in the City Market, a strikers' committee was in the Court House facing two men of authority, the chief of police, Johannes and the county sheriff, Wall. It was reported that the faces of these two men expressed bewilderment mingled with dismay. They had been defeated again. "What in the hell is this labor trouble in 1934?" was the question uppermost in their minds. For they had done everything they could think of, everything they had been told to do by their bosses and still the strikers had an upper-hand.

How well this deputy gag had worked on the farmers in the holiday movement just about a year before, when hundreds of Sheriff Wall's political acquaintances, mostly Republicans, ran the scab trucks through the picket lines to the market. But now—it does not work.

The Farmers about the city and in the state remained passive during the General Drivers strike. But if any actions would have developed amongst them, these actions would have been decidedly in favor of the strikers. A year ago town after town, county after county went "Holiday," against the packing trust, the grain exchanges, the railroads and the bankers. Tear gas, clubs, arrests and convictions were used against them. The weapons were wielded by the enemy. And how was he represented? By the deputy sheriffs, just like those recruited by Sheriff Wall of Hennepin County. Those deputy sheriffs were notoriously rough with the farmers. So when the drivers in the city struck against the produce companies, the food importers, and Sheriff Wall came to the farmers with the same deputies he had used to break their strike and offered to escort them to the market, the farmers answered by just staying home and working in the gardens. When the strikers notified them that they could bring their greens and roots to the city and sell them house to house and to the corner grocery, with or without a city license, they cranked up their model T's and came to town. It wouldn't be surprising to learn that there were many farmers among the indignant crowds in chicken chase through the spacious market square with some eight hundred special policemen at the chickens. By the way, there was some trading done on the market that day. A bushel of police badges, and a half a cord of nightsticks exchanged hands for little or nothing.

The Holiday Movement pledged food for the strikers if needed. This pledge was never drawn upon. It was not necessary. The strike leaders spoke to the Holiday state convention, and sat with a special committee to co-ordinate workers' and farmers' strikes. In the future the alliance will prevail.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

California Ordinances
Against the Reds

The United Front Civil Rights Committee of Alameda County against the red ordinance number 282 is becoming a struggle for power between various elements, including the Stalinists, and to the detriment of the organization.

On May 30th a meeting was held as a test case against the ordinance number 282. This ordinance forbids any person or persons to stand, sit, walk, loiter, congregate, speak, or in any manner obstruct traffic on any highway, street, lane, alley or property whatsoever in the county of Alameda. The Stalinists endeavored to turn the meeting into a national Youth Day demonstration and to prevent any speakers except members of the official party from taking the platform.

At the meeting previous to this of the committee, the official party endeavored to pack the conference with delegates from sixteen of its paper organizations as well as with delegates from every branch of the I.L.D., W.I.R., etc. etc. At all meetings of the committee, the Stalinists have refused to recognize the chair, have filibustered from the floor and have proven the perfect specimen of disrupters.

The picture of the Stalinists in this conference is only a little less disgusting than that of some of the other elements who help to make up the majority of the bona-fide delegates. Nathan, the head of the conference and a Proletarian Party member, who now holds an A. F. of L. office, openly declares that he is going to throw every C. P. member out and make the thing a real mass organization. Undoubtedly, the latter have called this threat down upon themselves by their tactics. Still it should not be the policy of throw anybody out, but rather to broaden the organization by bringing it into closer contact with all the working class sections, the trade unions, etc. and to make it a really representative body that can lay the base for a general defense committee.

Most of the counties in California have passed similar ordinances. On the whole it is a vicious move aimed directly at the "Reds". That is why it has to be met in a serious manner. The bosses today direct their fire mainly against the working class vanguard. Their objective is the open shop. Their intention is to crush all working class organization. And while many of the most vicious open shoppers, as for example, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, carefully point to a difference between what they call the illegitimate Communist within the labor movement, and the A. F. of L., their real intention should not be misunderstood. They hope to crush the militant section of the trade union movement first and if that succeeds, then to annihilate all labor unions.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

—C. F.

MARCH OF
EVENTS

The Textile Crisis

Nothing illustrates so well the utter inability of capitalism to lay down plans for production of wide-range character, as does the textile crisis. The need for a sudden drastic cut in production reveals clearly that even a capitalist cartel including all of a given industry, cannot regulate production to consumption. All it can do is to order sharp curtailment when production gets out of control. It cannot avoid crisis, for the present situation is a distinct crisis brought on all the quicker by the capitalist attempt to regulate production. What is happening in the textile industry is a forerunner of what will happen in all the big mass production industries under monopolist control.

The Workers and the Forces of
Production

The working class can see here too, the meaning of the NRA and the way in which its operation affects their livelihood. When the Cotton Textile Code Authority orders a decrease in production by 25% for three months without any change in hourly wage rates it places the burden of the crisis in this industry immediately on the backs of the proletariat. The NRA is a police club which beats down the forces of production when they threaten profits for the bosses. At the same time this club descends on the heads of the workers, the class that is concerned with and represents the social forces of production. The working class encounter this sort of action more and more in the future. Ultimately they must learn that not capitalist control of production for profits, but workers' control of production for social use can assure them a livelihood and eliminate starvation. Capitalist control means the sabotage of production, workers' control means its unlimited expansion for the benefit of the masses. The closed shop is the first step in the direction of workers' control but its achievement depends on the building of powerful, militant trade unions. Through such unions, casting off the treacherous leadership of the reformists, the textile workers can best reply to the bosses when they put through wage cuts.

Company Unionism

For many years Rockefeller has maintained a subsidized strike-breaking agency called the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. This agency has the support of Cyrus McCormick (ardent promoter of the company union), A. H. Woods, Owen D. Young, etc. This outfit "gives advice" in matters of "personnel" to all the big industrialists including the steel barons, the oil magnates, the manufacturers of farm machinery, the electrical trust, etc. Since 1928 Rockefeller has supplied generous funds to enlighten the boss class on the best methods for trapping the workers in "employee representation plans" or company unions. This organization became especially active in the period following the adoption of the NRA with its 7a fake labor clause. A widespread campaign was conducted through the subsidized technical press, urging the bosses to defeat independent unionism by setting up fake, controlled unions. This in Automotive Industries for December 1933 we read, in an unsigned article entitled, "Organizing a Company Union": "Shall we, or shall we not, sanction a 'company union' in our plant?—If you do not, someone will organize your employees for you. This is not in the least meant to be interpreted as a threat, but is merely a foregone conclusion under current conditions." The article then proceeds to outline minutely the best method of going about entangling (and forcing) workers into the boss' union.

More recently the industrial counselors have been mobilizing their forces wherever the threat of mass strikes arose. Thus the head of the organization, A. H. Young, was thrown into the steel industry as soon as "trouble" threatened there. He is now with the U. S. Steel Co., just as C. J. Hicks is with the Standard Oil Co. of N. J. for the same nefarious purpose.

—J. WEBER.

Smash Company Unions!

The company unions are the latest form of "yellow dog" contracts forced on the working class. The drive against the organizing of the workers in real unions has been well planned long in advance and has the support of all the big financiers, from Ford to Swope, Tagle to Rockefeller. Roosevelt merely obeyed the voice of his masters in the Auto Strike when he legalized the company union. The same tactics are being applied now to defeat the steel workers. We must mobilize labor to smash company unionism by militant action! The capitalist government attempts to carry out the strike-breaking program of big business. We must checkmate Roosevelt!

—J. WEBER.

Sidelights From the Great Battle of the Minneapolis Workers

It requires days, weeks, to settle down to normal existence and dispassionately run together the surging snapshots garnered during so tremendous an event as the Minneapolis strike. So much took place in those two weeks that had never taken place here before.

The orderly and vital throngs at headquarters. Through the loud-speaker would come: "Volunteers wanted to go to Lyndale and 52nd. A car and five pickets wanted. Who will volunteer? (A pause.) Here's the car, and one picket—two pickets—three pickets! That's the stuff! Two more pickets wanted. Come on, fellows, step up. It's your battle!" At this point the crowd outside the headquarters doors would surge forward. Two young men, obviously office workers and dressed up for the evening would make their way to the doors, their girls at their elbows. The young men's eyes would shine. The girls would look up in their faces. "What do ya say, Hal?" asked one. "Geez, yes," says the other, "let's go. It's our battle, all right." The men spoke to the girls, the girls squeezed their arms and gave them encouragement. "We'll volunteer," the pair said to the doorman. The door is opened, the two men disappear into the garage. Through the loud-speaker comes: "Here's the rest of the carload. Five men and a car to Lyndale and 52nd." As the motor roars up the eternally cheerful loud-speaker says: "Make way at the door there, please. And let's give the men a hand as they go out! Let's give 'em a hand!" Amid shouts of applause and a big band, the car full of pickets wheels out of headquarters, five determined men, smiling grimly back at the crowd.

In the front office, the windows of which are now soaped to render them opaque, sits the Brain of the picketers—the dispatchers. There

mass contrasted with the foppish, hysterical mob of "citizens" in the Moorish Room of the West Hotel! And for over an hour, from the east and south, through the gathering dusk, thousands of strike-supporters continued to stream across the Parade toward the loud-speaker, to silently listen and furiously applaud the militant agitators. There was a wild free spirit abroad that night at the Parade, a spirit surging with hope. There, in the darkness, was welded together a solidarity of the workers of Minneapolis that will hold—hold through another strike, and another, until finally the rotting carcass of this murderous system gasps out its last feld breath and goes down under the heels of the victorious wave of—Soviet America.

One of the better-known special cops was none other than the once-famed pug, one Dick Daniels (out on bail, after confessing to a half-dozen hold-ups). Daniels figured—and rightly—that our judges, before whom he is to come up in the near future, would view with leniency a bandit who had a distinguished record as a scab to offset any little minor anti-social display such as breaking into a few stores here and there. But, alas, Mister Daniels' record will never furnish material for a fascist saga; the last we saw of him, he was fleeing down toward Washington Avenue from the market, with a handful of strikers tri-umphantly threatening his rear.

And to learn that the good Mr. Lyman, manufacturer, who took time off from a Sunday School convention to go down in the market with a blackjack to show his Christian love for the starving workers, was, before his unfortunate demise, an officer in the Citizens' Alliance, will help to stifle the reader's tears. In one respect, though, Lyman was

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Stalinist Record in the Cuban Revolution

In Cuba in the summer of 1933 there were only two serious organized political working class forces: The Communist Party (Stalinists) and the Bolshevik-Leninists. Our section was not quite two years old, and, at that time, still committed to the orientation of reforming the C.I. and the C.P. of Cuba, and was a comparatively small organization. Its greatest strength lay in its connections with the trade union movement. It wielded great and almost decisive influence in the Havana Federation of Labor composed of thirty trade unions in which anarcho-syndicalists were also influential. It was a leading organization in the general strike.

But in size, prestige, and influence it was weaker than the Communist Party which had a wider and more powerful organizational structure and base. In its trade union center, the C.N.O.C., National Confederation of Cuban Workers, were thirty-five unions. The C.P. had auxiliaries and peripheral organizations embracing thousands of workers. If it was not, as it claimed, the leader, it was the outstanding organized political force in the working class. On its record and in its policy, therefore, are to be sought the reasons for the failure of the workers to advance toward their liberation, and for their set-back at the hands of Mendieta.

Stalinists Come to Aid of Class Enemy

One the ninth of August, two days before Machado fell, when the general strike had reached its seventh day, the Executive of the C.N.O.C. (the Cuban Stalinist T.U.U.L., section of the R.I.L.U.) and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party issued a manifesto in which they said that "... Machado cannot be overthrown by strikes" and that the Labor Federation of Havana (trade union center, at that time under the leadership of anarcho-syndicalist elements and the Bolshevik-Leninists) "was leading the workers to massacre".

Let no one think that the view expressed here was only a question of evaluating the situation and working out a strategic line of struggle. No! although that in itself were enough to confuse the workers at the decisive moment and demoralize them, disrupting their struggle and doing yeoman's work for the class enemy. The manifesto was the "ideological" motivation for a treacherous act of strike-breaking. The Stalinists called on the workers to go back to work!

They themselves admit it. In one of the resolutions prepared for the Fourth National Labor Unity Congress of the C.N.O.C. held in Havana in January, 1934 they say: "The National Confederation of Labor of Cuba, failing to see and apply the experience acquired in so many years of strike struggles, which showed in every strike that all economic demands have their profound political content—drew a false analysis of the content of the general strike. . . . The false appraisal which was a grave error (!) gave as a natural (!) immediate, consequence, a second, graver (!) error, which consisted in the belief that the workers of each industry, once their demands were obtained, should return to work, and telling the workers that they should not be moved by the slogan of continuing the strike, when in reality the masses, who realized clearly the political content of the strike, were determined to continue it." (quoted from the January 12 Manifesto of the General Union of Commercial Employees of Cuba, an affiliate of the Havana Federation of Labor, to the Fourth Congress of the C.N.O.C. (Our emphasis throughout.)

Daily Workers Give Assistance

Fatal admissions! The Stalinists claim the authority of Marx and Lenin! they call themselves the vanguard of the working class, yet they cannot recognize the political content of a general strike (!!) they are so obtuse with bureaucratic conceit they do not know what the masses want in the fire of the revolution itself!!

But it is not a question of stupidity alone. The Manifesto of the Commercial Employees Union charges: "What the Confederation does not say is precisely that knowing the profound political content of the movement that was developing, it believed in its own miserable con-

cept of the movement, that it was necessary to have Machado remain in power in order for them to continue to enjoy illegality"—that is, maintain the appearance of being illegal.

There is the ugly story of how the epigones sold out the general strike in Cuba. Let us see how they did it. On August 21 the *Daily Worker* reported: "Havana, August 14 (By Mail). At noon today the bus and tramway workers returned to work, having won all their demands. With them went back the barbers, bakers, foodworkers, railway workers, etc. However, the shoe plants, textile factories and many others remained out, firmly holding out for their demands. The decision to go back to work was reached last night at 9:15 at a packed meeting of over 700 bus workers in the Trade Union Center of the C.N.O.C." It is clear that the Stalinists were sending men back to work.

Lying Out of the Whole Cloth

But this report contradicts one which appeared in the *Daily* nine days before, on August 12: "Havana, August 11.—The yellow union leaders, to help Welles and Machado, have called on the bus workers" (note: the bus workers) "and street car workers to return to work."!! On the 14th the same story: "Just before Machado flew Cuba the yellow trade union leaders in his pay attempted to call a halt to the general strike."

On the 15th the *Daily* tried to make it appear that the C.N.O.C. was standing firm against the strike breaking of the "yellow" trade union leaders: "The leaders of the transport workers, and especially those of the Railway Brotherhood, had already attempted to break the strike without asking any concessions. The representatives of the revolutionary C.N.O.C. held fast to their demands. . . ."

And finally in the same dispatch printed on the 21st which announced the meeting in the trade union center of the C.N.O.C.: "... 50 young bus workers signed application cards for the Y.C.L. This was the reply of the workers to the scabby statement of the reformist Havana Federation of Labor leaders headed by the renegade Junco that the leaders of the C.N.O.C. were strike-breakers because the accepted the concessions of Machado." (Our emphasis.)

By their own words they stand condemned! Yellow trade union leaders indeed! It is all lies, fraud, treachery!

The "Insurrection" of September 29

Emboldened by the valor and revolutionary ardor of the masses, who, a month later, overthrew De Cespedes, the Stalinist adventurers declared for the armed insurrection and set the date for September 29, the day of the arrival of Mella's ashes from Mexico. Here ultimatum reached its greatest and at the same time its most tragically absurd height. True that Grau's regime was unstable, under fire from the American imperialists; true that the Cuban bourgeoisie were planning counter-revolutionary coups; true that the masses were pressing it from below to carry out its demagogic, anti-imperialist and democratic pronouncements.

But the influence of the Stalinist Party which was to carry through the insurrection did not extend to the majority of the workers. In fact, following the August strike-breaking, entire unions were freeing themselves from Stalinist influence. The organs for the preparation of the insurrection and the seizure of power, the soviets, did not exist on a national scale nor was the Stalinist party the dominant influence in those scattered Soviets which did exist. And the army, decisive factor in the civil war, had given no demonstration of its sympathy for the Communist Party. In terms of the seizure of power by the working class, it was an unknown quantity. In Russia the Bolsheviks tested the Petrograd garrison before the insurrection when the Soviets countermanded the order of the Provisional Government sending two thirds of the garrison to the front. They were routed in the soldiers' soviets and committees. The Cuban Stalinists' connection with the armed forces was not great. Sinnani reported that two weeks before the "insurrection" the army was only beginning to pass over to the side of the workers.

Not An Insurrection But A Putsch

In reality the events of the 20th of September were not an insurrection but a putsch on the order, if not on the scale, of Canton. Scores of workers gave up their lives as a sacrifice to Stalinist criminal adventurism. The soldiers began to turn against the workers and Grau gained time and strength.

Panic seized the impotent! For twenty days the Stalinists called on the workers to come out in a general strike! The Manifesto of the General Union of Commercial Employees says: "Nobody paid any attention to their fearful entreaties."

—T. STAMM.

(Continue in Next Issue)

New York Teachers Union Fights Red-Baiting

Persecuting Protecting Teachers

The bill was intended to place man-hunting weapons in the hands of the state to crush the teachers' resistance to wage cuts and other "economy" measures by expelling the militants as seditious and treasonable people. The defeat of the Ives Bill has not daunted the perpetrators who are continuing the press campaign and who will concoct equally reactionary substitutes.

Proceeding this campaign and during the Board of Education has been busy persecuting all teachers who have the courage to protest against its medieval rule. Wage increases established by law have been summarily denied on false pretexts; in some cases criticism of a superior has resulted in a punitive transfer to a school under a notoriously reactionary principal whose forte is a regime of petty persecution, etc., etc. Other teachers have been fired.

The Teachers' Union of New York, Local No. 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, chartered by the New York Federation of Labor, has picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the reaction and is fighting back. The high point in its campaign thus far was a remarkable mass meeting held Friday, June 8th, attended by about 1200 teachers. The principal speakers were Norman Thomas and Arthur Garfield Hays. Thomas, "militant" leader of the S. P. spoke mainly about values in education; Hays amused the audience with a witty, liberal speech. William Burroughs, victimized teacher and Stalinist candidate for comptroller in the last municipal election revealed that the president of the union himself had poured oil on the flames of the red-baiting campaign by informing the *Daily News* in

what teacher organizations Communists are to be found!

A dramatic struggle took place over an amendment introduced from the floor to a resolution offered by the union, branding Superintendent of schools, Campbell, a red-baiter for vicious statements made by him in the press. Lefkowitz, legislative agent of the union, pillar of the union administration, apologist for La Guardia, former socialist and now member of the Fusion Party Education Committee, who is nursing bourgeois political ambitions took the floor in Campbell's defense. Everybody understood that Lefkowitz was keeping his record clear in order not to get in bad with the big boys higher up. He got his answer from the union members, however, when the amendment was carried, 415 to 152. The teachers want to fight!

With the passage of the amendment—although the union is not technically committed, since the vote was taken at a public mass meeting and not at a union membership meeting—the issue is squarely joined between the teachers and the Board of Education. The union has only one honest course—to fight the Board of Education over the issues of academic freedom and red-baiting. The union has indicated that it will fight and that it will conduct an energetic campaign and will welcome the assistance of labor. Labor is vitally interested in the question of the regime in the schools to which it sends its children and the subject matter taught them. If the issue is taken into the trade union movement support for the fight of the Teachers Union can be won. All labor organizations should get behind the union.

—H.L.

After the Socialist Party Convention

The Right Wing of the Socialist Party is determined to bludgeon the majority into submission or split the party wide open. The events of the Convention in Detroit, June 1-3, and of the week following, show how far the Right Wing is willing to go.

Outright defiance and repudiation of the majority vote which established the new centrist Declaration of Principles was declared in a public statement by Louis Waldman, Chairman of the New York State organization and leader of the Old Guard, the day after the convention. Mr. Waldman, after three days of shouting himself hoarse at the convention in the name of democracy against illegality and violence (when used on capitalists), flatly declared on June 4 in a statement issued to the press, that he intends to disobey the mandate of the Party Convention. He said:

"The declaration that has been adopted, which was sponsored by Mr. Thomas and his allies, commits not only the national organization, but attempts to commit also the State and local organizations, to a program which runs contrary to everything for which the Socialist party has stood and which it regards as fundamental. I know that New York State Socialists will not permit themselves to be driven into a position which they consider indefensible and untenable, and I am confident that I express the sentiments of many other State and local organizations."

As between the program of orderly, peaceable, constructive and intelligent political action and the insurrectionary, destructive and violent methods proposed by the left wing (i.e., the centrist majority) Socialists will have no difficulty in making their choice." (New York Times, June 5. Our emphasis.)

Old Guard to Flaunt Convention Decisions

Waldman's bold repudiation of the hegemony of the national organization over the State and local units makes clear—his statement was issued before the National Executive Committee of the S. P. met—that no matter what the results of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles, which the N.E.C. decided on the day of Waldman's statement, the Old Guard has no intention of following the democratic decisions of the S. P. if they are not dictated by the Old Guard. Thus the S. P. will either back down, mutilating the already diluted Declaration of Principles or accepting the substitute prepared by the Old Guard; or it must face the fact that the Old Guard does not consider itself bound by Party decisions. This means, either collapse of the already weak national structure of the Party, by capitulating to the complete autonomy for State and local organizations demanded by Waldman, or else the Socialist Party must expel the Old Guard for outright sabotage of its decisions.

So far, however, no sign has come from the N. E. C. that it will face the insulting repudiation of the Party by the Old Guard. All talk of splits in the party has come from the Old Guard, in the form of threats against those who disagree with them.

On the next day of the convention, when the resolutions voted for at the 2nd International Con-

gress in Paris by four out of six of the American Delegation, came on the floor for the party's approval, the Old Guard opened up the attack with an explicit threat by Joseph Panken: "Pass this resolution and you split the party." On that issue the Old Guard was triumphant.

Old Guard Renews Threat of Split

In the debate on the Declaration of Principles, the Old Guard went even further. While every speaker for the centrist Declaration talked unity, almost every Right-Winger talked split. The speakers in this debate were picked by the leaders of the factions, as Waldman, the chairman, explained. Significant of the lengths the Old Guard will go was the fact that one of the spokesmen they chose was the veteran Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, whose first words were: "This is probably the last meeting of the Socialist Party I shall ever speak to," declared that he and his ancestors had always followed the flag and that in the choice between the flag and the "red internationalists" (Thomas, etc.) he would follow the flag, and that anyone who would not fight for "his" country was a traitor. Choosing Sharts as spokesman shows that the Old Guard are ready to use the basest passions of chauvinism in their fight against any progressive tendency in the party. Their leadership, Waldman, did not wait for the end of the convention to make clear his intentions. In the debate he openly declared that he could not, "as a Social Democrat," follow the line of the Declaration. The same high-handed tone was taken by Panken, Solomon, and the rest of the Right-Wing spokesmen.

One of the most unscrupulous tactics of the Old Guard was their use of the columns of the *New York Times*. The convention was covered for the Times by a friend of the Right-Wing, Joseph Shaplen, and his stories were deliberately written to scare wavering elements into the right wing camp. One story played up the presence of representatives of the various Communist groups, and made it appear that the left wing and Militants were under their direction. All Shaplen's stories were designed to indicate that the party was in imminent danger of a split due to the tactics of the opponents of the Right Wing.

"Militants" Afraid of Themselves Instead of denouncing the provocative tactics of the Old Guard, the Socialist Party majority, including the Militants, have either been conciliatory to the point of further diluting their confused principles, or have pretended to ignore the Old Guard's bull-doing. In the debate on the Declaration, whereas the Old Guard stood sharply by its reformist principles and taunted the Militants for bringing in a Declaration full of ambiguities, the spokesmen for the Declaration diluted its meaning even further by their verbal interpretations. Andrew Biemiller, chairman of the Platform Committee and Militant leader, said the views in the Declaration "have always been the real views of socialism"—which puts Biemiller to the right of Thomas, who at least speaks of a "new beginning for socialism". Daniel Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, watered the meaning of the Declaration still further by declaring that "the St. Louis Anti-War Resolution of 1917 went further than this", and gave a broad hint by reminding the convention

that "we never lived up to the St. Louis Resolution". Leo Krzycki, re-elected chairman of the party, spoke for the Declaration by saying: "I look upon this as the Socialist Party reaffirming the St. Louis Resolution"—and appealed for support to the memory of Hillquit, late leader of the Old Guard! This was the context given to the "radical" Declaration by the spokesmen for it!

The most creditable point in the majority spokesmen's support of the Declaration was the assertion, repeated by nearly all of them, in answer to Old Guard charges, that the Declaration committed them to illegality in war-time—that what is legal or illegal is a question which is decided not by reason or an umpire, but by the capitalist state itself, and therefore the capitalist state would rule illegal anything it chose. But the next day, at a meeting of the new N.E.C. which has a pro-Declaration majority, it was precisely this principle which was scrapped. The N.E.C. voted to submit the declaration to a committee of lawyers for their opinion as to its legal aspects!

Split in the S.P. is Inevitable

When Norman Thomas returned to New York June 6 he issued a statement to the press which reveals the weakness and confusion of the S. P. leadership. In the face of the open challenge to the party and repudiation of its decisions by Waldman, Thomas said he hoped Waldman "would have the good comradeship to remain in the party", and denied the possibility of a split. As to the committee of lawyers, it was, said Thomas, "being consulted purely on matters of phraseology." But his statement ends: The phraseology "has a certain possible importance in some States in view of the nature of the American tyranny that has been set up in them. The party can fight that tyranny better by effective organization than by endless legal cases." In other words, Thomas is now ready to let the states' conception of legality determine his program.

That the party majority is conciliatory and further dilutes its move to the left, and that the Right Wing continues to bludgeon its opponents in a determined drive to rule or ruin, does not mean that the majority will capitulate completely or that the Old Guard will win. The classic reformism of the Old Guard is dead, completely discredited by Germany and Austria, and the inevitable tendency in the Socialist Party will continue to be toward obscuring the gap between reform and revolution with the ambiguous formulas of centrism. The fight between the two camps in the Socialist Party will inevitably continue to the point of a split, as the Old Guard is well aware. The Old Guard, however, by fighting step by step, and forcing its opponents into conciliatory moves and confusing formulations, will split away at the moment most favorable to itself, taking with it the largest forces it possibly could muster—not to speak of the party property which is now in its hands and which it will never relinquish to the majority. The majority, on the other hand, will find itself on the day of the split weakened both in forces and ideology by its futile conciliatory moves, an incoherent mass with neither prestige nor strength.

The Foreign Policy of The Soviet Union

Soviet foreign policy has taken a decidedly anti-Leninist turn particularly since the recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. A.

In the first place, this recognition was granted only after American capitalism had been fully convinced that the Third International would no longer serve as an instrument of world revolution in general nor as a revolutionary incitement and inspiration to the American laboring masses in particular. Secondly, in order to emphasize their good faith, the Stalinist bureaucracy officially declared that President Roosevelt represented peaceful American capitalism which was honestly seeking a democratic and pacifistic solution to present-day imperialist contradictions and conflicts.

Recently Alexander A. Troyanovsky, the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, stated that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should be able to find a "common ground" in an endeavor "to secure complete or partial disarmament". "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union," he continued, "shows an increasing activity for peace. . . . We greeted the resumption of normal relations with the United States from this point of view. Not material gains for our country, but the gain for international peace was regarded in our country as the important thing in friendly relations with the United States."

Lenin's Teachings Forgotten

One can hardly doubt Troyanovsky's love for peace, especially if we take some of his other statements into account. "The cause of peace," he declared, "was so great that it must prevail over all other problems." And among these problems he cited the most important economic contradictions of our epoch. "All secondary (!?) problems, such as those of debts, of commercial competition, of tariffs, and so on," he explained, "must be settled as soon as possible by mutual agreements and to mutual satisfaction, for these relatively small (!?) questions spoil the international atmosphere and prevent friendly efforts to consolidate peace."

Can the worthy Stalinist Ambassador really mean this? Has he completely forgotten Lenin's teachings about the economic causes of war? Troyanovsky should be reminded that in imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism Lenin actually proves that the "secondary" and "small" questions he mentions are at the very root of imperialist war in particular and all war in general. Or is this counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur?

In line with this trend the Stalinists have published abroad a brand new interpretation of capitalism and imperialism. They have divided the capitalist nations into two categories: one the peaceful, democratic and pacifist; and two, the warlike, fascist and aggressive. (This is precisely the theory of the Second International.) Under the former category are listed America, France, the Little Entente, and Possibly England; under the latter are listed especially Germany and Japan.

The Understanding With French Imperialism

Following through this anti-Marxist political philosophy, Livinov is now engaged in discussions for an "understanding" with imperialist France. Frederick T. Birchall, N. Y. Times correspondent in Berlin, says that "... accompanying and alongside the military agreement, it is understood a thorough understanding has now been arrived at regarding Russia's entry into the League of Nations. It is to take place as soon as possible with the enthusiastic support of France, which, with the disarmament negotiations as an excuse (mark well!), will send to Geneva in the near future an impressive delegation. . . . The stage is all set in France to hail the Russian understanding . . . as a further guarantee of European peace and French security. Then France will be ready to talk about disarmament."

This maneuver is made in the name of Marx and Lenin, explain the Stalinists, in order to secure allies (!?) against a probable attack on the U.S.S.R. from the side of fascist and warlike capitalism, namely, Germany and Japan. Also the entry of the Soviet Union into the capitalist League of Nations, characterized by the Third World Congress of the Communist International as "the international trust of the victorious states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples", has been facilitated.

How Pravda Explains Manoeuvring

Today the *Pravda*, the official organ of the Stalinist bureaucracy, explains the politics of the League of Nations as follows: "As a matter of fact the withdrawal from the League of Japan and Germany—these countries which do not even try to conceal their determination to fulfill their imperialistic ambitions by the means of further armaments, encroachments and wars—has brought up the question whether the League could not to a certain degree (how cautious!) become the centre of united forces that are ready to delay the bloody settle-

ment of disputes and bring about at least some strengthening of peace." And Karl Radek adds: "The danger of war against the U.S.S.R. does not come from the League but from open opponents of the League and English diehards."

The Theses and Resolutions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International support this conclusion. "The new international labor organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth."

Stalinism has eliminated all this. It has substituted in its place military alliances with capitalist countries and the insane theory of Socialism in one country. The Marxism-Leninism of the Third World Congress is now called counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. And in support of this thesis the French imperialist government is now persecuting Comrade Trotsky as a counter-revolutionist!

Soviet Union in Greater Danger

This new Stalinist policy will endanger not only the Soviet Union but also the prospects of a world revolution should an imperialist war break out. If the U.S.S.R. is maneuvered into the League of Nations, and thereby tied to the imperialist chariot of France and the Little Entente, or if it becomes a member of the permanent peace conference, it will have been demonstrated in either case that the Soviet Union is on the side of the strongest capitalist bandits. Thus, the emancipation of the oppressed by proletarian revolution is renounced, and the Soviet Union becomes a pawn (and ultimately a victim) in the imperialist game.

This policy, now aimed chiefly against Germany, is an inevitable consequence of the dastardly betrayal of the German workers and semi-proletarian masses by the C.P.G. under the direct command of Stalin. At first the German revolution was sabotaged in the interest of peace and credits. Now, with the threat of Hitler before their eyes, Stalin & Co. veer towards imperialist France in order to stay Hitler's hand, that is, to checkmate his Drang-nach-Osten policy.

As usual, the Stalinist bureaucracy does not calculate the effect of this course on the German masses. Having lost faith in the world revolution, and more particularly disdaining the revolutionary aid of the German masses in case of a fascist attack, Stalin once more plays into Hitler's hands. Goebbels has already broadcasted throughout bleeding Germany that the Soviet Union has formed a technical military alliance with the thoroughly hated France against the German people. And thus the last drop of revolutionary blood is drained from the veins of the German workers. This is the final stab in the back.

The Destruction of the Third International

The impending failure of the Disarmament Conference opens up a dangerous prospect for the Soviet Union. England cannot afford to have France increase its power on the Continent. It will not allow Germany to be further humiliated and crushed. It also supports the German rearmament proposals. It continues on friendly terms with Japan. For England needs both Germany and Japan, at least as potential allies, to maintain its far-flung empire.

The current policy of the Soviet Union, if carried through to the bitter end, leads to imperialist entanglements and aims a death-blow at the world proletarian movement.

It is obvious that such a situation calls for a new party and a new (Fourth) International.

—SYMPATHIZER.

CHICAGO DEBATE

Spartacus Youth League vs. Young Peoples Socialist League.

Subject
Resolved that the organization of a Fourth International is indispensable to the victory of the World Working Class over Fascism.

Affirmative
Nathan Gould and Albert Glotzer (Members National Committee S.Y.L.)

Negative
Arthur MacDowell (National Chairman Y.P.S.L.) and John Riemer.

Chairman
Ralph Chaplin—Editor Industrial Worker.

Friday, June 29th, 1934 at 7:45 P.M.
National Socialist Institute

3322 W. Douglas Blvd.
Admission 15c.

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Minneapolis Strike Defamers

(Continued from Page 1)

ing the militancy of the February fight, tried to head off the strike and avoid recognition of the union by "voluntary" wage increases.

In the meetings of the Citizens' Alliance (the bosses' organization) held on the eve of the strike—as reported to the union officials by a sympathizer—the leaders of the bosses urged and insisted that substantial increases of the miserable wages be made forthwith for the purpose of disorganizing the union campaign and defeating the demand for recognition of the union. On this point the bosses and the workers saw eye to eye—each side understood the question of the union to be paramount. The manoeuvre was defeated. The union officials, with the membership behind them to a man, put the recognition of the union as the first and fundamental demand.

Were the union leaders and members, perhaps, mistaken in centering the fight around the question of union recognition and directly related issues—no discrimination and seniority rights—as certain scholastic wisecracks and unsuccessful labor organizers maintain? Not at all. They were a thousands times correct. It is self-understood that the struggle for economic demands is indissolubly joined with the fight for a union, but the union is the instrument of the fight and the guardian of the economic concessions. Every worker who joins the union understands this instinctively. The worker wants an improvement in his conditions, but he wants also security in his job while fighting for these improvements. That is what the formula "recognition of the union" means concretely.

The Minneapolis strikers expressed it in their own language as "protection." They wanted the union to protect them against discrimination, against arbitrary firing, against the damnable "merit" system. In this attitude they were at one with every group of workers entering the organized struggle for the first time. They aspired to build a union to compel the boss to recognize and deal with it.

How the Strike Was Organized. For that they fought. And what a magnificent fight! In Minneapolis was to be seen what reservoirs of working class solidarity and courage can be tapped when the rank and file is fused with an honest, competent and trusted leadership. The whole working class of Minneapolis acclaimed the strike as a model of organization as well as of militancy. Transfer the Minneapolis method to Detroit and Pittsburgh! Then you will see the real resurgence of the labor movement!

Even the class enemy gave grudging testimony to the efficiency of the organizers and the soldierly discipline with which they imbued the strikers.

"Even before the official start of the strike at 11:30 p.m. Tuesday," reported the Minneapolis Tribune on May 16, "the General Headquarters' organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

"Before him on a desk, Farrell Dobbs, in charge at headquarters, had a list designating all the places in the city to be picketed and the time set for start of picketing. As the picket groups left for their posts, the list was checked."

"Days before the strike started, Mr. Dobbs said, picket captains had been selected, sizes of picket crews had been determined and all spots to be picketed had been designated. All that remained when the time came for moving the picket crews was to assign the squads, varying in number according to needs at the various picket places, load them in trucks or cars, and send them on their ways."

The pickets went "on their ways" so effectively, and they attracted to their support such a wide section of other workers, some of whom came out in sympathy, that the employers found it advisable to recede from their stiff-necked position and deal with the union. On Friday, May 25, ten days after the beginning of the strike, a settlement was made and the men returned to work.

When is the Time for Strike Settlement?

The resolute course of the union leaders in recommending the acceptance of the settlement has raised an extremely interesting and important question before the advanced and militant workers who followed all the developments at Minneapolis with the utmost attention. In the history of the American labor movement the radical and revolutionary workers have been distinguished by a singular oneness in regard to strike and trade union strategy. They led and organized many a militant strike, but seldom succeeded in maintaining a stable union. There is little to go by, in the way of previous experience, to aid the modern militants in determining how and when to settle strikes. Their predecessors did not settle any.

And yet, if we really aim to get into the labor movement and influence it permanently from within,

all the year round and not merely during strikes—and this is the fundamental task of the present-day militants—this problem must be solved. The leaders of the Minneapolis strike faced it without hesitation. Those who really want to learn something about the art of building unions, leading them through strikes and keeping them intact afterward ought to study this phase of the Minneapolis struggle particularly.

Those who merely want to throw mud, to scream and show their own impotence and ignorance, will not learn anything from the experience under review, or from any other experience for that matter. Nevertheless, they also serve the cause of progress indirectly. By holding their arguments and criticisms up to the light the education of others can be aided, as temperance used to be taught by the exhibition of the "horrible example".

What the Strike Settlement Means

Every strike settlement is a compromise in the sense that it leaves the bosses in control of industry and free to exploit the workers. The best settlement only limits and checks this exploitation to a certain extent. Realistic leaders do not expect justice from the capitalists; they only strive to extract as much as possible for the union in the given situation and strengthen their forces for another fight.

Tight at the present time, when the great problem and task of all the unions of newly organized workers is to establish a permanent basis and to compel recognition—a task that remains yet to be accomplished for the great majority of the new unions, for nearly all of them in fact—the Minneapolis settlement, itself manifestly a compromise, stands out high above any other of which we have direct knowledge. Those who have secured better settlements for new unions since the inception of the NRA—old established unions obviously in a different category—have a certain special right to criticize the Minneapolis leaders. But, first, it is necessary to find the leaders who did better. Who are they, and where are they? Are they, by any chance, the leaders of the St. Paul packinghouse "strike" or the New York Taxi strike?

Here is what the Minneapolis settlement says on the questions of union recognition, discrimination and seniority rights, quoted from the official text printed in the Minneapolis papers, May 26:

"All members of the General Drivers and Helpers Union No. 574 in dealing with employers may be represented by the officers of such Union, and no discrimination against representatives shall be made because they are officers or agents of said Local Union No. 574; and such firms shall deal with such representatives when duly selected as accredited representatives of these employees."

"In the hiring or discharging of employees hereafter, no employer affected hereby shall discriminate against any employee because of membership in said Local Union No. 574."

"In the hiring and discharging of or laying off of employees, seniority rights shall prevail, except for just cause."

Recognition Enforced to the Letter

In these sections of the agreement the main demands of the union were complied with in written form. And what is more important, they were carried out in practice in the days immediately following the end of the strike. Every case of discrimination in the rehiring of the workers—there were about 50 out of 5,000, according to the report made to the union meeting three days later—brought a committee of union officials to the office of the firm complained against. In not a single case did the employers refuse to meet the union officials and to adjust the complaints.

That is "recognition" enforced to the letter by a union that stands intact and ready to fight again if necessary. Where is there a new union anywhere in the United States which secured a clearer and more definite recognition since the inauguration of the NRA and began to enforce it the very next day?

Against these gains must be put down on the other side the fact that the union agreed to submit the wage demands to arbitration and to accept the results. This, the union had offered early in the strike on the condition that the union be recognized. The arbitrating body is not the Regional Labor Board, but is to consist of two members of the board, two employers and two representatives of the union, plus a seventh member to be selected. This body is also to arbitrate and decide individual disputes regarding the seniority clause.

This is a serious concession which the union officials felt it necessary to make under the circumstances in order to secure the recognition of the union and consolidate it in the next period. It is a big concession, but by no means a fatal one. It is a concession that has been made by many unions. It is somewhat ironical that the Furriers Union, the one Stalinist organization having direct relations with the bosses up till recently provided, in the agreement, for arbitration by an "impartial chairman".

An adverse ruling of the board of arbitration would undoubtedly galvanize the union membership for action again. The board will meet under the direct impress of the 10-day strike and with the consciousness that the union is strong and militant.

That, in our opinion, is the fundamentally decisive feature of the results of the Minneapolis strike—the indubitable establishment of a new union where none existed before. All the plans of the leaders and organizers were directed to this end as the first objective in a long campaign. The struggle was centered around this issue and was crowned with success. On that basis further steps forward can be made. To speak of such an outcome as a "defeat" is simply absurd.

The labor movement of Minneapolis has been restored to new life by the emergence of Local 574. The working class of the entire country has been inspired by a new example and enriched by a fresh experience which constitutes a real contribution to the burning question of trade unionism. Honest and loyal workers everywhere will acknowledge an indebtedness to the group of Minneapolis militants at the head of Local 574 who organized this magnificent movement, steered it through the strike and the settlement and still remain at its head. The work they have done already is bound to influence future developments of the left wing labor movement on a national scale. And they are not finished yet.

As was to be expected, the Stalinist specialists in the art of losing strikes and breaking up unions are bitterly disappointed with the Minneapolis situation. It was also to be expected that they would work overtime to discredit the strike and the union and blacken the names of the organizers and leaders. But even those who understood, especially those with sensitive stomachs, could not avoid a slight feeling of nausea at the instrument chosen for the present job and the dirty self-befouling methods assigned to him in executing it.

For the "Minneapolis job" the collective Browder, with a perverse cruelty, summoned the wreck of what was once a revolutionist and a man named William F. Dunne and offered him the opportunity to restore himself to grace and favor. He took the job of slandering the Minneapolis movement and all connected with it, and it must be said he did a dirty job as he was required to do.

That side of his articles are of no particular interest in themselves and can well be passed over. What is important and worthy of discussion is the fact that, in the course of his attacks, he exposes a conception of the trade union question, as he has learned it in recent years in the school of Browder-Stachel, which throws a searchlight on the present-day tactics of the Stalinists in contrast to ours. We can only welcome the opportunity to discuss the contrasting viewpoints on the basis of a concrete demonstration of one of them. That the discussion takes place on our ground—this in itself is a fact which helps to explain the meaning of the differences.

In next week's issue I hope to take up the main thesis of the Dunne articles on the Minneapolis strike and demonstrate its falsity and, consequently, the falsity of all the tactics prescribed on the basis of this thesis.

Browder "Exposes" Strike "Sell-Out"

(Continued from Page 1)

leaders in this strike, were they not?" Affirmative replies from all parts of the hall. "These Trotskyists, these revolutionist of revolutionists, they call us Centralists and Reactionaries, you know. Is their settlement any better than that made by the Social-Fascists everywhere else, in Toledo, in Detroit, etc.?" There is no reply, there is no applause, silence! He continues, "I understand that there are a thousand men who lost their jobs from this settlement". There is mumbling and commotion in the crowd. Browder retreats, "Or am I wrong, well, you say there is one hundred." He points to some imaginary questioner in the crowd. "Even if it were less than a hundred, that would have been a shame." No applause. The lie, the trickery of his speech, was even too raw for the hard-boiled Stalinists (who were the vast majority of the crowd) to swallow. "This settlement contains the clause of Section 7a, does it not? That is an endorsement of the Company Union is it not?" No response. No applause. Browder went too deep. The Stalinists were ashamed to applaud this characterization of a splendid union and a magnificent strike. Besides there was a rumor that had gone around them that fifty truck-drivers, union members, were in the hall.

Browder had waited for applause, it didn't come. He hesitated a moment, he left the subject of the Minneapolis strike and started to talk in general about the wave of strikes. He had nothing further to say about the Minneapolis strike and its leadership. He could not even begin to raise the least sentiment from the crowd for his intended baiting of Trotskyists. On the morning of the very day he spoke it was reported that the last striker was placed back on the job by the union with back pay, and that the union was growing at the rate of twenty-five members a day since the strike. It has now over 7,000 members. This is what Browder called "sell-out", "like Toledo, like Detroit, etc."

After this display of bankruptcy in trade union policy of the Stalinists, the audience was given a statement of the local branch of the Communist League in answer to the campaign of slander and lies against the leadership of the strike, made both by the official party and the bosses' "Citizens Alliance".

Fine educators of the workers are these Stalinists. When they cannot meet principled arguments, they return to their celebrated imbecile methods. Oskar Frank, a Communist Internationalist, stayed too far away from the concentration of comrades passing out our statement. He was violently attacked by a group of Stalinists, had his leaflets torn from him. Similar blighted, fanatical acts were committed by Browder's braves that night.

The Communist League is having a counter meeting to this one next Sunday evening, June 17th, at Pythian Hall, 43 S. 4th Street. V. Dunne, a strike leader, will be the principal speaker.

The Militant Pledge Fund

We want to take this opportunity to thank all the comrades who have been contributing regularly to the Pledge Fund, and to tell them that if it had not been for their contributions, we would have been obliged to skip at least one of the issues in the past few months.

Due to unemployment, several of our regular subscribers to this fund, have been obliged to discontinue their contributions. We call upon other readers and sympathizers to take their places.

The Militant is in a critical financial situation. Like all revolutionary papers, we operate on a weekly deficit which has to be made up by special donations. The debts which have been accumulating for a period of time, are pressing hard on us and threatening our existence. The Organization-Press Campaign which is now in progress, will help to liquidate these debts and thus prepare the base for stabilizing the paper. But it cannot permanently solve the problem. Our hope is in the Pledge Fund.

If we can get a total of \$40 weekly in pledges, to supplement our other income, we can guarantee the continue appearance and prompt mailing of The Militant.

MAKE YOUR PLEDGE TO-DAY. SEND FOR A PLEDGE CARD.

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A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00 "
A. Worker, N. Va.	1.00 "

(paid in advance for 10 months)

A Teacher in N. Y. C., paid for 16 months in advance.

A Friend of The Militant paid \$25 in advance at \$1 a week.

A Friend in Youngstown is paying \$2 monthly. We just received a letter from him enclosing \$8 for 4 months, saying: "I pledge for as long as The Militant will be in need and as long as I will be able to remit."

Brownsville Forum

WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?

Speaker
JACK WEBER

SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 8:30 P.M.

Dir. International Workers' School
1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave.

Militant Builders

Again we remind our branches and our readers that the Second Club Plan sub drive (4 six-month subs for \$7.00) ends on AUGUST 1. NO CARDS SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

GET YOUR CARDS AT ONCE!

The following extracts from letters show that interest in the Militant is high and that subs can be gotten if they are gone after.

From a comrade in Columbus we hear:

"The new subscriber says that the Militant certainly makes a man think. He thinks he can get new subscribers. He is one of the men who goes around all day in a horse cart for a baking concern. The workers had a successful strike a week ago."

George Truhar, of the Cleveland branch writes:

"Find enclosed four cards and another \$1 for 4 more cards. We are trying to get 100 subs by the end of the drive."

If you do George, you will deserve a prize.

S. Jojanov of Chicago, says:

"The first time I read your paper was at the May Day demonstration and I like it because it sincerely believes in united front. I hope you will continue. I do not believe in the tricks the Stalinists do. Enclosed find \$1 for a subscription."

This morning's mail brought the following:

"Dear Comrades: Reading the Militant after the Daily Worker is just like jumping from a mud bath into a cold, clear spring. The true spirit of international working class solidarity permeates your paper. The Stalinists give lip service to it. I read Dunne's articles on the Minneapolis strike. What lies! It was only because the League was in the forefront of this fine strike. Anything the Stalinists are in is wonderful. But when anybody outside the party is concerned, no words are too vile, no hysterical

frothing too disgusting or too low for them to apply. Look what these "revolutionists" did to the taxi strike. . . . Keep up this splendid paper and you can't fail to win. Good luck! I am unemployed, but I am enclosing 25c for the Militant."

Signed, A. Militant fan.

"Thank you for your letter comrade 'Militant fan'. If you had given your address, we would put you on the mailing list so you would be sure of receiving it regularly while you are still unemployed."

The following subs were received during the past week: Chicago br. 8; Cleveland br. 12; Davenport br. 4; Constance N. 4; Youngstown br. 4; Total, 32. Previously reported, 234.

THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE		
Minneapolis Branch	40	
Cleveland Branch	34	
New York Local	32	
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Harlem Br.	4	
Chicago Branch	28	
Los Angeles Branch	24	
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Philadelphia Branch	8	
Constance N.	8	
Davenport Branch	8	
Toronto	4	
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Leeser	4	
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St. Louis Branch	4	
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Waukegan Branch	4	
Youngstown Branch	4	
TOTAL	266	

N. Y. Independent Printers Union

Six months ago seven militants began organizing the unorganized New York printers. Today this new union, the "Independent Printing Employees" has reached a membership of about 1,000. An excellent beginning has been made of a big job in a big field. There are still not less than about 40,000 unorganized pressmen, compositors, linotype operators, and other workers distributed in some 2,100 small printing shops in the city. These unorganized printers have been denied admission into the official A. F. of L. printers' unions. The new union, however, has adopted as its policy a demand for inclusion into the official unions.

One tribute to its success and growth was given at the mass meeting held by this union on June 4th. Despite the sizzling heat there was an enthusiastic crowd of more than 500 printers present who unanimously approved the union program as set forth in three excellent speeches delivered by the union leaders. Each speech was different and yet each was brimful of the one and only inevitable conclusion—organization.

S. R. Solomonick, as chairman of the meeting, said in his introductory remarks, that the meeting was called primarily for the purpose of explaining the recently adopted Printers Code to the printers, and to work out a plan for its enforcement upon the bosses and "chisellers", who are repeatedly violating its most important clauses.

The preliminary speaker of the evening was a guest politician from the Regional Labor Board, a "labor" member of that body. The gentleman tried his best to play the part of an ardent union sympathizer, he well wished and peace-maker, as if he had smelled in the air the restlessness, and spirit of revolt of the underpaid and stepped-upon printers. He spoke long and said little and the lively crowd felt relieved when he had spoken and M. Tomasch, an active militant and member of the executive board was introduced.

M. Tomasch stressed the crying need of organization in the printing industry. He pointed out the unwillingness of the leaders of Local 51 and the "Big Six" of the A. F. of L. to open its books to unorganized printers. "It is up to us to organize the entire trade, to crack down the doors of the union, and fight for the 30-hour week and union scale throughout the whole industry."

The next speaker was Sam Gordon, one of the founders of the I.P.E. and its president. During his speech about the Printers Code he handed to the representative of the Labor Board 90 code violations for examination which had been returned by the Board to the organization after a long delay without any action having been taken. Tumultuous cheers drowned his voice, when he finished his speech by calling the attention of the printers to the militant fights of the workers in Toledo, Minneapolis and the West Coast.

Then George Clark, the young educational director and member of the executive board, spoke. He reviewed the short history and the growth of the organization; how in six months time the membership had grown from the original seven to more than a thousand, with individuals and whole shops lining up every day in the headquarters at 24 W. 20th Street. Already the organization has conducted one successful strike in one shop and is negotiating with several others. Clark summed up his forceful speech by calling all unorganized printers up to action: "There is no other way to get the thirty-hour week but by fighting and no successful fight was ever secured without militant organization."

The I.P.E. has undertaken a tremendous job. Their job of fighting the 2,000 small shop-owners in New York and the well-oiled machine of Local 51 and the Big Six of the A. F. of L. is no sinecure, no joy-ride. It demands ability, and most of all, hard courageous effort against obstacles and difficulties little realized by ordinary workers. That the leadership commands all these requirements was even openly admitted by the representative of the "Labor Board". It depends upon to what extent they are willing to support this movement.

—P.S.

I.L.A. Leaders Weaken Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

velopments, and particularly in reply to the threats of bringing out soldiers, the demand for a general strike went up in a powerful chorus all along the coast. It gained a tremendous impetus among the workers. But it remained a slogan.

The same can be said for the demand for a Waterfront Federation to be set up of the various unions involved. An entirely legitimate and correct demand. But alas, it also remained a slogan. The united strike committee which was set up, instead of being tightened up and enlarged to take in all the unions affected by the strike, and to have some real influence upon the conduct of the strike, was allowed to deteriorate after a couple of meetings.

Needless to say that in such a situation the strike, despite its magnificent militancy and broad sweep, is endangered. Oakland furnishes an example of this neglect of the danger and at the same time also of the sentiment of solidarity. The I.L.A. local asked for action in the Central Labor Council on a general strike vote. According to its laws a two thirds majority vote is required. The proposition narrowly missed that majority. It was only two votes short. Nevertheless several unions walked out in sympathy strike. But no serious effort was made to link these unions up with the united strike committee.

The Stalinists in the Strike

The official Communist party was in a position of having actually a mass basis on the Pacific Coast. Long before the strike it had gained serious influence among the rank and file and had promoted the slogan for a strike. It accounts for both the early strength and the subsequent weakness of the militant section. It was the first to raise the united front slogan, and to raise the issue of a general strike. Its prestige increased. But when it came to following up on its slogans matters changed and the resolutions it had adopted, those which were correct, remained on paper in usual Stalinist style.

Accounting for its failure stands first of all the fact that its policy of the T.U.U.L. unions existing also on the Pacific Coast contradicts the process of advancing the mass unions to a higher level. It becomes the first very serious point of division. Flowing from that the very tactics pursued will perhaps yet have even more disastrous consequences. While the Stalinists apparently sponsored the united front policy they insisted on having their own particular "united front" consisting of the official party, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the International Workers Relief, the International Labor Defense, etc. When the I.L.A. called for a united protest against the police brutality in the outrageous attack and firing upon unarmed workers on the Embarcadero, the Stalinists injected their particular "united front" confusion. In the name of the I.L.A., but through their own particular set-up, they collected funds. Incidentally, however, when the two comrades of the League, Wyle and Booth, were arrested on the water front they absolutely refused to have anything to do with the case.

Mistakes of the League

Had the official party been able to translate even its correct resolutions into action a solid federation of transport workers could have been formed and the whole strike strengthened instead of the first backwash of retreat being apparent. The Communist League was not without faults in the strike situation. Some members were active in the strike leadership but permitted themselves meanwhile to become isolated from the League activities. As a result the organic connection between the League and the strikers suffered. The fact that our branches are small when compared to the huge task and the fact that our members were swamped with work is not a sufficient excuse. Our decision to issue a monthly paper was held in abeyance. Such errors should not be repeated. We are no longer in the Stalinist party where decisions are handed down from above bureaucratically without any right of the membership to question. The correctness of our trade union policy is already verified by experience; but we must carry it out.

—F. C.

MOONLIGHT PICNIC IN MINNEAPOLIS

WORKERS OF MINNEAPOLIS

Attend

MOONLIGHT PICNIC

Given By

Minneapolis Branch Communist League and

Workmen's Circle Branch 989.

At

Glenwood Park Ground No. 3

SATURDAY NIGHT, JUNE 23

9:00 P.M.

MUSIC — ENTERTAINMENT REFRESHMENTS.

Speaker from General Drivers Union will speak on the TRUCK DRIVERS' VICTORY.

Bring Your Friends for an Enjoyable Evening.

N.Y. Picnic Sunday, June 24th

You can't afford to miss the greatest get-together of the Communist League and its supporters and friends ever held in New York. Arrangements are being completed to assure a good time to all. Are you an indoor baseball player? Then register for one of the teams. You'll have a chance to play soccer, quarts, or take part in the fat man's race—if we can find enough fat men to make a race worthwhile. There will be many other features to the sports program. The place is ideal. Large trees shade the tables. Food will be good. The menu includes "Sashlik", and also "Hot Dawgs" for the American approach. Thirsty? Your needs will be attended to. Dancing will go on till midnight in the roofed-in pavilion. If you wish to lose yourself for an hour—the large woodland estate which surrounds the picnic ground is yours.

If you wish to discuss Cuba, Imperialist War, Fascism, Stalinism, or the Fourth International, you will find the best informed Communists in New York present. At 4:00 P.M. Max Shachtman will speak on the "New International".

Come early for the program. Stay late for the dancing and camp-fire songs.—From 10:00 A.M. to Midnight.

Get your tickets at once—only 25c. The place is "Zedler's Grove", Lincoln Heights, Yonkers. The White Plains Lexington Ave. Subway or Third Avenue El. to 21st and White Plains Road will take you there. Get off at the last stop. A 15 minute walk, or Zedler's Grove Bus will take you to the open grounds. Don't miss a minute of this grand outing.

—C. FORSEN.



Insurance For Jobless Depends on Labor

Years of official silence to the demands of the workers for social insurance were finally ended in Roosevelt's message to Congress on Friday, June 8. The President has come forward with the promise of some kind of social insurance which will include old age and unemployment benefits.

"... The security of the home, the security of livelihood and the security of social insurance. . . . They constitute a right which belongs to every individual. . . ." says the President. But under what circumstances do these statements appear?

The 73rd Congress is closing its session, having passed no significant social legislation. The prestige of the Recovery program has gone down on the battleground of the class struggle. Labor has received only what it has won in the fiercest struggles. The government has retained popularity mainly through its promises. Those have been used up; and now there are new promises to dwell upon.

But this message reveals more than promises for popularity. For it is also, certainly, the defensive response to militant labor.

Judged at its face value Roosevelt's message is vague and even meaningless. He says directly that he is thinking chiefly of old age and unemployment insurance. It is to be federal in administration, the States cooperating. And "the funds necessary to provide this insurance should be raised by contributions rather than by an increase in general taxation." That is all the information offered.

Roosevelt's Message Reflects Pressure of Discontent

The question for the worker is, why is the President vague about the kind of social insurance he will propose? There are many well known plans for social insurance. And the issues are simple and clear. Who will pay for it? What will be the amount of the benefits? Will they be permanent—for the period of need? Will they apply immediately? Will they accrue to the present millions of unemployed? And will they cover agricultural, professional occupations, etc.? There can be no hedging on these questions—and there can be no doubt of the President's knowledge of them. Two well known unemployment insurance bills, the Wagner Bill and the Lundeen Bill, have been before Congress during the present session. The Old Guard Republicans have been all over the lot to kill any insurance bill. The shrewder politicians, some of whom make up the present administration have favored the Wagner bill, with the fond patronage of William Green, as a blinder, to head off the labor offensive for a real bill. And now at the end of the legislative sessions, with the "Recovery" program washed up, millions still un-

employed, and wages, as always, dependent upon the militancy and efficiency of the strike, Roosevelt comes before a retiring Congress with those professional accents of sincerity, and says "Next winter . . . social insurance . . . looking for a sound means which I can recommend."

There is a reason for this vagueness and demagoguery. There is "social unrest." Last summer there was pretty talk about "collective bargaining," which became troops, gas and bullets to prevent anyone from taking that cordiality too seriously. The Roosevelt administration is the most demagogic in American history; pious and brutal, smiling and deadly. "Collective bargaining" became company unions when labor did not fight, or was not strong enough, or was sold out.

What will social insurance become? It will become what the workers make it. The words "social insurance" were wrung out of Roosevelt by the grip of an aroused working class. Between now and next winter the government hopes for a period of respite. But to obtain actual relief, the working class must present its own demands for social insurance and immediately build the united front of labor that will push it over. The A. F. of L., the independent unions, unemployed organizations, and the political parties of the labor movement must act together for this objective.

The employers and their government must make the "contributions." The benefits must provide a good standard of living. They must be as permanent as unemployment. They must apply immediately and to the existing unemployed.

Comrade Cannon's article in his series discussing the Minneapolis strike had to be omitted this week because of his absence from the city. It will appear in the next issue.

Longshoremen Refuse Surrender

Despite the settlement signed by Thos. Ryan for the Seattle longshoremen all cargo movements have been blocked by the strikers. Thus the first efforts to open the Seattle waterfront failed. Pickets sat on the tracks in front of a locomotive dispatched to switch freight cars and refused to move. In the San Francisco Bay Region the local I.L.A. has addressed an appeal to all local unions to join in a general strike in its support. Several unions have voted favorably at this time. There are all indications that the combined efforts of the Chambers of Commerce, the ship owners, the media-tors and the international officials of the Longshoremen's Union to

Union Barred at NRA Office

The attitude of the NRA administration towards unions has again been demonstrated—in its own house. When the workers in the NRA Labor Advisory Board attempted to take advantage of section 7a of the NRA and organized into the NRA Employees Union, Lodge 91, General Johnson called the organizer of the union into his office and discharged him for "insubordination."

"The little NRA union," said John Donovan, the president, "has received exactly the same dirty deal as the auto workers, the steel workers and every other group of workers who have come to General Johnson seeking justice."

The union demanded recognition, abandonment of overtime, compensatory time off for overtime, more equitable reclassification and remedying of specific cases of discrimination.

The workers are beginning to learn from their own bitter experience that they can expect nothing from the NRA. Only by reliance upon their own strength can they hope to win recognition from the bosses government. This lesson is being learnt by every group of workers who have attempted to establish a union and win recognition and the right of collective bargaining.

Steel Workers Union Retreats Strike Plans Deferred

The steel strike has been postponed. None of the issues which gave rise to the strike plans have been settled. None of the demands made by the union have been met by the steel masters or even given serious consideration by them. In

New Deal Marches Ahead



other words, a test of strength is held in abeyance. None of these issues can be considered settled until the union is recognized as the authentic spokesman of the workers—that means when it actually exists as a factor capable of enforcing the demands of the workers.

At the Pittsburgh convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, held last week to take final action on the strike proposition, the delegates accepted a proposal for a retreat submitted by William Green. This meek Baptist deacon from Cincinnati, Ohio appeared before the steel delegates and delivered what is said to be the strongest plea of his career. His plea was against action, against a test of strength, against a strike to obtain the demands made by the workers. When appearing in such a role Bill Green seems growing in stature. His plea was not challenged, otherwise he would easily have become rattled and incoherent. As it was he could convey to the delegates his idea to put their faith, not in the power of organization, but in President Roosevelt.

Bill Green's Proposal

That was the proposition accepted by the steel workers' convention. It recommends the setting up of an impartial board of three members to be appointed by President Roosevelt. This board is to: Adjust complaints of violations of the code for the iron and steel industry; mediate and conciliate disputes between employers and employees; undertake to arrange for a conference for collective bargaining with the employers; arbitrate labor disputes submitted to it voluntarily; hear and determine matters of discrimination against the workers. In addition this board is to have the authority to hold elections in the steel plants to determine workers' representatives for collective bargaining.

The proposal accepted by the convention finally declares that in the event the above recommendations are accepted by all parties the strike was to be declared off. Such was the proposition offered by Bill Green, and, of course, he could not

give the slightest assurance as to whether it would be accepted or even considered by the steel corporations. In sum and substance this proposition is the same as the infamous automobile settlement which helped to put over.

What will the outcome be? To the steel trust it means that the threat of a strike is removed and it can go ahead with its unbridled exploitation, fearing no challenge to its coercive methods of company unionism. It can permit itself an even greater defiance than before and help stiffen the backbone of the struggle against union organization elsewhere.

What Was Lacking?

To these workers a union of their own, firmly established, will have real meaning. But the surrender made at the Pittsburgh convention will undoubtedly have a disheart-

(Continued on Page 4)

French Labor Parties Ignore Storm Signals

Reaction grips Europe. France, caught in the claws of the economic crisis—a chaotic budget, the decline of small commerce, the deterioration of the workers' standard, the impoverishment of the peasants—is the storm center. On the courage and the course of its proletariat depends not only the future of France but—perhaps for years, the future of the whole working class. The descendants of the Communards are not without courage; the events of Feb. 6th-12th have shown some of their power. But in France, today, there is no party capable of leading the proletariat to victory. There is the nucleus for such a party—the Feb. 6th and 12th events demonstrated—the French Communist League. The day after tomorrow, it must become such a party. Clashes in the streets of important cities between workers' and fascist reactionaries take place almost daily. The workers stand their ground. Reaction retaliates. At this moment Comrade Trotsky is being hounded still, compelled to move from place to place. The reactionary aim is to paralyze his activities, to separate him completely from the working class.

The official Communist Party shows progressive decay; in 1920 the majority of the Socialist Party, 130,000 strong, joined the Communist; today the Stalinists have 12,000 members. Political degeneracy takes its toll. A short period after its origin, the C.G.T.U. (red union) had 400,000 members while today there remain 70,000. Meanwhile, the C.G.T. (reformist unions), headed by the Comptess of France, Jouhaux, has a membership of 1,000,000.

Decisive Issues Moving to the Fore

But, for a revolutionary party, questions of theory, strategy, and tactics play the decisive role. They cannot be postponed or remain unanswered. Let us look at the "hollow men" of Stalinism, facing the growing fascist elements—and remember that an empty barrel rolling down hill makes a tremendous rumble.

The Croix du Feu, the Volontaires de la France, the Jeunesses Patriotes, the noisy disciples of the Action Française, are organizing. The "Trotskyites" call for the united front of all working-class organizations. They propose local committees of action in all industries; a general labor defense corps (workers militia); and of course the right to mutual criticism by all participating organizations. The C. P. refuses, proclaiming that only under its leadership can a united front be constituted. The S. P. and other working-class organiza-

tions accept—but the pressure grows. The C. P. reconsiders. It offers to enter the united front with the Socialist Party on these conditions: that it must be organized under the auspices of the Amsterdam International against War and Fascism; exclude the Trotskyites, etc. The S. P. refuses because it will not accept the Barbusse leadership in advance; and it answers that the Trotskyites represent an important political tendency in the labor movement. Then from within the C. P. ranks Doriot raises his voice for the united front policy.

The Danger of False Slogans On the streets, during the February days, the Stalinists raised the slogan of "Down with the government of Daladier-Frot, the murderers of workers" (the identical slogan of the fascist elements). And on Feb. 8th, L'Humanite comments: "... certain comrades show an entirely incomprehensible excitement concerning the fascist turmoil in the streets." The C. P. did not even understand the events. As a result it experienced further decline while the Socialist Party made gains.

Nor is the "case of Doriot" unconstructive in relation to the decay of the C. P. and the Comintern. Doriot learned from the Feb. 6-12 events. His experience in the work of organizing the anti-fascist front in St. Denis forced him to come out against the Central Committee, against the stupidity of "united front from below only," against Thorez and Cachin. Thorez remarked quite honestly: "If we accept his (Doriot's) evaluation of the present situation we compromise the whole of our political line pursued hitherto." By resigning his majority of St. Denis, Doriot forced the hand of the party Central Committee. Running on his own platform, the workers reelected him by an overwhelming majority. But the Stalinists had a comeback. They called a convention of their sections of Northern France, for the purpose of dealing with Doriot. They registered 110 votes for their condemnation of Doriot's position and 69 against. The convention vote was secured by allotting the same vote to each unit, regardless of its size. The numerically powerful units of St. Denis could record no more strength than the small units. However, he refused to make a pilgrimage to Moscow in order to be instructed in the tactic of the "united front from below." Ironically enough, the first name signed to the ukase expelling Doriot was that of Dimitroff.

And in the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of France, at its recent convention, held in Toulouse, May 20th through May 23rd, revealed nothing new. The party, since the split-off of the extreme right wing, remains in the hands of the "centrists" under the leadership of Blum and Paure. The days of "democracy" in France are about at an end. Fascism is advancing. A Marxist party would go over to the offensive. But not the S. P. The lessons from the German and Austrian events had no appreciable effects on the convention, except that the uselessness of an "armed insurrection" was broached. True, under the pressure of these events and in order to appease the left-wing elements, there was some gibbering about "radical decisive action." The united front policy of the "Administrative committee" was approved. But on a whole they were more concerned about the parliamentary elections next October. It did not occur to them that the time may soon come when there will be no more ballot boxes. A resolution against any "further" appropriations for war was passed—no realistic consideration of the tasks of a working-class party in relation to war. The leftward moving groups who had quit or been expelled (the right-wing had split off in the latter part of last year) were invited to return. A resolution condemning any bloc with the radical bourgeoisie slid through. A few lamentations over Renaudel—the right wing leader—barely anything on the reactionary leaders of the trade-unions—and the convention ended. The S. P. remains a hopelessly reformist organization. The militants must be won over to Communism.

Fight to Oust Wolinsky

The French Communist League, which took the leadership in the united front proposals in the formation of workers' alliances, gains prestige in the French labor movement. To the questions of the proletariat it gives Marxian answers. Under the banner of the Fourth International, it will rally the workers of France for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Forward, Internationalist Communists of France!

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Recovery For the Farmer

After the first year of the New Deal the American farmers are beginning to become disillusioned with its "recovery" program. The high prices for farm products which was to follow automatically from an artificially induced economy of curtailment of production has failed to materialize and the farmers find themselves holding the sack.

At the end of 1933 the year's index showed a gain of only 9% over 1932. In July 1933 the purchasing power of the farmers' dollar had fallen to 71 cents, in January 1934 it was down to 60 cents, while for February it was recorded at 64 cents.

Bad times did not set in for the farmer in 1929 at the time of the general crisis of capitalism but fully ten years earlier. Depression in agriculture set in almost immediately after the world war. All the evidences of a depressed economy were present: falling prices, land value deflation, heavy mortgages and the ever growing pressure of fixed charges (taxes, interests on debts, etc.). The farmers largely disappeared as purchasers of capital goods and a characteristic contradiction of capitalist economy made its appearance; agriculture became more efficient as a system of production as its gross income declined.

One Example of Curtailed Production

Cotton was a typical item in the agricultural "recovery" program. One fourth of the 1933 crop was plowed under and the acreage was reduced from 41,000,000 acres to 30,000,000 acres. But the New Dealers found out that acreage reduction was by no means synonymous with yield reduction. Inten-

sive cultivation and the use of fertilizer was applied and the yield per acre jumped from the five year average of a 174 pounds to a yield of 200 pounds for 1933. The year's crop was 13,177,000 bales and was fully equal to that of 1932. From the standpoint of American production alone the farmer was no better off than before. Drastic reduction in the United States spurred producers elsewhere to increase enormously their planting. As a result the total of foreign cotton production reached the highest point since the pre-depression days 1927-28. Nor has the worst happened yet. Plans are going ahead for the opening up of vast cotton regions in India and Africa.

Since the price of cotton is determined by the world production rather than that of any single country it can be seen that the world position of American cotton is worse now than ever before. Net results in other commodities produced by agriculture will be likewise affected. Perhaps, the farmers began to sense this to see through the "national planning" demagoguery of the A.A.A. hence their quiet but effective sabotaging of the whole thing.

Who Pays the Price?

Acreage reduction in wheat for the 1934 crop fell short by fully half of the administration's plans. Reduction in acreage had cost the consumers (largely the workers) \$150,000,000 in processing taxes and netted to the overwhelming mass of farmers no substantial gains. The American farmer began to wake up to the fact that national boundaries are largely arbitrary and not of much use where production for a market is concerned.

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ORGANIZATION & PRESS DRIVE

We are on our way to new gains. The first results of our campaign to create a fund to build the organization and its press are at hand. The first steps to carry out this immediate objective have been taken. Two capable organizers have been selected to take up work in the field. The first issue of the theoretical organ, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is off the press.

Two new branches have been added to the League in the last few weeks. In the Richmond, California, oil field the branch already reported is making headway. Now a large branch has been built up in Detroit composed of a number of comrades who are deeply entrenched in the trade unions. The Cleveland branch is strengthened with a field organizer giving his attention to the Cleveland-Pittsburgh territory. In Minneapolis the strike victory has created rich opportunities for the League. The two new field organizers are to be assigned to Minneapolis and Detroit respectively.

More indispensable than ever is THE MILITANT.

Its contents will become increasingly popularized to represent ever more of a mass agitation paper. But it must be stabilized, take in a wider field and have more material of interest to the average worker.

These are the objectives for which we intend to use the organization and press fund. We call upon you to help. Through collective efforts we can march forward to new and greater gains. Never before has the need been so pressing and the opportunities so favorable. The creation of a revolutionary movement is the issue.

Do not delay! If you have already received a coupon book for this campaign, containing ten coupons at 10c each, make haste to dispose of them and settle the account with the office. If you have not received one, will you forward your request to us? If you can advance a dollar or more for one or more coupon books, so much the better. But at any rate we count upon you. Send all your orders and your funds to THE MILITANT, 128 East 18th Street, New York City.

New York.—In the Militant of

April 26th issue we reported how Wolinsky the agent of the bosses is saving the New York pocketbook workers' union. Now we will give an analysis of what took place since. The "fraternal club" administration of the pocketbook workers union and its so-called legal "advisor" Wolinsky held the first two conferences two weeks ago with the employers' association. At the first conference, according to the Forward's report of May 31 the bosses presented a list of demands to the union.

How the Union Officials Work for the Bosses

How is it that at a time when there is a general talk of reducing hours and of raising wages the pocketbook bosses are demanding a lowering of conditions? The answer is that our misleaders did not enforce the rotten agreements they signed with the employers for the last few years. The agreement provides that the scale of mechanics should be \$32 and \$35.50. In most of the shops this scale was not enforced.

Moreover, the code that was signed by the Wolinsky administration did not change working conditions in the trade. Hours and wages remained the same. The pocketbook workers are still working 40 hours a week. Why? Because the present officials work hand in hand with the bosses.

At a time when there is such great unemployment in the industry. At a time when wages have been reduced from 40 to 50 per cent. Out of 4,000 pocketbook workers in New York, only 1,500 have jobs and they work only part time during the season. Is it a wonder that the employers rejoiced when Wolinsky became legal adviser of the union? They know how Wolinsky advised them to fight the union when he was manager of the Morris White firm and how he helped to throw out 110 workers in the same shop. Wolinsky made a statement that he "made" the union and he will break it. The bosses cannot have a better

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REVIEWING
THE NEWS

L. R. writing from Philly on the "Stalinist-Divine" unit says: "Perhaps after all we are 'counter-revolutionists' because we were for a united front with the devil and his grandma against Fascism while Stalinism makes united fronts only with God."

That S.P. "Communist" Declaration

The more Norman Thomas explains it, the clearer it becomes that the "Declaration of Principles" was for Thomas and many others just a gesture to the left without any serious nor militant intention of opposing war. In the January 16th New Leader Thomas says: "The Spanish-American and the World War were not the result of attacks on us but of our aggressive action. . . . If by some miracle there is a wholly different type of war, there will be plenty time in the light of Socialist principles to change our position." Anyone recalling the World War knows that Socialist traitors everywhere, could see the "miracle" that made the World War "different" to all others. As for time to "change our position," judging by the writings, speeches, and interviews of Norman Thomas, he will require less than was required by the French, German, British, etc., socialist patriots in 1914, and that was damned little. Thomas has the grounds for "changing position" all worked out in advance and if some Marxist quotation cannot be twisted to justify his position he then can, like many of his kind in 1914, fall back on his first love—"The Holy Bible."

Recent "Liberal" Moves by La Guardia

Denounced spokesmen for the unemployed as "yellow dogs." Approved the clubbing of starving men and women for protesting against starvation. Proposed that the Socialist Pankin be placed on the bench on the seat vacated by Kunster. Took steps leading to an increase of subway fares. Approved orders of O'Hanlon to police to club unemployed and strikers or lose their jobs.

La Guardia, during his campaign for Mayor of New York, outdid Roosevelt as a "champion of the people." He, the "free, fearless, non-partisan fighter" is revealing daily that if he attacked Tammany gangsters it was only to sign up with the bankers who want to eliminate the Tammany retail grafters in order to better carry on wholesale robbery of the workers and unemployed of New York. Where Tammany furnished rich grafting commissions to the McNulty and McCormicks, the La Guardia-bankers administration just issues tin medals to the police. A real efficient, cheap, liberal administration!

The Youth and War

"Young men—all of them—align with the gilt of rank upon their shoulders—leading lads burned darkly brown by tropic suns. White uniforms—brown faces—and youth . . . 'How young they are!' others exclaimed. . . . 'The finest demonstration of youth, organized into a fighting force,' said Grover Whalen."—New York Times report of the Naval parade on Fifth Avenue.

In the same issue of the Times, Sunday, June 3, is the story of another parade of youth and its sequel. A court martial is being held in France to review the case of four youth who were court-martialed and shot in 1915. The Sixty-third Infantry had come out of the line decimated and had been reformed with recruits from the youngest class of French boys just called to the colors. Then they were ordered back into the line, where heavy fighting had been progressing for many days.

"It was a veritable slaughterhouse," said Major Dubost, describing conditions on the field of battle. "Bodies of those killed in previous combats lay so close together they touched one another. Not a meter of space was free from corpses, with faces blackened in decomposition."

"The officers ordering the assault ran forward in a rain of machine-gun fire," one of them testified, "and dropped to cover in shell holes, but their men had failed to follow. They refused to move."

Afterward came the investigation. The whole company had disobeyed and General De l'Etoile, in command, ordered the whole company court-martialed. To this Major Dubost violently protested and it was decided the officers were to designate one man from each section to stand trial. Five men were designated, one lieutenant flatly refusing to designate any individual in his section.

At the trial Corporal Morange merely said, "It is always the same with men who are ordered to go forward to death." The other accused men said nothing and all were convicted and shot.

The parade on Fifth Avenue, the tan faces of the Naval youth, the blackened rotten faces of the youth

Role of the Stalinists
In Minneapolis Strike

The Stalinists have two ways of looking at the same strike situation at all times, no matter where it is, in New York, in Toledo, San Francisco, or Minneapolis. A review of the Party actions in connection with the Minneapolis Strike will show this most clearly.

During the five months prior to the strike the official Communist Party had no part whatever in the building of the General Drivers Union. They had no members in it. But some of their sympathizers were working loyally with the members of the Communist League in the union. During the Coal strike they marched a bunch of unemployed workers up to a closed meeting of the union demanded admittance and to have a speaker address the union. This being impossible from all precedence of trade union organization and practice they were denied their request. Karson, the local leader of the T.U.U.L., then lead his followers back to their hall, to prove to them that the union was not for unity, it was preparing a sell-out, and that new unions were needed. After the settlement of this strike they issued a leaflet calling it a sell-out, and asked the workers to join the T.U.U.L. Nobody joined. That was the end of that episode.

On the Eve of the Strike

One thousand, two thousand, going on to three thousand workers signed up with Local No. 574. Yet among them not one Stalinist appeared on the scene. For two weeks talk of a possible strike by the general drivers appeared in the daily press, while negotiations with the bosses was proceeding to a crisis. Coupled with this was the street-car men's strike vote hanging in the air. Two days before the strike broke, a day before the final strike vote was taken, a leaflet from the C. P. was distributed to the drivers. "Beware of your Leaders," they "sold out the coal drivers, the ice-wagon drivers, the upholsterers." This leaflet heaped all labor leaders into one pot, and labeled them all alike. It mentioned Communists with Catholics, the highest with the lowest—"fakers, bosses agents, traitors, renegades."

The effect if any was a few more drivers on the sidelines—very few—for the main mass of members voted solidly for strike. Every rumor and slander against Communism and "Reds" was strengthening the minds of the thousands of proletarians that were entering the unions for the first time. Here the bosses' press was publishing statements after statement from individual bosses, that the union leaders were racketeers out after their money; they were from out of town, and so forth. The men had experienced nothing with their leaders which could verify any of these charges against them. They had no reason to accept the word of any alien elements.

The First Day of the Strike

The strike was effective. The city was tied up. The union held a meeting. The strike committee of seventy-five was reporting. (The Stalinist leaflet called for a rank-and-file strike committee!). There is an offer from the Unemployed Council of assistance and support. The majority report is not to accept the assistance of the "Reds." "They attacked us yesterday, but we want to put this question to the membership for decision." M. Dunne speaks for the minority report to accept the offer, during which he made the famous reference, "that in a struggle of this kind we can accept the assistance of the Devil and his Grandmother." By overwhelming vote the membership declined the offer, they were paying Stalinism back for the day before.

The Gathering of Forces

Wednesday the bosses met, and assembled the entire boss class through the Citizens Alliance behind the truck bosses to defeat the drivers. Their plan was to make a press campaign against the strike, so as to justify a terrific police attack upon the union and smash it down. To meet this the strike committee began immediately to solicit the other unions and workers' organizations for support. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday were essentially the days of preparation for the sharpest battles of the strike. The taxi-men came through, the M.C.C.W. (the genuine united-front unemployed organization of the city with hundreds of members), the women began to appear in large numbers at the hall, kitchen, and picket lines. The first pledges of support to the strikers came from the building trades, and service crafts, laundry workers and bakers. The official C. P. was absent, silent, nowhere to be seen, yet it was during these days that the will to fight was developed and the preliminary training in organization and discipline was given to this newly assembled army of the

of France, the death sentence by General de l'Etoile, and the praise of Grover Whalen—they are all inseparable parts of the capitalist slaughter machine.

—BILL.

working class—a training in filling gaps, in skirmishes with police and gunmen, in evading and experiencing arrests. Only on Friday were some C. P. militant members seen on the picket trucks leaving Headquarters.

The Saturday Events

A thousand special police had been assembled. The battle for the market began. Brushes through the morning, grew more ferocious around noon, and extended until three o'clock when the police were called off. The C. P. had some men without their leaders on the picket trucks. If the district bureaucrats wished it they would have been there.

Saturday night, S. K. Davis of the I.L.D. was given the floor to speak for the Committee of 23 (all defendants in the Court House unemployment riots of April 8th). The ultimatum tone of the Monday before was gone, the Stalinists were speaking to a group of workers who were fighters, and who were better organized to fight than they had been. A sorry picture of bankruptcy both of policy and leadership was cut by Davis that night. He could add nothing to what was said on the platform that evening by the strike leaders, by President Brown, by organizer, M. Dunne, G. Dunne, and Skoglund. A few platitudes to the strikers for their spirit, a few boasts of what he and his committee would do, and then taking the bull by the horns he outdid himself. He let everyone know that beside the Committee of 23 elected by the United Relief Workers Association, he was also the secretary of the I.L.D. which, with the Communist Party, conducted a "relentless fight against police terror." Thus in one shot he was speaking for all these organizations, which in their entirety do not include over three hundred active workers, as members (it must be understood that every C. P. member and close follower is a member of all of these organizations at the same time, at least when they elect their leadership.)

The International Communists had made it understood that they were for the participation of all workers groups including the Communist party (Stalinists). It was broadcasted from G.H.Q. that any worker could participate in picket duty regardless of political affiliation. By this act, the C. P. leadership was robbed of its argument that it was not allowed to do anything, and therefore could not show their "stuff." When allowed to show their "stuff" they automatically stood exposed before this group of workers, because they had nothing better, not even as good as the strike leadership. They could not harp about "fighting" for the whole strike was conducted in the most militant manner.

The C. P. (and the T.U.U.L., the Unemployed Councils, the I.L.D., F.S.T., the I.W.O., etc.) held a defence meeting on "Bug house" Square. The Strike Committee sent a speaker, comrade Bloomberg, to ask the C. P. and all its organizations to come down to the picket line in a body and report to the picket captain there. The speaker at the same time explained the united front policy of the strike leadership and asked the party crowd if it was not better than the united front from below. What he said there to this crowd went home so well, that three weeks later the general secretary of the C. P., Earl Browder, could not get a rise of applause from the same group of party followers when he attempted to do some "Trotsky baiting."

What Happened Tuesday

The C. P. leadership was to assemble its forces and appear on the picket line. A delay—were the leaders pondering over the problem? Tuesday morning, after extensive organization work of 36 hours, Sunday night to Tuesday morning, the C. P. and its auxiliaries under the name of the Unemployed Councils (?) CAME DOWN, with their entire FORCE—fifteen men. All the wind, and boasts, and slander, and vilifications of the C. P. against the leadership of the strike, was based upon the rejection of their demand, representing these fifteen men, to sit on the strike committee of 6,000 truck drivers, with equal rights, at least equal vote if not more, to the elected representatives of the union members.

—C. FORSEN.

THE MILITANT

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QUESTION
BOX

Numerous questions from readers concerning various phases of the class struggle have prompted the Militant to initiate this column. Address questions to Question Box Editor, c/o Militant, 126 E. 16th St., New York.

Comrade G. Flint: General Motors is the only automobile corporation for which figures, of the kind you request, are available at present to this editor. According to the company's report (Apr. 2, 1934) it had 116,152 employees in 1932 and 137,764 in 1933. With this gain (19%), production was increased about 64%, indicating the speed-up which occurred. Average wages per employee is reported as the same for both years, about \$1,235. This is about 25% less than the average wage for the industry in 1929, about \$1,640. The company's net profit was \$8 million in 1933 as against 9 million in 1932.

No! The Stalinist policy in the automobile situation was not correct. One of the main issues was recognition of the A. F. of L. union which the bulk of the workers were joining. The Stalinist T.U.U.L. organization urged the workers to strike for their demands, saying that their organization "supported" such a strike. The question therefore arises: if it is correct (and it is) to strike for recognition of the A. F. of L. union, why do the Stalinists maintain a policy which separates the militants from the workers in the mass organization and leaves them hopelessly isolated in the T.U.U.L. paper unions?

Comrade B. N. Y.: The author of the statement that fascism and the social democracy "do not contradict each other, but supplement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins." is none other than Stalin himself. See the pamphlet by Fritz Heckert "What Is Happening in Germany," p. 21.

Max Eastman is not a member of the Communist League of America, nor are we responsible for his viewpoint.

Yes, Welsford claims adherence to the International Left Opposition, but even on such points as our attitude towards the Soviet Union will you find quite a divergence. In his pamphlet "For a New International" we find (p. 26): "Today, what we have in Russia is not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the proletariat. (Still, however, within certain limits, for the benefit of the proletariat.) THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS BEEN DESTROYED." (Emphasis in original.)

Trotsky castigates this viewpoint ("Soviet Union and the Fourth International," p. 6: "The most widespread, popular, and at first sight irrefutable argument in favor of the non-proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almighty-ness of the bureaucracy. Is it really possible to identify the dictatorship of an apparatus, which has led to the dictatorship of a single person, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class? Isn't it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is excluded by the dictatorship OVER the proletariat?"

"Such enticing reasoning is constructed not upon a materialistic analysis of the process as it develops in reality but upon pure idealistic schemes, upon the Kantian norms."

Ypsel, Boston: According to the U. S. War Department figures there were 37,484,186 casualties during the world war; 57.6% of the total mobilized force. Of these, 8,538,315 were killed or died, 21,219,452 were wounded, and 7,750,919 were prisoners or missing. Out of a total force of 4,067,101, 68% (2,783,094) had to be drafted and (yet) forgot, Wilson was elected on the slogan: He kept us out of war. Compare this to the American Civil War whose progressive character is shown by the fact that 94% of the Union forces were volunteers.

Despite the bureaucracy, the Soviet Union, so long as it retains its class character (i.e. as long as the means of production remain the property of the proletariat) can NOT conduct an imperialist war. The purpose of the imperialists in a war is to gain new markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence for the investment of capital, etc., in short to be free to exploit those masses now being exploited by other imperialists. (In the case of the Soviet Union the imperialists would like to be able again to exploit those masses who have already thrown off their yoke). Proletarians on the other hand can exploit no one.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Y.C.L. Holds Seventh
National Convention

On June 22nd, the national convention of the Young Communist League, originally planned for Detroit, will open in New York City. No one expects anything from this meeting except an endorsement of the "general line", a few words of criticism of its practical application, and the reiteration of high-sounding plans and policies which have failed in the past.

Three years ago the sixth national convention of the Y.C.L. went through the same ritual. As then, the mass of Y.C.L.ers are indifferent to the pre-convention discussion which is a farcical ceremony that no one takes seriously. With all real opposition expelled and stifled, those who remain faithfully follow the leadership—as long as they remain members.

"From a League of less than 2,500, the Y.C.L. has grown almost three times to a League of more than 6,000," states the leading editorial of the Young Worker (June 19th, 1934). Apparently a great achievement. Yet if we consider that the last three years in the United States offered unprecedented opportunities for a genuine communist youth organization—assuming it had the material resources to reach and hold the young workers, which the Y.C.L. had and has—the doubling of membership is not much of an accomplishment.

200% Turnover in Three Years

Six thousand members in the Y.C.L. in June 1934. Yet between January 1932 to July 1933 seven thousand young workers joined the Y.C.L. (Y.C.L. Builder, September 1933.) At this rate we can conclude that there has been a two hundred per cent turnover of membership in the last three years—that is, for every member who today remains, two young workers have left the Y.C.L. And this is called "growth!"

In no field can the Y.C.L. record any real success. Its inner life is drab and uninteresting, discouraging systematic activity or stable membership. Its educational and cultural activities are practically non-existent—they are left for the auxiliary youth organizations.

In the anti-militarist and anti-Fascist field, the Y.C.L. has the "Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism", a sectarian outfit based on a confused program which has very little influence on the non-Stalinist radical youth of the country. The Y.C.L. rejected genuine united front action in this field with the Spartacus Youth League and the Y.P.S.L. for May 30th in New York, San Francisco and New Haven.

How about its work among the jobless and homeless youth? A little work in the C.C.C., sporadic organizations which soon disappear in various cities and no more. Persistent, systematic, stable organization is impossible with the Stalinist policies, methods and leadership.

In the Trade Unions

In any case, we hear of the work of the Y.C.L. in the shops and factories, in the unions—if not A. F. of L., at least T.U.U.L. Here also there is more noise than accomplishment. For years the Stalinist youth have tried to organize youth sections or committees of trade unions, particularly of their own private little "unions", the "red unions". Where are these youth committees or sections? Where has the Y.C.L. organized the young workers? One needs but read the Stalinist press on the lamentations about their failures.

The major economic activity of the Y.C.L. has been and remains that of hunting for "youth demands". If there are no special youth demands they are manufactured or the demands of the workers are labeled "youth demands". A case in point are the "youth demands" of the Y.C.L. for the steel workers today. The only special

Militant Builders

SIX MORE WEEKS TO GO.
No Cards Sold After August 1st.

Minneapolis Leads.

COMPLETE RECORD

Minneapolis Branch	40
New York Local	36
Cleveland Branch	34
Chicago Branch	28
Los Angeles Branch	28
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Br.	8
Philadelphia Branch	8
Constance N.	8
Davenport Branch	8
Toronto	4
Kerkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben L. and I. Porter	4
Leaser	4
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Youngstown Branch	4

TOTAL 274

MARCH OF
EVENTS

Fascism and the Junkers

If Von Hindenburg and Von Papen, the spokesmen for the Junkers, yielded to the upstart Hitler and permitted him to come to power, it was not because of any love for plebeian fascism. The German Junkers swung to fascism in order to save their big landed estates, directly threatened in the course of events by the efforts to solve the agrarian crisis. The barons thus allied themselves with the industrial magnates and the powerful bankers in their mutual effort to save the system of private property. Similarly in Italy the monarchy had swung to Mussolini in order to save the throne along with the capitalist system. But the Junker class, the left-over feudal aristocracy of landowners, never for one instant lost sight of their ultimate aim—the reestablishment of their own power as the class of professional politicians, ruling with and for the bourgeoisie through the monarchy.

Fascism as a Bridge

The Stalinists, with their completely false appraisal of the meaning of fascism, considered it as a bridge to proletarian dictatorship. After Hitler, Thaelmann! And this in short order too. Let Hitler come to power, said Stalin, and then we will follow. With far more justification the Junker-monarchists said, "Let Hitler come to power—and then, after he has used the petty-bourgeois masses to crush the democratic organizations and political parties, we shall crush him in turn and restore the Kaiser." And with that contingency ever in view, von Hindenburg, temporary regent for the monarchy, saw to it that the forms of "legality" would be preserved by maintaining a majority of the cabinet of dictators as his henchmen. Just as the big financiers needed Hitler (leader of the petty bourgeoisie) to uproot all the elements of proletarian revolution, so the Junkers needed Hitler to act as the bridge for their restoration to the special status of state bureaucracy.

Fascism Losing its Social Base

From the start it was quite evident that the petty bourgeois base of fascism could not endure. The followers of Hitler, misled by catchwords and demagoguery, were bound to become rapidly disillusioned. As the social basis on which the Nazis rose to power, gave way and began to disappear, it was also clear that the fascist rulers would be transformed into an ever narrowing bureaucracy, dependent on the police and the military. Von Papen now begins to put to the test the extent of this inevitable process. He is exploring, like a true militarist, the depth of depletion of the reserves of fascism. By drawing the sword and attempting a blow at Goebbels, one wing of Hitler resting on the petty bourgeoisie, von Papen aims to isolate Hitler so that he may be more readily dealt with tomorrow. True the Junkers yielded up (til now); true they disabbed (or pretended to do so) their own forces, the Stahlhelm. But the process now begins to reverse itself and Hitler, up till now the mediator in disputes between the opposing wings of the ruling bureaucracy, will have to move closer under the clutches of the monarchists, even while he attempts to renounce them, for he cannot afford now an open breach with these dangerous allies. The former Kaiser, thanking Hitler publicly for his achievements for the reaction, rejoices that events begin to move in his direction. Von Papen, criticizing the Nazis openly for their "excesses", gives expression simultaneously to the hopes of the monarchists: "In my opinion," he said, "the German state will at some future date find its crowning glory in a chief of state who once for all is removed from the political fight of demagoguery and from clashes among economic and vocational interests."

The Big Bourgeoisie

The big bourgeoisie, always alarmed at the possible outcome of civil war, having gained their ends through a dictatorship, are anxious to bring about "law and order" as soon as possible after a victory. The demagoguery of fascism, aping socialist phrases to win the tradesmen and the professional classes, never pleased big business. Nor does the attempt by fascism to establish the corporate state appeal to bankers and industrialists. They prefer an alliance, at the earliest possible moment, with a more stable ruling caste. That power in Germany has been traditionally the landed barons, the Junkers. The time for a change may not yet be ripe. Here we merely indicate a trend that is clearly to be seen. The dictatorship of the plebeian fascists, resting on the petty bourgeoisie, tends to become transformed into a military dictatorship. As Engels says: "It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages." We are witnessing the workings of this law.

—J. WEBER.

Stalinist Record in the Cuban Revolution

(Continued from last issue)

The Stalinists, foreseeing that a serious attempt to seize power, might precipitate intervention by the armed forces of the United States, came to the conclusion, at the same time that they prepared the "insurrection", that it was necessary to make efforts to avert intervention. Their ideas on this subject were first advanced in this country by Sinani in the December, 1933 *Communist*. With the idea in abstracto, we have no disagreement. What is required, however, is an examination to see whether the methods proposed do not compromise the principled position of the revolution. The seizure of power by the workers anywhere on the face of the earth today will be answered by world imperialism with political and economic support of the overthrown capitalists and, if the world and domestic situations permit, attempts at armed suppression of the revolution. Russian and Siberian soil is fertilized with the blood and bones of thousands of workers who gave up their lives in defense of the Russian Revolution in the great civil war. As soon as the Spanish workers and peasants overthrew Alfonso and established the republic British warships rushed to Spanish waters. When the Austrian workers fought the Heimwehr on the barricades Italy and Czechoslovakia massed troops on the frontiers.

Necessity of Tactical Maneuvers

Realistic revolutionaries must take this danger into account in their program and prepare to meet it. The vital aspect of resistance to intervention in addition to the fight on domestic soil is the extension of the struggle to the soil of the imperialist country. Demonstrations, protest strikes, a broad mass movement in sympathy with the proletarian revolution abroad on the domestic soil of the attacking imperialists and in its vulnerable foreign markets, colonies, mandates, protectorates, can force a halt in the aggression, until the rest of the movement catches up with the outpost sufficiently to make its protest count. In the case of Cuba, upon which is centered the eyes of the millions of Latin American workers oppressed by the same imperialist power, the United States, the Cuban proletarian state will appeal to them for support and call on them to follow the example of the Cuban workers.

Now let us see how it stands with the Stalinists with respect to Cuba. According to Sinani (December 1933, *Communist*)—"The Communist Party of Cuba considers it advisable for the workers' and peasants' government, if it should be formed, to enter into negotiations with the government of the U.S.A. on the conditions of nationalization of big foreign property, while not abandoning this nationalization, i. e., it allows the possibility of buying out this property. . . . The Communist Party of Cuba allows the possibility of retaining American ownership to some extent in the form of concessions, as to the conditions on which the property will be bought out (amount, forms and date of payment, etc.) negotiations will have to be carried out between the future revolutionary government of Cuba and the government of the United States." (Our emphasis.)

It is clear from the underscored parts that the sense of this passage defines a MANEUVERING policy of the Communist Party AFTER it has state power. It is the more understandable when it is remembered that this was written, as the text itself clearly states, in the middle of September, that is, a short time before the Communist Party OSTENSIBLY had the perspective of seizing power.

A Retreat in Face of Imperialists

One thing is certain: had the workers seized power in Cuba at that or any other time in the period since the overthrow of Machado, they would have faced the problem of armed intervention by the United States. Or if they seize it in the future before we seize it here the Cuban workers will face that problem either from the U.S. or some other imperialist power. In that situation it would be entirely correct to draw the superior power into protracted negotiations over treaties, settlements, concessions, etc. while might and main were being expended to arouse the workers of Latin America and the United States to come to the assistance of the Cuban workers' state. And, depending upon the situation and the relation of forces to grant concessions would be entirely correct and unavoidable. The alternatives would be voluntary surrender or armed struggle. Sinani's explanation deduces the limits of the concessions to be made: they proposed to make concessions up to the point of nationalization which they proposed to retain. Should this method fail the Communist Party, says Sinani, would "... organize a real nationwide armed resistance to the interventionists."

All of this is correct. If we spend so much time on this point it is not to heap praise on the Stalinists but in the interest of speaking out what is and of making our position clear. We have nothing in common with those ultra-leftists who regard any concession as a betrayal of the revolution and of Marxism. Were we the party in Cuba that is how we would present the question to the masses. Intransigence in principle does not preclude but makes necessary flexibility in tactics; the ability to maneuver within the framework of firmly established Marxist principles, that is the essence of Leninist strategy. The road of the ultra-leftists leads to sectarianism.

Sinani's position as we have given it above, we repeat is correct. If the matter rested there, if that were all that were involved, we might conclude that the Stalinists had learned from the events of August and were beginning to steer a revolutionary course.

But that was not the case. The idea of averting intervention as formulated by the Stalinists has two aspects: the policy of maneuvering AFTER the seizure of power—which we have already discussed; and the policy of capitulating to American imperialism and the policy of NOT SEIZING POWER.

In Sinani's explanation there are three main points:—"the C. P. of Cuba tries to direct the chief blow of the revolutionary masses above all against the local Cuban ruling classes";—"the Communist Party considers it inadvisable for the workers to seize the American enterprises, and puts forward the slogan of workers' control carried out through factory committees (if there are revolutionary conditions) which can secure the satisfaction of the demands of the workers";—"the Communist Party considers it inadvisable to force ahead the seizure of plantations belonging to American capital, and fights above all for considerable reductions of the rent of this land."

Who Are the Owners of Cuba?

In China the Stalinists tried in vain and with disastrous consequences to make fundamental distinctions between the native bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists and attached themselves as a tail to the former. In Cuba they repeat the same treachery but they want to direct their blows against the native bourgeoisie and lie down before the imperialists. Who are the Cuban ruling classes? What is their role in Cuban economy and society? Under the oppressive heel of American imperialism Cuban capitalism had been unable to develop its own finance capitalist class. Almost the entire banking of the island is done by three American and one Canadian bank and their branches. The railroads, sugar plantations, telephone, electric, gas and ice industries, mines, docks shipping, street cars, buses, building and other construction; every large and important industry is owned by American capital or leased by it. A small share is in the hands of British capital. The Cuban capitalists have minor shares. They are the vice-presidents of American firms. They wait on the pleasure and orders of the Chase National and the National City Bank. They beg favors from the House of Morgan and the Royal Bank of Canada. They are perhaps the most helpless and least important bourgeoisie in the world. To conduct a revolutionary struggle against them and not against the American interests is first of all a total impossibility, and secondly, its pronouncement is a plain statement of capitulation.

Surrendering the Struggle
When the C. P. says it considers it inadvisable to seize American enterprises it says that it will not touch EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTRY. Let us consider the sugar industry. Almost ninety percent of it is in the hands of American capital. Hundreds of thousands of acres of plantations are owned outright by American capital. Hundreds of thousands more are leased by it through banking arrangements which give it virtual ownership. On these vast expanses, the largest of their kind in the capitalist world, live whole cities and their working class populations. For work and bread, for light and gas and ice they are dependent on the equipment of the plantations. If the workers are not to seize these plantations when the general situation demands it, and other workers are seizing the isolated plantations owned by Cuban capital it means that they can conduct no struggle at all.

—T. STAMM.
(Continued in next issue)

If the number on your wrapper is **229** or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can and we will continue you on the mailing list.

Appeal For Jewish-Arab Workers Solidarity

To the Working Class of America:

In response to the call of a large section of the working class of Palestine, there has been formed in this country a Committee for Jewish-Arab Labor Solidarity in Palestine with the purpose of helping to forge a united front of the Jewish and Arab working masses. The blood in which Palestine was drenched last October, 1933 showed with tragic clarity how acutely such solidarity is needed. Nor was this the first time that blood flowed in Palestine as a result of the imperialist policy of the British government setting up an artificial wall of distrust and separation between the Jewish and Arab masses. The distrust between the two peoples is stimulated, on the one hand, by the Arab reactionary forces, and, on the other, by the Jewish capitalists, true to the old imperialist maxim of divide and rule. One section of the population of Palestine is incited against the other and vicious jingo sentiments are spread among the masses of both peoples, expressed in the fascism of the Revisionist Brown Shirts among the Jews and the fascist Shabbab organization among the Arabs.

A grave error is being committed by the Histadruth (the Jewish trade union organization in Palestine) which bars Arab workers from its unions. Such a policy only widens the chasm between the Jewish and Arab workers and pours oil on the flames of national hatred kindled by the imperialists. It also helps the British mandatory power to cover up its shameful prohibition of Jewish workers immigration and to disguise its persecution of the immigrants under the cloak of pretended "friendship" for the Arab masses.

The "Gewerkschaften" campaign, initiated by the United Hebrew Trades for the benefit of the Histadruth has never attempted to influence the leadership of the latter to change its attitude towards the Arabian workers. This has only strengthened nationalist jingoism, bringing forward the danger that the Arab reactionary forces will take advantage of the situation to set up dual nationalist-Arab unions against the Histadruth!

Fellow workers! You can not remain indifferent to the bloody games being played in Palestine. In the great chain of world imperialism forged in the vres of violence and oppression, Palestine is by no means an insignificant link. Uniting three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa, it holds a significant key position in the great world struggle between imperialism and the forces of labor emancipation. The stronger the position of the working class in that country, the firmer and mightier the labor front, the harder will be the way of the oppressor in winning the upper hand in this struggle.

In Palestine itself this is being appreciated by ever greater masses of Jewish and Arab workers alike. The success of the strike of the Arab textile workers in Midjalla, organized by the Left Poale Zion, the recent Southern conference of Arab workers, the growth of the Borochov opposition in the Histadruth, the establishment of the organization "Labor Solidarity" in the face of the ban of the British government, the attempts of the Arab fellahin to organization point to the stormy awakening of the Jewish and Arab working masses. They call to us for support and this call we must answer.

Mooney's Spirit is in the Class Struggle

He receives the *Militant* and magazines. Many times however, the *Militant* does not come to his cell. Some articles fail to pass the red pencil of the warden. He wants to know about Trotsky, whether he is still in France, and could I see if it is possible to have Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" sent to him, if it does not go through, it will go to the Moulder's Defense Committee. He is vitally interested in the Longshoremen's strike on the Coast and the impending steel strike in Pennsylvania. He asks me to see that a wire is sent to Pittsburgh congratulating the steel workers and urging them to fight. Newspaper men and lawyers have played their part in his 18 years of imprisonment—and for both as a class he has nothing but disdain, emphasizing his attitude with generous proletarian contempt.

"The strike wave will bring on a wave of reaction, and California is no slouch in its inauguration." The official party does a lot, they move about but they are hopeless; five years of depression and they have not grown—they have not infiltrated either into the unions or onto the political scene. He remembers when he rode on the Red Special with Debs, 25 years ago, at that time the Socialist Party had 100,000 members—and today with the crisis as a means of growing, they too—like the official C. P.—have retrogressed. "But still if I were out now I would try to unite the revolutionary movement." I say to him that it can only be done on a Marxist platform, and he smiles broadly. He condemns the official C. P. for what took place at Madison Square Garden, and is genuinely pleasantly surprised that John Dos Passos signed the document printed in the *New Masses* condemning the party.

The Class Fighter Inseparable From the Movement

Tom Mooney was in a white jacket, signifying the sanitation of the kitchen. He works six hours a day peeling vegetables, rising at 4:30 A.M. for the long hours of the friendless sea and the wind; and the click of rifles on the parapets; and the heavy monotony of peeling vegetables and cleaning the kitchen. His face is full and yet drawn; he smiles and you feel so happy to see him smile. His hand

tended "friendship" for the Arab masses.

The Committee of Jewish Arab Labor Solidarity is our answer to this call. We appeal to the workers of America! Help us to spread this movement far and wide! Form such committees in your localities! Have your unions call upon the Histadruth to admit Arab workers on a plane of equality! Help collect a labor solidarity fund to set up workers clubs and a labor press in Palestine and to establish broad educational activities among the Jewish and Arab masses. Help strengthen the first attempts of the Arab masses to organize themselves under a militant leadership. Help fight the jingo trickery of British imperialism and Jewish-Arab reaction.

For International Labor Solidarity!

M. Alper, Chairman of Friends of Labor Palestine; Louis Berg; P. L. Goldman, Secretary of New York City Committee, Jewish Workers Party Left Poale Zion; Elsie Gluck; Irving Dryer, Managing Editor "Pharmacist Journal"; Chas. A. Zimmerman, Secretary Manager, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; M. Levitt, Secretary Jewish Bureau, Communist League of America; B. Lipschutz, Jewish Bureau Communist Party (Opposition); George P. Miles, Managing Editor "Workers Age"; M. Miskowsky; Herbert Solow; Sidney Hook; Arne Swabeck, National Secretary Communist League of America; Elliott E. Cohen; V. F. Calverton, Editor "Modern Monthly"; J. P. Cannon, Editor "Militant"; B. Sherman, Secretary Jewish Workers Party Left Poale Zion.

Committee for Jewish-Arab Workers Solidarity in Palestine
B. Sherman, Secretary
New York Union Square Hotel, New York, N. Y.

A Visit to Tom Mooney at San Quentin

I walked down the Embarcadero on the way to the Ferry. The Embarcadero, at noon, was filled with striking longshoremen and sailors, standing along the curbs; the strike was now in its fifth week, and there were cops on horses and riot trucks everywhere, and scareheads in the papers; none of this however frightened the now embattled longshoremen. I took the Ferry. Out in the Bay—under the fog that is always either rising or falling—it was falling now, but I could see the ships at anchor, ships from all corners of the earth, idle and unmoving, quiet. These charlats of commerce were doomed to stay on unloaded day after day, under the numerous fogs that would come. We passed Alcatraz, the U. S. Military prison, a dreary island under a blanket of frozen air; sentinels were walking the Romanlike roads laced from beneath with straight falling cliffs shooting down into the Golden Gate.

Then I disembarked and I took a train and I passed through the beautiful brown hills and hillocks and valleys of California, to San Rafael, and then on a worn-out bus to San Quentin. Going up to the Administration Building I passed the Fire Department where Schmidt, a comrade of Mooney, works. In the fields by the sides of the road were prisoners hoeing and digging, and above well the glistening high parapets and more sentinels walking.

Entering the Prison
Everything is grey from the uniforms to the human feelings in the eyes of the prisoners, the water blue—as it is—even takes on that color, and the iron-grey of the high and massive prison walls—wherein days and nights and months—are just impressions with a pencil on a soiled calendar. Prisons are prisons and the human mould is frail within their stone.

Mr. Holohan—the Warden of San Quentin—is evidently of the younger school, the latest of the bourgeois Republicans having indulged his social fancy on Mr. Lawes' journalistic sorrows. He has a quick smile and you thank him for he will let you see Tom Mooney with the flash and scribble of his signature on your letter of introduction, and now you are free to see the International symbol of the class struggle. You thank him and rush off across the street to the captain of the Guard, where you make your request again and sign your name to a slip of DON'Ts instructing you how to behave and how not to act as a visitor. Again you are thankful for their social exercises, this time you go into a near-by waiting-room and you sit, looking at the silver cups won by prisoners in athletic feats.

The Class Fighter Inseparable From the Movement

Tom Mooney was in a white jacket, signifying the sanitation of the kitchen. He works six hours a day peeling vegetables, rising at 4:30 A.M. for the long hours of the friendless sea and the wind; and the click of rifles on the parapets; and the heavy monotony of peeling vegetables and cleaning the kitchen. His face is full and yet drawn; he smiles and you feel so happy to see him smile. His hand

is firm, his eyes are clear—the revolutionary glint engages his face. He talks to you in a hurried fashion; time is short—perhaps an hour and he wants to say so much. The whole world of the working class is his concern; he talks so that almost everyone in the large visitors room can hear him. His message is not a personal one, it is International! from the dread of Fascism in Germany, to Fascism in America. The Communist Party and the International have botched up everything despite the mass party and the following in Germany; they have not learned the tactical strategy of the united front. Like the Mooney Congress where the Party carried on its own will—incapable of learning anything of the need of the united working-class front, and then the unwillingness of the Socialist Party to act in the Congress. "Fascism is the last stand of a maddened bourgeoisie," he says, "and it will come here, as elsewhere, unless we stop it, and if not—then a world calamity will occur." WAR! out of which perhaps with guns, the armed workers will know what use to make of them. "I am not sorry," he said, "nor do I lament about what I have done, despite the 18 years of imprisonment." His face, like his words and his eyes are firm bastions of struggle.

Unshakable Faith in His Class
An hour has almost past—the guard says I must go. We stand up together and firmly shake each other's hands, and smile strongly, our revolutionary instincts and understanding in our handgrasp. "Greetings to Cannon!" he had said before. He remembered him. Cannon visited him in 1927. I say "Good-bye Tom, and not for long" and he is smiling. He will go back to peeling vegetables and after 6 P. M. when these grey walls of horror are locked and their gates sealed and all the prisoners are in their cells for the night, he is going to sleep, he is very tired and will not be able to do any of his correspondence tonight. As I walk out, the large gates sound their closing feeling, they are being shut up on the large penal vise of the bourgeoisie.

I go back across the Bay on the Ferry. The ships in the Bay are now like ghosts and so are the brown hills, no longer brown but as gray as the deep fog. The Embarcadero is still filled with longshoremen and sailors, their faces are moulded by the news in the papers: "Settlement possible." There is no settlement in the class struggle, only partial victories, temporary gains, and only by the destruction of the bourgeois rule is there victory. Till then—we will have more Mooneys, and many comrades in jail. The class struggle goes on and Mooney is with us!

—HARRY ROSS
San Francisco, Cal.
June 13, 1934

No Time To Lose Big Tasks Ahead
Minneapolis, Toledo, California strikes showed that the workers are ready to fight for their rights. The Steel, Automobile and Textile industries are like volcanoes about to erupt.

We must be prepared to enter the coming struggles as a militant force, applying the experiences and lessons of Minneapolis.

We Must

STRENGTHEN OUR PRESS.
BUILD OUR ORGANIZATION.
SEND ORGANIZERS INTO THE FIELD.

STABILIZE THE MILITANT.
Help raise the necessary funds.

Get a book of ten coupons for One Dollar.
Sell them among friends and sympathizers of our movement.

Support the

Organization--Press Campaign

50% to The Militant—50% for the Communist League of America.
126 East 16th Street
New York City

Mooney says the ranks and file unions will grow in the country,

After the Bulgarian Fascist Coup d'Etat

If the three and a half million Bulgarian peasants owning between them a couple of thousand steel plows, lived anywhere in Asia, or South America, the "little Europe", which still considers itself the "world", might hardly have any interest in their fate. But they are rooted in that sore spot of Europe—called the Balkans from which more than once the flames of war have spread; and Europe has every reason to understand the events in those lands which, with their "single industry" and military dictatorships not unlike South America, are the measure of the barbarism to which the rest of Europe ever more rapidly adapts itself.

The events preceding the coup d'etat itself are simple enough and for the Balkans nothing new. On the 17th of May, the "parliamentary" government of Muschanov resigned; on the 18th of May the troops occupied all the important points and the "King"; that bloodstained degenerate and "skirt chaser" appointed as Ministers Kimon Georgiev and a few other officers of the united "Zveno". The parliament was dissolved. No one as yet knows what the "internal politics" were. But that the ministry in contrast to its predecessors will reconcile itself with the "hereditary enemy" Yugoslavia, and recognize the Soviet Union, is common knowledge—it will be the first step on the part of the government. Monsieur Barthou has shown the Nazi salesman Goering that it is not so easy to reckon without France as the host.

The fascist press rejoiced over the triumph of the "dictatorial principle"; the democrats bewailed the opposite. Both showed a not very extensive acquaintance with what is called "democracy" in the Balkans. Sections of the masses in the Balkans have ruled before through a peasant dictatorship. What we call democracy never existed and towards the end was implicated in the police elections of Joel Brattianu, Pashtich, Venzelios, and even Maschanov. The Balkans were freed by Christian Europe from the horrible but simple slavery of the Turkish landowners, only to sink into a much bitterer, more refined and abysmal serfdom of the German, English, French, Italian and American banks. The interests of the banks could only be protected through the uniformed swagger of the army; for the bourgeoisie are much too weak and insignificant and the masses, too weak to rebel, are none the less rebellious. The banks oppressed the countries of "single industries" (Bulgaria—tobacco), throttled the industrial development, and, for example, involved Bulgaria before 1914 in three wars.

Today, what exists in Bulgaria is as little fascism as there ever was democracy. By the all too frequent use of "blanket terms" the explanation of a concrete event is confused rather than clarified. The driving forces are different from those in Germany and Italy and consequently the corresponding forms change. After the war Bulgaria lived under the "democratic dictatorship" of the peasant leader Stambulisky who sought through a foreign policy under French domination to obtain a free hand at home for his petty-bourgeois agricultural reforms—meagre in range—whose profits were diminished by the participation of commerce and the banks, and led to the organization of the dissatisfied city petty-bourgeois, the defeated army, and the unfortunate 300,000 Macedonians into a minority movement under the "Zvenos" party. From its inception, some described it as fascist although it lacked very essential characteristics of fascism. (The city petty-bourgeoisie and the lampen proletariat remained under the leadership of the army and bourgeoisie; only nationalist, no "socialist", demagogues).

Thanks to the incredible stupidity of the Communist Party which had the whole working class and twenty-five percent of the votes, the minority movement through a putsch on June 9, 1923, seized power. At the leadership of the putsch stood Professor Tsankov, who was before the war a co-worker of the "Neue Zeit" and that "world leader" who was just recalled as ambassador from Rome. The peasant party and its leadership were slaughtered; the cities remained quiet; and the Communist Party, under the leadership of Dimitroff and Korolov, proceeded from the viewpoint that it was merely a struggle between two bourgeois factions. The C. P. "poo-pooed" the spontaneous uprisings in Plevna, etc. Thanks to that in September of the same year it was driven into illegality from which it has never emerged. The traders came into their own, and the foreign policy was orientated toward Italy. Tsankov was replaced in 1928 by Ljaptscheff, not so much because the murder of twenty thousand people during his regime had aroused god-fearing Europe, but rather because England found it necessary to separate itself from the adventurous policy of

Italy in the Balkans, especially in Macedonia, and to take matters into its own hands. Tsankov had reopened parliament with a decree that forbade "disorderly" parties; displeasing deputies were shot. His retreat, like Ljaptscheff's in 1931, was effected in a "parliamentary manner". Muschanov's government was also parliamentary; it replaced Tsankov's united "Zgavor" with a coalition government of the peasant parties. Its foreign policy was less constrained. Its "democracy" did not hinder it in its suppression of the workers party—a Communist electioneering party whose membership was as large as its actual capacity for deeds in face of the military action of June 24, 1933. One observes that the rotation from "democracy" to dictatorship is more variegated than in independent countries where the army is of limited importance.

The coup d'etat is hardly proof of the thesis that international democratic countries worry much about democracy for their vassals. Georgiev is the third dictator along with Pilsudski and Schikvovitch who can thank the Third Republic for his existence.

People who still measure the strength of a party by the number of its votes are astonished that there was no opposition. The Communist Party as well as the peasant party commanded large electoral support. But in the case of both the electoral support indicated merely traditional sympathy. The Bulgarian peasant party since 1923 confirmed the experience of every peasant war: the peasantry in itself is incapable of leading its struggles. The Communist Party never recovered from the blows and defeats of 1923 and 1925. The young bureaucrats, who replaced the old bankrupts, were not more capable but merely more stupid. The Bulgarian section of the Third International, despite its heroic past, was not spared the fate of its brother-sections. In the general break-up, from the first, the army remained the only force capable of ruling, and it set up its dictatorship on the 18th of May.

The coup d'etat is a stage in the great duel between France and Germany for the Balkans. Had Germany answered the Balkan pact, initiated by France, with an approach to Yugoslavia, even promising a part of Carinthia after the coordination of Austria, and flirted with Bulgaria and France would even up what Goering's trip—and not only it—had hard-heartedly broken down—he had such a pretty "comitadjis" uniform in his traveling bag!—by a putsch in Sofia.

Now the Balkans appear united under the leadership of France. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, hand in hand; the Macedonian problem on the verge of its solution. Ah, if that were so easy! It is much easier for a Balkan government to change its color. One should not forget that the sum, which Bulgaria's entry into the World War cost, is very well known and that the majority of the heroes of May 18 over eleven years ago "putsched" for an opposite orientation.

To solve the Macedonian question. A few guerrilla leaders who plunder and kill are not enough. For that the unfortunate 300,000 whom the Yugoslavs on the basis of a "peace treaty" drove from their homes and land to Bulgaria—and the pauperized whom they made the prey of every putsch—must be aroused from their hovels and helped to their land, for that not only the Greek and Yugoslavian yoke in Macedonia must be smashed, but the peasant economy, which cannot be helped through divisions, must be collectivized on a higher basis; in short, everything must be done which before the proletarian seizure of power, the torn Balkan states neither will nor can do.

This new attempt at Balkan unity is no sign of peace but an alarm signal of the coming war.

—E. T., in Unser Wort

Chicago Debate

Spartacus Youth League vs. Young Peoples Socialist League.

Subject
Resolved that the organization of a Fourth International is indispensable to the victory of the World Working Class over Fascism.

Affirmative
Nathan Gould and Albert Glotzer (Members National Committee S.Y.L.)

Negative
Arthur MacDowell (National Chairman Y.P.S.L.) and John Riener.

Chairman
Ralph Chaplin—Editor Industrial Worker.

Friday, June 29th, 1934 at 7:45 P.M.
National Socialist Institute
3322 W. Douglas Blvd.
Admission 15c.

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Fight to Oust Wolinsky

(Continued from Page 1)

friend than Wolinsky. The workers will pay very dearly if they allow Wolinsky and the present leadership to go through with their conspiracy.

The Chicago pocketbook workers local union withdrew from the International Pocketbook Workers Union in New York. They declared that as long as Wolinsky is in the union, they will have nothing to do with the New York organization. Wolinsky called out Sam Lederman, manager of the Chicago local and told him to remain in New York for a few weeks. He wanted to send one of his henchmen, Lablinter to Chicago, in order to line up the Chicago local for Wolinsky. Of course Sam Lederman immediately went back to Chicago and declared he will continue the fight against Wolinsky.

What Must Be Done Now

What is necessary at present is that the united opposition groups should carry on the struggle with more vigor against the "fraternal" club administration and Wolinsky. We must demand a union meeting. At the membership meeting we must renew the fight for a new conference committee. A conference committee to be elected of the most intelligent and militant workers. We must fight to mobilize the workers for a strike for the following demands:

1. For the 30-hour week to relieve the unemployed situation.
2. For an increase in wages to the 1929 scale.
3. For unemployment insurance to be paid by the employers under the control of the union.
4. Abolition of the impartial machinery which is an agency for the bosses and a club against the workers.
5. Settlements out of town to be made only if the workers' wages are gradually raised to the New York level.

The administration is maneuvering with the code authorities in Washington. Nothing will be accomplished from Washington. Only through a struggle against the bosses and the Wolinsky gang, can the pocketbook workers come out victorious of the present situation.

Wolinsky Gang Breaks Union Meeting

The meeting of the New York Pocketbook workers at Stuyvesant High School held this week was broken up by the Wolinsky gang when they found that the united front of all progressive elements were present in force.

The meeting was called to hear a report of the Joint Council and Conference Committee on the negotiations with the bosses. They reported that the conference with employers had been broken off by the bosses who refused to consider any demands of the union. Instead of proposing steps in preparation for strike struggle to win the union demands, the Joint Council proposed that the wages, hours and conditions of work be left to the mercy of some "impartial" fact-finding commission.

This capitulation to the bosses was opposed by speakers of the "United Anti-Wolinsky Committee" who urged the members to vote down this betrayal of their interests by the bosses' tool, Wolinsky, and to carry on the fight for their demands in the only way in which workers had ever won anything—that is by struggle. Matlin of the Socialist League and Diamond of the Rank and File spoke strongly against the fact-finding committee and received loud applause from the membership. Wolinsky, who was received with jeers, forgot all about his previous demagogic speeches on hours and wages, and spoke on the delights of "fact-finding". Stein, manager in name only, echoed the words of his master Wolinsky, and Herschfield wagged his tail in support. Black, a rank and file worker, pointed out that the Business Agent Wise and Secretary Treasurer Goldman paraded around from shop to shop urging the bosses to attend the Association meeting and to oppose a lockout. Whether the bosses agreed or not will be found out later. Sam Fisher, despite all efforts to get the floor, was shouted down by the chairman, Czar Kilman. Many others were trying to get the floor when discussion was closed. As the vote was about to be taken, slugs of the Wolinsky gang precipitated a fight and the meeting broke up in a general disorder. The situation is now squarely up to the United Anti-Wolinsky Committee. The time for statements is passed, action is demanded. It is now necessary that other forces should be called in. Every group in the union and every rank and file progressive must be drawn into the fight. A meeting of Pocketbook Makers should be called by the United Committee with representatives of all Labor Papers present. Representatives of other unions should be invited and every real union force in the labor movement mobilized to drive this bosses' tool, Wolinsky, out of the union, and drive the corrupt administration which even the Forward says it can't stomach, out of office. In this fight the Militant will do its part for unionism and against the bosses' paid agent, Wolinsky.

—N.D.F.

The Strike Wave and The Role of the NRA

The Present Task

The NRA promised the people social peace, class harmony and prosperity. But after one year of the Blue Eagles' rule, we witness a spiral wave of strike struggles that threaten to shake America out of its old way of thinking and make it realize that a "new day" is here for capital and labor. It is not a new day of class peace as promised by Roosevelt. It heralds a period of intensified antagonisms in the camp of the exploiting classes and between capital and labor.

At present a new strike wave is spreading throughout the nation. Most of the struggles are for the elementary right of union organization and union recognition, but they all include a struggle for higher pay and a decrease in hours. Everywhere workers are becoming disappointed with the NRA, especially since the Roosevelt Anti Settlement interpretation of collective bargaining.

The "Tory" of American politics tells us that the strike waves are due to the NRA. But this is far from the truth. The labor unrest and the importance of the union question today is a phenomena that can be traced to more fundamental sources, which in turn place the NRA as a capitalist stop-gap for the powerful upsurge of the working class.

NRA in the First Strike Wave

The first strike wave swept the country at the very beginning of the NRA and was dramatized by the Pennsylvania mine strikes and the Paterson silk strike. The NRA revealed itself in this situation, along with the A. F. of L. labor leaders, as a force in the defense of capital, against the workers, attempting, at every opportunity, to corral them into class collaboration machinery and to blunt their class weapons, thereby compelling the workers to return to work at the bosses' terms.

The second strike wave, which threatened to rock the very foundation of American capitalism, was checked at first by the sell-out of the Auto workers by Green and Company under the Roosevelt-NRA plan. This was a decided set-back for organized labor. But no sooner had the bosses said "all's well", then local strikes in the auto industry upset all the plans. Other strikes in the basic industries followed in quick order and are now sweeping the country. All indications are that a new upsurge of greater scope is now in the making.

The Capitalist Plans

The capitalist class foresaw the developing strike struggles and prepared in advance to meet the situation. For this purpose the NRA was adopted by their government. Although the NRA serves a broader purpose than as a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the class struggle, this, nevertheless, is one of its basic features. The capitalists realized that the conservative A. F. of L. base was too narrow to cope with the new situation. The A. F. of L. was losing its economic base, as a natural process of the crisis. The workers of the basic industries were outside of the A. F. of L., the unskilled workers were ignored and the labor fakers showed no inclination to organize them. The vast majority of the American workers were unorganized.

To confront a period of increased class antagonisms between capital and labor with such a labor condition may be fatal for capital. Because the inevitable increase in strike struggles and motion toward union organization may get out of the hands of the conservative labor leaders and into class struggle channels. In other words, the class collaboration machinery of the A. F. of L. was too narrow to cope with the new situation.

Aim of the New Deal

The labor provisions under the New Deal, through the NRA section dealing with this, were designed to extend this base of class collaboration machinery. At the same time it was the aim to involve the existing A. F. of L. leaders in order to reach the millions of unorganized and unskilled.

A review of the strike struggles reported and analyzed in the columns of the Militant will convince one that the whole NRA labor machinery and its intervention in labor disputes, locally and nationally, has been to confuse and disorganize the workers and finally hand down decisions against them. Its first task is to prevent strikes. If this cannot be accomplished it continues its treacherous role with the labor fakers and the bosses. Even reports of strike struggles in the leading bourgeois papers cannot hide these facts. Every intervention of the Labor Boards and every settlement of strikes stands out in bold relief as an attempt to betray and defeat the working class. This, together with the open betrayal of the A. F. of L. leaders, is pushing the strike struggles to the left.

The best way to retard this left wing development and help bolster up the labor fakers, and enable them again to save their faces, is to proceed to form a "new federation of labor" without the proper basis for it. This is the plan of the Stalinists to replace the Trade Union Unity League. Such a federation, controlled by the Stalinists, will play the same role today, on a larger scale, than the T. U. U. L. played when it was formed. It will retard the development of a genuine left wing movement in the conservative unions and also interfere with the building of independent industrial unions. The building of independent industrial unions is directly connected with a live active left wing in the conservative unions, which can give the proper support to the new unions and at the same time stay the hand of the labor fakers.

The confusion that Stalinism brings into the working class ranks plays havoc with the class-conscious workers' struggle against the labor fakers and the struggle against the NRA codes.

Results of the New Deal

The codes adopted so far are a disgrace to organized labor. They must be wiped out if labor is to benefit. The closed shop is outlawed. The open shop is legalized. The company unions are legalized. Minimum hours are entirely too long. Minimum wages are entirely too low for a living standard. With the legalizing of certain low minimum wage levels, combined with the different forms of inflation and price increase, the real wages of the workers have been reduced. Unless a more powerful strike wave develops, the real wage will be reduced further. Strikes are already outlawed. At any time deemed necessary the full force of the state power against the workers can be set in motion. An increase in brutal police and military repression of strikes is already evident.

The NRA class collaboration machinery and the A. F. of L. fakers' betrayals will not be sufficient to stop the rising tide of labor struggles in America. The vitality and class action of the American workers will sweep them aside. Great historic battles are ahead. Let us sharpen our class weapons.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Recovery For the Farmer

(Continued from Page 1)

cerned. Farmers also began to find themselves confronted with what the bourgeois writers refer to as "consumers resistance" and began to shift heavily from "controlled" to "uncontrolled" crops, and Congress was compelled to add to the subsidized list beef, dairy, cattle, peanuts, rye, barley, flax and sorghum. Getting rid of the "surplus" in farm products required more than a reduction in acreage.

Hence, while millions of working class kids starved, the producers in the dairy business in conjunction with the "brain trust" of the officialdom of the "second American Revolution" brought up \$30,000,000 worth of milk and butter, destroyed it, and suggested that milk cows would have to be killed as a preventive for the accumulation of future surpluses.

Agricultural Production to be Forced Backward

But Chester C. Davis, Farm Administrator, worked the old brain overtime and found a happy solution. He said that butter fat reduction could be achieved by changes in feeding practices rather than in slaughter. The name Davis will go down in history. Hence the farmer is asked to unlearn in a few months all that it took him fifty years to learn: plant and animal breeding, the use of machinery and a scientific fertilization and cultivation of the soil rotation practices, etc.

The interests of capitalism have shifted toward a different development in agriculture. It was once deemed wise to spend millions to teach the farmer the scientific technique of farming, in a word, to make him a more efficient producer. Today production in farming as elsewhere must be retarded and the farmers are asked to the slip-shot, unscientific methods of a bygone day. Such is the price of "recovery" under capitalism.

—G. ROBERTS.

(Continued from Page 1)

ening effect. At the same time, however, the union lacked actual preparation for a serious contest such as a struggle with the powerful steel trust of necessity would be. A contest of this character would first of all require that the membership have confidence in the union and in its ability to protect their interests. To build up such a confidence a militant leadership, constantly alert, giving constant attention to training and development of understanding of organization, its objectives and its discipline is indispensable. A policy that is militant through and through is required. The Amalgamated union has neither such a leadership nor such a policy.

The creation of the rank and file committee at the previous convention of the union, the demands advanced by this committee, and the straight-forward manner in which they were presented was undoubtedly a progressive move and registered an advance for the union. It was a great change compared to what had existed before. A lifeless union ruled by a corrupt, incompetent bureaucracy had begun to take on new life. But it stopped short. The leadership has again become practically completely identified with the reactionary machine of Mike Tighe and his lieutenants.

Steel Workers Should Not be Deceived

An enormous reservoir of strength exists amongst the hundreds of thousands of steel workers and can be drawn upon for the creation of a powerful union. To become a factor, to become an authentic spokesman of the workers, and to become a real fighting instrument, the union must be able to show to the membership that it dares to meet the enemy face to face in the field of battle. And in this respect the retreat also has its serious dangers. Many steel workers will perhaps turn away from the union in disgust.

If we are to accept the Stalinist claims union workers are now leaving the ranks of the Amalgamated Association and joining the T. U. U. L. Such a turn of events could only prove disastrous for the steel workers. The T. U. U. L. union in these recent developments could nowhere assert itself as a union. It could only follow as a tail-end, repeating the demands made by the Amalgamated Association, adding no demands of its own, and it could at no time make a pretense of ability to enforce these demands or even make a serious fight for them. It does not have the possibilities to attain to such a position because it is based essentially upon a policy of splitting away elements individually from the unions having the mass basis. It can therefore function only as a disruptive force, hampering the developments of the building of a real union in the steel industry.

The Battle Remains Inevitable

What will the Amalgamated Association do next? It has presented its demands to President Roosevelt who turned the whole matter over to the Secretary of Labor. There it will get a hearing. It will possibly get a board as proposed. But that cannot mean any gain at all to the workers. The experiences of the automobile industry and the infamous settlement accomplished there is sufficiently fresh to remind us of what it meant to the workers. The essential issues remain.

First of all amongst them are union recognition. In no case can that be expected to be granted voluntarily by the steel trust. Only the force of the thousands of steel workers, firmly welded together in a compact union conscious of its position, of its great task, and conscious of the great reserve strength at its disposal can accomplish that. This means a battle of titanic proportions, a battle for which the union under any conditions must prepare. One important step in this direction is for the steel workers to have no illusions whatever that anything can be won for them except what they are able to take through the power of their own organization.

—A. S.

ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN

The coupon books for our organization and press fund have been in the mails a week. A few returns came in during the past two days.

Kansas City Branch was the first to answer the call. They paid for two books received by individual members, and asked for more books. Charlotte Shechet of the Boston branch remitted for her book, and also asked for more books. Manhattan Branch, New York City, collected for 8 books at its last meeting and turned in the proceeds, deducting the 20% discount for the branch organization work, according to previous arrangements.

RECEIPTS

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| 1. A Matteson, Kansas City | \$2.00 |
| 2. Dr. M. Altur, Brooklyn | 1.00 |
| 3. C. Shechet, Boston | 1.00 |
| 4. Manhattan Branch | 6.40 |
| 5. A Friend, Youngstown | 1.00 |
| 6. A Sympathizer, Chicago | 2.00 |
| 7. S. Feinstein, Phila. | 1.00 |
- The Chicago sympathizer writes: "I will not be able to sell the book of coupons sent me and shall therefore make an individual donation instead." Enclosed \$2.

Penalty of Wrong Trade Union Policy

The recent strike wave has demonstrated in the most forceful manner the complete isolation of the Stalinists from the main stream of the American labor movement.

In the most outstanding struggles such as Minneapolis and Toledo they played no role whatever, in others, the extent of the influence they have attained has also marked the extent of the obstacles in the way of trade union advance.

Their suicidal trade union policy, as well as their general political line, is the best guarantee that they can play no role (in a progressive sense) in the labor movement.

Not being organically a part of the mass unions, they lost all perspectives. So that when the A. F. of L. in convention, came out for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay and for unemployment insurance (as opposed to the Stalinist "revolutionary" advocacy of a 33-hour week), they immediately saw an attempt to "divert the struggle of the masses" (Resolution of the 16th C. C. plenum).

Presenting a False Position

The Seventh National Convention of the C. P. stated that: "It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A. F. of L." This complete ignorance of the nature of fascism has led the party to the position where they consider it their first duty to destroy the "fascist A. F. of L. unions".

This thesis the Stalinists clung to since 1928 during which time the A. F. of L. bureaucrats could proceed unchallenged to entrench themselves still further in the mass trade unions, increasing their prestige and grip on the workers, while the "third period" philosophers were hibernating within their fortress of paper unions, evolving still more grotesque theses to plague the labor movement. Unable to get a foothold in the mass organizations of the workers and being completely disoriented by their sterile trade union policy, their action consisted solely in trying to discredit and disrupt the A. F. of L. unions.

John Williamson, writing in the Daily Worker for June 6th, gives some striking examples of the results of this "revolutionary" trade union policy of Stalinism:

"Leaders" Fail to Advance With Workers

"The majority of these strikes (referring to the recent strike wave) were led by the A. F. of L. (What? The fascist unions?) Only a few (!?) Which ones, pray?) by the revolutionary unions. It would be pretentious to say that the agitation and work of the Party and T. U. U. L. was one of the main forces responsible for stimulation and starting the strike wave." Well, well, so it was the "company" A. F. of L. unions that started the strike wave and not the "revolutionary" T. U. U. L. unions. Is it any wonder then that the workers gravitate to the A. F. of L. rather than to the "revolutionary" trade unions? And here Williamson describes how these sterile revolutionists functioned (Daily Worker, June 6th):

1. "In Cleveland while there are Party members in at least 20 A. F. of L. locals, there was not a single functioning fraction or real opposition group functioning."

2. "In some locals individual Communists had influence, but no broad opposition groups were organized, because it was argued that this would orientate the members to staying within the A. F. of L. and 'our objective must be to take them out as quickly as possible'."

The Rival Unions Labeled "The Opposition"

3. "Experiences in the methods of organizing A. F. of L. opposition groups brought out sharply the confusion. In Akron where we had heard much about opposition work, an examination brought out that 'the opposition' was a mere handful of workers close to the party headquarters or Unemployed Council headquarters for a meeting. The person who was the self-appointed spokesman was the Party Section Organizer, not a rubber worker or a union member. The leaflets issued by the 'opposition' were written by the Party Section Organizer—were mimeographed by him and in the Party office."

4. "But why blame only the comrades in the sections, when only two months ago the then T. U. U. L. secretary in Cleveland rented a headquarters for the T. U. U. L. and began labelling one room as the official headquarters of the Rank and File Opposition Center in the A. F. of L.?"

5. "Only a couple of days before the calling of the Fisher Body strike, the comrades inside the A. F. of L. union wanted to print and then actually printed leaflets for the holding of a mass meeting in the name of the Auto Workers Union. These specific comrades should have had as their main concern the workers in the A. F. of L. union, who two days later were to call such a tremendous strike, with our comrades at that moment not sensitive to the moods of the workers

Hooliganism In Harlem

The Stalinists of Harlem are no worse and no better than the Stalinists of Brownsville. Harlem has been called the national concentration center of the official Party. During the last two weeks they have shown that they are fully capable of carrying out the concentration duty. They might not be masters in smashing the fascists, but for that they make up with all the greater militancy in disrupting the meetings of other working class organizations.

On Tuesday, June 19, some of our Harlem comrades distributed leaflets to workers attending a party at the New Star Casino. After about 15 minutes, Sasse, Harlem Section Organizer of the Communist Party rushed out excitedly toward our comrades. Boecher, Barry, Visconti and Cockran, all of whom have been recently expelled from the party and the Y.C.L., these comrades greeted him cordially with a leaflet. Sasse walked up in a fit, pulled the leaflets out of Boecher's hands and tore them up. "Now I believe in democracy," he exclaimed, "but—would better move on."

Our comrades stood their ground. Cohen, the educational director of the Harlem party section then grabbed the leaflets out of a girl comrade's hands and an attack by the Stalinists followed. Half of the Harlem section leaders rushed out at our comrades, who were outnumbered by ten to one, and thus showed their "bravery". Cochran, coming in to defend the comrades, was viciously clipped in the eye by one of the picked Stalinist ushers. Several other of our comrades were hurt in the melee.

Thus did the gallant party leaders demonstrate the superiority of their leaders and the correctness of their party line. The fascists are misled workers who must be won over to Communism. But the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" are class-enemies who must be destroyed.

On Sunday, June 10th at about midnight the headquarters of the Communist League of America, Harlem Branch was smashed open. Windows were broken, doors pushed in and all the literature and newspapers strewn over the floor. We did not actually see who broke into the headquarters but from past performances and all indications we are led to believe that a Stalinist wrecking-crew did the job.

The highest ambition of the Communist party leaders is to be able to emulate the methods of the fascists.—But that will play directly into the hands of the latter. Every worker must realize that democracy in the labor movement is of greatest importance at this time and that this Stalinist hooliganism plays into the hands of reaction.

CANNON LECTURE ON THE MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE

A crowd of 500 New York workers cheered J. P. Cannon again and again as he spoke on the preparation, the militancy, and the settlement of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Strike at the Irving Plaza Hall last Sunday night.

The careful preparation for the strike, the detailed instructions for pickets worked out in advance, and the military precision with which the strike machinery functioned, was dealt with by Comrade Cannon and listened to with rapt attention by the audience. Reading from a copy of the agreement Cannon tore to shreds the slanderous attacks of the Stalinists on the strike leaders as betrayers and the settlement as a sell-out.

He challenged the Stalinists to show a single case in the entire country, out of all the hundreds of strikes which the Daily Worker reports them to have led, where a strike from start to finish was conducted as well as the Minneapolis strike—or to show one case where a better or even as good a settlement was made.

The intense interest of the audience was shown by the many questions asked by members and supporters of all groups and tendencies. "What was the role of the C. P.?" "Are the strike leaders known in Minneapolis as Communists?" "How can a Communist say that Governor Olson was undecided whether to use the National Guard or not?" "Why do you attack the Communist Party?"

"Why do you propose to allow Local 574 to remain in the A. F. of L.?" and many other questions. One worker said that when the Daily Worker attacked the strike leaders as betrayers he believed the very opposite.

Comrade Cannon answered all questions to the satisfaction of the audience and finished with an appeal for support of the Communist League and for the building of a new Communist Party that will give the entire American working class the same militant and intelligent leadership that was given the truck drivers in Minneapolis. Numerous requests were made that a pamphlet on trade union strategy and tactics be written by Comrade Cannon to be based on his report on the Minneapolis strike. Thus ended one of the most successful and enthusiastic meetings ever conducted by the Communist League in New York.

—A. W. PAUL.

Protest N.Y. City Police Terror

After stalling for more than a month since a joint complaint was made by the Socialist Party, the Communist League and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Police Commissioner O'Ryan of New York has at last been compelled to open hearings into the brutal slugging of anti-Nazi workers which occurred in the West Side Court on May 17. That outbreak of police viciousness is part of the reign of terror loosed against workers by La Guardia's city administration as a means of putting over relief-cuts.

O'Ryan stilled until the charges against the police multiplied and the liberal Evening Post attacked O'Ryan in order to save La Guardia's reputation with liberal and labor elements. Reluctantly, O'Ryan ordered an investigation. The method of investigation, however, is the usual one: star-chamber proceedings, where the plaintiffs have no counsel, reporters are barred, and cops whose thuggery has been so successful as to bring them to the top of the force are set to catch lesser thugs!

On June 21 Deputy Inspector Schelling held a hearing. Testimony, was given by victims of police attacks, including several young Socialists, a League member and a non-political worker. Eye-witnesses also were present to testify. The delegation was led by A. J. Gerber, Socialist City Secretary, and Herbert Solow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

At the outset of the hearing, Solow read into the record a protest against the Department's stalling tactics. But the witnesses barely began to give testimony, when Deputy Inspector Schelling stated that since most charges are against plainclothesmen, the delegation had come to the wrong place. The fact is, however, that Schelling himself sent for the delegation and that the original letter of complaint made it clear that dicks were involved. This was just another means of stalling.

In a statement to reporters at the end of the hearing, Solow said: "It is quite clear that the rulers of the police force have not and are not behaving as though they wanted to find out who some of these sluggers are. If we expect to get anywhere with this, we'll have to keep fighting. After marching into office at the head of a Jewish anti-Nazi parade, O'Ryan has brought his own terrorism to New York. Every workers' organization, every enemy of reaction should join in a fight to oust this organizer of brutality against workers. As for La Guardia, it is time to smoke him out too. It is useful that the New York Evening Post is printing some of the facts about police brutality, but when it denies the Mayor's responsibility it defends one who shares guilt equally with O'Ryan."



What Is Happening in Fascist Germany?

The speech delivered by Vice Chancellor von Papen before the German University Union at Marburg, on June 17, has aroused comment and speculation overshadowing by far all other recent political events. Its importance derives not so much from what was said, but from the situation which it reveals. Mere speculation in political conjunctures and turns has nothing in common with a basic analysis of the objective historical processes. The speculation which leaves these factors out of account are worthless. Thus, for instance, headlines of the New York tabloid sheets had the German Reichswehr ready to overthrow Hitler and to set up a military dictatorship. But the Stalinists were no more fundamental in their approach to the question. From that source we are informed that we "stand on the threshold of the German proletarian revolution."

Wordless Speculation

The one speculation is as deceptive and as worthless as the other. While the Stalinists, speculating with such criminal frivolity, proclaim, purely out of their own wishes, the arrival at this moment of the crucial hour in Germany, they are utterly oblivious to the imminent approach of the crucial hour in France. Or, it is because of their false conception that fascism "speeds up" the proletarian revolution that the same policy, applied with such disastrous consequences in Germany when Hitler came into power, is to be repeated in France? So it seems, because it is precisely that same treacherous policy of capitulation which we now witness in face of the growing French fascist movement. If, on the other hand, a correct and revolutionary strategy would be pursued in France that would undoubtedly improve the prospects all over Europe of beating back the fascist hordes. It would help to set the German workers into motion again. But this cannot be expected from the Stalinist organizers of defeat.

In Germany the objective historical processes follow at the present moment a course contrary to the Stalinist prognosis and not at all influenced by it. The von Papen address brings testimony to that fact. He speaks for a special class interest. He speaks for the masters of finance and industry and the large landholdings. In the "famous" address of June 17, prefaced by the remark that "the ultimate truth lies only with God", he proceeded to offer what is now called courageous criticism of the fascist regime. He insists that claims to "revolutionary" or national monopoly must not be held by any one single group and that no one single class must seize governmental power and raise totalitarian claims. There must be no annihilation of popular freedom, for a people cannot be united by terrorism, he said.

Monthly Review New International Comes off Press

The long-awaited theoretical magazine of the International Communist is off the press. The first issue of the New International fulfills the high hopes it has aroused and marks an epochal advance of our struggle for the reorganization of the proletarian vanguard on the grandest foundation of revolutionary Marxism. The only one of the dissident factions to publish a weekly organ and a youth paper now adds a monthly magazine to its arsenal. The first number of the New International is rich in material for the student of the revolutionary movement. Trotsky contributes an article on "The Testament of Lenin". Cannon writes analytical reviews of the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist employing the pseudonym of A. Max writes on "The Legend of the Vienna Commune." Jack Weber discusses "New Trends Under the New Deal." An informative article on "Strikes and the Economic Cycle" is contributed by Alfred Weaver. Arne Swabeck analyzes "The Decay of the Stalinist Party."

In addition there are editorial articles by Max Shachtman on the Fourth International, the Soviets and the League of Nations, and the question of the "Dictatorship of the Party or Proletariat."

The appearance of the first issue of the new magazine at the New York picnic last Sunday aroused great enthusiasm. Auctions of the first five copies brought close to \$25.

Organization-Press Campaign Paves Way for Big Advances of Communist League

The Organization-Press Campaign is not in full swing as yet. The returns are still very small, but reports from our branches and groups of sympathizers of our movement indicate that the comrades are busy selling the coupons. One sympathizing school teacher reports: "Before our group leaves on its vacation, we will get together and take up the organization-press campaign. I expect to be able to turn in a fairly good sum as a result of this gathering, as we all get our checks at the end of the week."

An interesting letter, showing that the organization means to some of our sympathizers, came from Bryan, Ohio. It reads: "Dear Comrades: Thank you for your letter of recent date containing the coupon booklet issued for the Organization-Press campaign which I disposed of as you requested, and am inclosing a dollar for the ten coupons. With a little more time I think I could sell two or three more booklets if you would send them. With International Communist greetings, 'Jefferson Hall'."

Of course, the books were immediately sent. We hope that there are a number of such friends and sympathizers of our movement and that they will feel as keenly as comrade Hall does about the need to give material aid to our organization.

There are many "friends" and "sympathizers" of communism in quotation marks. Our friends and sympathizers have dropped the quotation marks, and stand ready to take their place in making a little sacrifice from time to time. If they cannot join our organization for the time being and give of their time and energy, we look to them for other support.

Just at the moment, the best way they can serve the movement is by supporting the Organization-Press Campaign.

Help put into practice the theories you believe in. Help us to enter the coming struggles of the workers. What our members did in Minneapolis can be done elsewhere. The militant distribute it widely, and at the same time send organizers into the field. One of our comrades has already been asked

to go to Minneapolis. We must send one to Detroit where we now have a good base among the automobile workers, and another into the Pittsburgh area of the steel mills, where one of our members is an official of a local steel union.

Reports from both of these territories state that the workers are becoming more and more restless. To be a factor in these coming struggles, we must have qualified comrades in the field NOW. We should not wait until after the struggle has started. With a little sacrifice it can be done.

Every reader of The Militant; every sympathizer of our movement; every member of the organization must take upon himself and herself the personal responsibility of making sure that we have the means to carry out the program of sending out field organizers and securing The Militant. If you don't do your share NOW, you will have no right to demand results of us later.

HOW MUCH WILL YOU SACRIFICE?
SEND FUNDS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY!

Receipts
Since last Report.

M. M.—Bronx	\$2.00
L. S.—Waukegan	1.00
Chicago Br. (Herman)	1.00
E. S.—Chicago	2.00
Anonymous—N.Y.C.	1.30
T. N. Fall—N.Y.C.	1.75
H. K.—N.Y.C.	1.00
Fred Brode	1.00
Swetow—N.Y.C.	1.00
Shiff & Michael—N.Y.C.	1.00
Bronx Branch—N.Y.C.	1.10
Manhattan Branch—N.Y.C.	.80
A. S.—Madison	.50
College Instructor	1.00

Here is an interesting letter from a young Socialist who finds it impossible to contribute:

"Dear Comrades: Unfortunately I find it necessary to return your booklet. Although I am very much interested in the activities of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club, I am at present engaged in very intensive activity in the Young People's Socialist League, and all my energies are expended in activity for that organization.

Comradely yours,
H. S."

Minneapolis Union Forcing Action on Wage Demands

Conference of Unions Prepares for Showdown

Thursday, June 28, is date for Unity Meeting (Reprinted from "The Organizer," weekly organ of Minneapolis General Drivers' Union No. 574)

Packed to the doors in Eagles Hall, Thursday evening, the membership of 574 voted unanimously to call the Employers bluff—to demand immediate wage increases, and to enforce this demand with a city-wide tie-up, preparations for which are proceeding at once. The report of efforts to negotiate with Employers on the question of wages and hours was made by Brother Dobbs who together with the committee have been working day and night to get results. Brother Dobbs' report revealed that the Employers have been deliberately stalling. They have delayed the nomination of their spokesman. They bring forward all the age-old excuses; business is bad, they will have to close their doors, etc., etc., in spite of the fact that they have signed an agreement which pledges them to negotiate wage scales. The Employers following custom has been popular among them in the past, continue to dodge, stall, and chisel.

The Union has long ago, even before the strike, presented its demands, worked out with great care and in full detail. They have been on file with the Regional Labor Board for months. Every Employer is familiar with the provisions of these demands. What is lacking is not knowledge of these demands but a willingness to grant these demands.

In view of the serious situation created by the arrogance of the Employers brought out in the report, the committee made the following proposal.

(1) That Local Union 574 call a strike conference of all Transportation Unions to be held within five days.

(2) The conference to prepare for the necessary action to force wage increases.

The proposals were endorsed unanimously with the understanding that the machinery for action is to be set in motion immediately.

A.F. of L. Moves Against Pacific Coast Dock Strike

«Red Scare» Raised in San Francisco Labor Council

SEATTLE

Seattle, Smith's Cove.—There is enough happening in the dockworkers' strike to fill a miniature encyclopedia for a class struggle manual. Here in the cove an English steamer was unloaded yesterday by police and thugs, with fences erected to keep out the strikers. Traps of every nature have been laid by the authorities, varying from the wholesale attempts at wrecking the strike—by the "liberalism" and other tear jerking rags like the Seattle Star, and then the usual blash from the Hearst corporation.

"The strike is hurting business," "the government must stop it," "what else is its function—that is what we expect from it."

Down in Portland the strike is strong; all over the Northwest it is holding down. The Alaska boats were loaded because scabs were working elsewhere under the authorities.

The attempt to set up opposition unions—by some hired members of the I.L.A.—has fallen through. The dockworkers have well taken care of these splitters and agents of the shipping companies.

The police are now following the tactic of concentrating at a certain pier. Under this concentration the scabs go to work. The unloading of the second ship is being attempted right now.

Down in Portland, as well as up here, the dockworkers and sailors are embattled right along the wharves, having rigged up shanties. They maintain constant patrols, watching the freights, questioning everybody coming in. "Keep away from the docks," "Section 7a of the NRA allows us of the right..." But they are firm and will not be fooled by sweet words.

The scabs are kept at sea, living on tugboats or on the vessels in the stream. It should be demanded of the workers of foreign ships that any attempt at unloading of scabs should be answered by a sympathy strike.

Mr. Ryan and Mr. McGrady are up in the air; the aeroplane service from Washington to Frisco and Seattle is first rate. First a talk in Washington and then a hop out here to try and convince the members of the I.L.A. to settle on Mr. Ryan's "terms." But the strike, despite such speed in modern technique of travel, holds down fast. The workers are on the seventh week and all the ports, excepting San Pedro, are literally entrenchments of class warfare.

—HARRY ROSS.

OAKLAND

Oakland, Calif., June 18.—The latest effort to break the Pacific Coast strike has just flopped. Mayor Rossi announced in all of the west coast papers on June 14 that he would conduct negotiations with the strikers and settle the strike. Next day every paper in the bay region carried huge headlines that strike negotiations were being successfully conducted under the direction of Mayor Rossi. This pompous ass was suddenly the man of the hour.

Early June 16 the papers stated that a strike settlement was only a matter of a few hours. At one o'clock extras were on the streets. "STRIKE OVER," Mayor Rossi successfully ends strike, etc. etc. And at 2 P. M. the next day extras were again on the streets. Every local from Canada to Mexico had overwhelmingly rejected the strike settlement. In San Francisco, Oakland and Portland the vote was over 97% against the settlement.

Terms of Rejected Settlement

A labor relations committee of three employers and three longshoremen to be selected at each port:

1. To determine wages and working rules.
2. To establish and operate halls for registration, hiring and dispatching of longshoremen.
3. To act as a court of appeal between employer and employee. In the event members of the committee cannot agree they shall select an impartial disinterested chairman whose vote shall determine the issue.
4. That employers recognize the I.L.A. as representatives of all longshoremen for purposes of collective bargaining.
5. Any longshoreman not a member of the I.L.A. shall pay monthly to the hiring hall committee a sum equal to his pro rata share of the hall expense. (Note: Union pays hall expense.)
6. Existing wage and hours disputes shall be submitted to arbitration.

Ryan tried to get this settlement accepted by threatening the entire membership with expulsion from the International, and said he would then recognize Lee Holman's company union. This threat of Ryan aroused such a storm of protest that he later had to eat his words and issue a half-hearted endorsement of the I.L.A. call for a general strike.

Casey, head of the Teamsters Union, has issued a statement that the teamsters are no longer on strike. But the teamsters are still acting on the picket lines and their numbers are larger today than they were last week.

Committee Moves to Appeal Case of Robins and Gras

In response to an appeal from Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, New York workers sent to Sing Sing on framed charges of felonious assault because of their activities in the recent New York hotel strike, the Robins-Gras Defense Committee has been organized to launch a fight for their appeal. The Committee, organized on the initiative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, has temporary headquarters at 22 East 17th St., Room 731 and has issued a call to all workers to aid it in its fight.

Robins and Gras, when tried on a charge of beating up a hotel straw-boss, proved alibis, were never satisfactorily identified, showed that the sole witness against them had contradicted his own testimony, and presented a number of fine character witnesses. The hotel bosses, however, were seeking victims and Judge Corrigan, a steady enemy of the workers, helped see that they got them in Robins and Gras. Notice of appeal has now been filed.

The organizations now making up the defense committee are the American Workers Party, Communist League, Communist Party-Opposition, General Defense Committee, II Martello, Org. Comm. for a Revolutionary Workers Party, Poale Zion Left, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Socialist Party. Invitations have been sent to the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, which led the hotel strike, A. F. of L. locals in the industry, and the I.L.D. to join up.

Show up Labor Board

The capitalist press of June 26, in reporting the case of the lock-out of its 653 employees of the Harriman Hosiery Mills of Knoxville, Tenn., published a letter sent by the latter firm to the National Labor Board, consisting of William Green, John L. Lewis, and George Barry, representatives of organized labor; Father Francis Laas, "avowed labor union supporter"; Leo Wolman, "consumer member"; and Pierre du Pont, "representing industry." This letter definitely convicts the latter institution of open strike-breaking.

Listen to what the Harriman Hosiery Mills has to say (N. Y. Times, June 26, 1934): "In our opinion, the National Labor Board is not qualified to judge 'bad faith.' Their general counsel, in a meeting with mill officials, suggested that trickery be utilized to deceive the strikers in settling the strike. This scheme was also suggested by the director of compliance."

"We were advised by those two gentlemen to make the strikers believe we were going to take them back and then take a few, and that this sort of cheap trickery would satisfy those two branches of the 'New Deal'."

"Even your own secretary, in discussing ways and means of settling the strike, advised us to take back fifty strikers, work them for a week or ten days and then let them out..."

Need any more be added to demonstrate the true attitude of the NRA and the "labor leaders" who sit in its boards?

San Francisco, June 23.—The San Francisco Labor Council's reactionary leadership last night opened up an attack on the waterfront strike, whose spread and militancy they have watched with dismay.

With the anti-strike drive of the Chamber of Commerce going on, and the press screaming that the strike is in the hands of the Reds, the officials of the Labor Council nobly responded, and repudiated "communism" in the strike.

The overwhelming support given to the strike by the rank and file of the labor movement here had forced the bureaucracy of the council to bide its time. But the favorable opportunity came—presented to them by the Stalinists—and they opened up.

The Ground for the Attack

A gigantic mass meeting of 15,000 trade unionists and other workers had been held early this week in support of the strike. At this meeting the Stalinist elements in the strike leadership, threw the specific issues of the strike to the winds, and launched a general "theoretical" attack on the American Federation of Labor. Also, in opposition to the wishes of many of the members of the joint strike committee, they insisted that a representative of the T.U.U.L. organization, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, be allowed to speak. In their attacks on the A. F. of L. and insisting on a speaker from the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Stalinists were merely following their time honored policy of advancing their own special organization interests at any cost, even if it should result in the wrecking of the strike. The result was disastrous and played directly into the hands of the reactionaries by raising the issue of a rival union.

Reactionaries Act

Immediately after the mass meeting, the leaders of the Seamen Union and two other striking unions, presented a resolution to the Executive Committee of the Labor Council demanding a repudiation of the mass meeting, condemning the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and calling upon the Longshoremen's organization to clean itself of "communist elements." This resolution came up before the delegates to the Labor Council last evening for action. A hot debate developed, which brought out openly that the resolution was not aimed primarily at Communism but was actually an attack on the leadership of the strike itself. Those opposed to the resolution pointed out that this was an attack on the strike, would weaken the splendid support given the marine workers by the trade union movement, and play directly into the hands of the ship owners and the Chamber of Commerce.

John O'Connell, Secretary of the Council, Paul Scharrenberg, President of the State Federation of Labor, John McLaughlin, Secretary of the Teamsters, and others, whipped up the red scare and told the delegates to choose between the principles of the American Federation of Labor and the disruptive germ of communism. Under this assault the delegates were brought into line and the resolution carried by a vote of 129 to 22.

«Red-Hunt» Voted Down

Following this vote, a motion was made by Michael Casey, President of the Teamsters, and one of the most reactionary figures in the council. He demanded that the Executive Committee examine the credentials of the delegates to the Council with a view of ascertaining communist affiliation of any of its members. This hereby-hunting proposal, however, was too raw for even the conservative delegates and, in revolt against the machine, speaker after speaker denounced the motion, which was voted down 61 to 20.

The importance of the drive of the bureaucracy of the Labor Council against the striking marine workers at this time can hardly be underestimated. It is especially designed to nip in the bud the general strike movement, which has already been voted for by six or more unions. The strike is reaching a crucial point. Through the Secretary of Labor, the Government has now stepped in, demanding that the workers arbitrate. The ship owners are calling for the port to be opened by force. The Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Association and the press are attacking the strikers as being under communist influence.

(Continued on page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Dangerous Propaganda

A mob of two hundred Knitted Out-wear Mfrs. met at the Hotel McAlpin on the night of June 19th to plan ways and means of defeating unionism among the workers, "free-born American citizens", in the knit goods industry. Called ostensibly "to consider amendments to the Knit-goods Code", the meeting was turned over to a bunch of boss agitators who roused the mob to fanatical enthusiasm. They preached sabotage. "Whipping the large employers' gathering into action was the stirring speech of Dan Starr. Don't prepare for a full fall season," he urged. "Don't stock up with yarns. . . . Be ready for trouble." (Women's Wear Daily, June 20th)

The same paper reports, "One individual pointed out that last September many manufacturers thought they could not fight unionization because of Section 7a of the N.R.A. 'We didn't know then as we know now, that this law is like the 18th Amendment.'" "Self-criticism" was also indulged in. I. P. Cohen stated that the industry was made up of close-fisted, narrow-minded men who go in for chiseling. He appealed for "more of the cooperative spirit." But the applause went to the agitators who urged preparation for war on unionism and violation of "law and order" just as they violated the 18th Amendment. They proposed to carry on subversive propaganda for company unions amongst the union membership. There were no arrests. No statement by O'Ryan. No investigation by the Grand Jury.

For God—For King and Country
Charging Premier Brownlee of Alberta, Canada with seducing her, Vivian McMillan has brought the Premier into court. She claims that he told her that it was her patriotic duty to respond to his advances, which she did. Many a war veteran, both in Canada and the United States, who responded to the seductive pleas of politicians in the name of patriotism during the years 1914-18 know just how she feels.

Another Honest Politician

The statement of Postmaster General Farley, former New York prize-fight commissioner, that "Politicians (of course, bourgeois politicians) are the most honest men I know" was an insult to Boo Boo Hoff. That was clear even when the statement was made. And every day adds to the evidence. Former Park Commissioner Browne is Brooklyn's contribution to the total. He is charged with banking over a million during a period when his entire salary amounted to \$96,804. Other points charged against him are: paying to contractors \$83,500 too much for filling in Marine Park; using \$30,000 worth of city material and C.W.A. labor to build a log cabin for a friend; using city material and C.W.A. labor for renovating property of his own. He had deposits in nine banks. Browne claims he made the million honestly. I suppose he means "honestly" in the Farley sense.

A Royal Socialist Midwife

Many workers in America stand in wonder at the ease with which that relic of the dark ages, the British Royal Family, are able to befuddle the British working class. During the period of the MacDonald "Socialist" government the Socialist Home Secretary, Thomas, acted as a midwife to the Duchess of York. He hung around the royal bed-chamber for two weeks to make sure that the royal parasite was born right, and that no other child of plebeian blood was smuggled in. Following the successful delivery, the King's Socialist Minister commented on the gracefulness with which he had been treated. With such a leadership, what else but servility could be expected from the workers. A real Bolshevik Party is the burning need of the hour in Britain.

Brain Trust at Work

Harry L. Hopkins, Relief Administrator for the Federal Government and one of the brightest minds of the brain-trust, gave out some pearls of wisdom this week. He declared that 16 million people are on relief rolls today. The Times reports him as saying "I can't see millions of people on direct relief. I don't think that is the American way of doing things."

From this program he saw a plan which "would put one million men to work one way and another that would put two million to work another way." He then went on to outline a plan by which the farmers, suffering from "over-production", would be put to work in industry and workers unemployed through "overproduction" in industry would be put to work on the land. He believed that there would be no rise of prices as a result of this move and that the railroads would be helped by it. Another one of his plans for the unemployed was stated as follows: "In many families we find two able-bodied men who are unable to find work. If we can get work for one of these men, our problem will be largely over."

Tactics at Minneapolis

The General Strike Movement

It is interesting to observe that at the beginning of the strike the C. P. leaders estimated the strike would be a "fizzle". They based their attack on the strike leadership on this prognosis. At the close of the strike they were screaming at the "Social Fascist" A. F. of L. leaders to lead (nothing less) a general strike of all workers. The day after the settlement of the strike they were again hurling curses of "social-fascists", "betrayers", "traitors", "sell-out" at their chosen leaders of yesterday. A study of the raising of the general strike slogan, from where did it come, who put it forward, shows even more the speculative character of the "headless" leadership of the official C. P. in this great labor event.

The Strategy of the Fight

In choosing the field for concentration of its efforts and forces in the Minneapolis labor movement, the Communist League picked the organization of the truck drivers because of the strategic position of this section of the working class in the economic life of the city. It was pointed out over a year and a half ago in the League councils how a struggle in this branch of industry would have a decisive bearing on the future of the trade union movement here. A fighting class struggle policy was the only thing that could organize these highly exploited, many-times-deceived workers. A struggle once begun would, whether wished for or not, have to be spread because of the opposition it would meet from the boss class. This was the perspective of the C.L.A. This was the essentials of its prognosis. The fundamental correctness of the Marxian approach to the trade union question determined this approach.

Wednesday, the day after the strike started, the bosses met, and set up a committee above the heads of the trucking bosses, and started subscribing to a fund of \$200,000 to defeat the strike. The smallest union in the city was to be affected. This was the basis for soliciting and receiving the support of every workers' organization in the city.

United Front Policy

The Communist League was aware of this long before the strike, and armed with the united front policy it worked early and late to assemble every live force behind the striking drivers. As already reported on Thursday leaders large and small were called upon for every kind of assistance—cooks, carpenters bakers, mechanics, electricians for the technical organization. The various union bodies and institutions had been spoken to long before the strike started, pledges had been received and re-checked from time to time. Friday, the first week, much work began to get financial support and sympathy action with the drivers. Saturday and Sunday the checks and pledges of sympathy came rolling in. Monday came the first sympathy strike of the iron-workers and the vote of the Central Labor Union to call for sympathy action. Tuesday other building workers came out, Wednesday the monster mass meeting of more than 20,000 on the Parade Grounds. From Sunday on the slogan for a general sympathy strike raised by the strike committee on the basis of concrete organization efforts guided the rising tide of sentiment to "organize the town" and "Defeat the Citizens Alliance" later to "prevent the use of the troops to run the trucks".

Prospects of a General Strike

Wednesday, when the movement for general strike was reaching the depths of the labor movement and penetrating even into unorganized factories, the Stalinists came out with their leaflets calling for a general strike. Organizationally they did not pull out a single group of workers to support their belated adherence to an already live movement initiated by others. The movement was sound and healthy if it had but to depend upon the spirit and devotion of the thousands of honest proletarians and not, also, upon their patch-work organization, for the most part led by the most dubious of leaders, including the C. P. (Stalinists). How many timid reactionaries would crawl into their holes at the first flashes of a general action? What would the Stalinists bring to battle but disorganization and confusion? Judging by their floundering with the issues of a simple economic strike of the drivers and, what was worse yet, with the recent St. Paul Packing house strike, where they called a strike without strikers. "When the truck drivers gained their main demand, the recognition of the union, it would have been imprudent to risk this great gain in a general strike of doubtful outcome. One thing is certain: those who are shouting the loudest would have contributed the least to the success of such a venture."

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

The answer to the adventures in the workingclass movement, the Bill Dunnes and the rest of the Stalinist bureaucrats who wished to see the workers of a single city against the capitalist nation, was given by his brother, in reporting for the strike committee for the settlement: "This is only a partial gain. Figured from the standards of yesterday, it is a big gain. The big fight is still ahead. We must draw back here and prepare for the victorious battles of tomorrow. All gains under this system of property are but partial gains. A relentless struggle must be conducted to the end. To do that we must have organization. This strike has gained us that and more. It has shown us many imperfections in our prevailing organizations. It has taught us many lessons. Let us assimilate these lessons, consolidate our organization and prepare for the future."

—CLEM FORSEN.

Strike Sidelights

Here's an escapade I got straight from the elevator woman in my building. Two young strikebreakers (erstwhile bond salesmen), spewed out of the market on that historic Tuesday morning at 11:40, burst into the Plymouth Store on Hennepin and Sixth, and dove headfirst under the counter. The alarmed manager hastened to lock the doors, thinking no doubt that the red dawn was here. Exactly one hour later the pair of ex-deps came out of hiding, both shaking like poplar trees in a big wind. "If we ever get out of here alive, we're going to make for the Courthouse and hand in our clubs and badges. No more strike-breaking for us!" Just a couple scissor-bills getting their first taste of the class struggle—and not liking it at all.

The local reporters did not record that beautiful swan dive headfirst into an ambulance, made by a six-foot spik. The guy was armed with a big club, the strikers that swept by him carried only barrel staves and laths. Yet, every striker that ran by swatted him. He was cracked on the conk a score of times and was too busy protecting himself to take the offensive. No man ever welcomed sucker like this one did. He ran to meet the first ambulance that came over Sixth Street, and dove right in over the driver's head.

About the National Guard. From one of their members, we learned that the orders they received were, "Shoot to kill!" Here is one of the guardmen talking: "Boy, just wait 'til I get a chance at those son-of-a-bitching strikers. With my uniform on, and a gun in my hands. Why I'll kill a dozen of the bastards." Frankly, such black hatred puzzled me; until I learned that this young man had been stopped by pickets while trying to truck some lumber into town, and had been forced to make a long detour to steal home by a little-used road. But he was just one of the guard—and then, he was called out by a "farmer-labor" governor. Here is another one who has come up to headquarters on Wednesday. At the door he is met by a picket.

"What do you want?"
"I want to talk to Dunne."
"What about. He's terribly busy. Maybe I can help you."
"I've just got orders to report to National Guard headquarters. I want to know what I should do about it."
"Well, you are in a pickle. You'll have to go along, that's all there is to it."

"Hell!"
"Here's what you can do. When you get among the other men, tell them about the strikers, how they're fighting, what they're up against."

At this point, one of the strike leaders comes up and repeats these instructions. He impresses upon the boy the fact that he must learn his lesson from this, and tell all his young worker friends. There must have been many such friends of the strikers among the National Guardsmen, patiently explaining to their fellow riflemen why they should side with the strikers, against the exploiters. Maybe some were won over to our side, maybe not. It must have been hard work. The newspapers and the officers were trying to work up a frenzy of hatred among the men against the workers. Heavy wiring was thrown up over the windows of the armory, armed guards patrolled the roof and the surrounding alleys day and night—to "guard against a sudden attack from the strikers."

Minneapolis workers have shown decisively that they can conquer over any civic forces that the bosses can throw in the field against them. But the Guards, the Federal troops—that is another thing. This we know: there are coming other strikes, bigger strikes; and the soldiers will be called out again. Good work among them now will bear fine fruit for the future.

—H.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

QUESTION BOX

Sympathizer, Waterbury.—Before answering your question concerning the law which turns over 75,000 rifles to the American Legion, we believe the subject to be of sufficient importance, and the manner in which it was reported by the N. Y. World-Telegram of such significance, that the article which appeared in the latter paper will bear reprinting in full. This follows:

"Washington, June 11.—CONGRESS HAS QUIETLY PASSED AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAS SIGNED A LAW TURNING OVER TO PRIVATE CITIZENS PROBABLY 75,000 OR MORE HIGH-POWERED ARMY RIFLES, OF AN OBSOLETE TYPE. 'The law converts into gifts the loan of these rifles to American Legion posts for drill-team, burial-squad, parade and similar uses. They are Krag-Jorgensen, 1898 model, the weapon made famous by a Filipino Insurrection soldier ballad which had the refrain 'Civilize me with a Krag.' 'Modern gun-slings and cartridge belts were issued with the rifles.

"POSSIBILITY OF THE GUNS BEING UTILIZED IN ANY DOMESTIC OR INTERNAL VIOLENCE, SUCH AS LABOR WARS OR THE LIKE, IS DISCOUNTED HERE." (Emphasis ours.)

As to your question. There is no basis for "discounting" the possibility that the rifles will be used against workers. This would be so only if the rifles were ineffective or if ammunition were not available for them. Neither is the case. Cartridges for the Krag are standard and are to be found listed in any ammunition manufacturers' catalog. Both the present U. S. Government Springfield (1906 model) and the Krag are .30 calibre, the range of the former being only slightly larger. When fighting at long range this would give an army equipped with the Springfields a slight THEORETICAL advantage over one equipped with Krags, but the effectiveness of the latter against unarmed workers, mostly at short range, is equal to the former.

Comrade G-4, N.Y.—There is a scarcity of information on conditions in Italy. If there were no other facts available, this alone serves to condemn Italian Fascism. Mussolini does not dare let the world know the true state of affairs, and since he is tied closely to American imperialism through loans (the so-called "Morgan-Loan" of about \$400,000,000) and through the war debts (about 2 billions), he is given powerful aid in suppressing the truth.

A few bits are available, however. Hugh Quigley, in "Current History", for June gives the following: The average industrial wage at the end of 1932 was about 9 and 1/3 cents an hour, while in agriculture the HIGHEST wage paid was 6 and 1/3 cents an hour for men and about 3 1/2 cents an hour for women. By 1933 these were still further reduced. At least one-third of all workers in industry were idle.

In addition to the above it can be added that the universal eight-hour day law was changed to nine hours in 1926 so that a 54 hour week is the legal minimum. It is one of those open secrets that the workday, thanks to the "attention" which the fascists pay to the workers' interests, averages about two hours more than the legal minimum, so that the Italian workers are blessed with a work week of about 66 hours. It is quite clear that, from fascism, the Italian masses get the burdens of a dying economic system, and nothing more.

Ex-Stalinist Still Studying the Question.—Your conclusion that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union could be replaced only by overthrowing the proletarian dictatorship could be accepted only if no distinction is made between the dictatorship and the bureaucracy. Regardless of what happens to the Stalinist clique, the proletarian dictatorship will remain as long as the workers own the means of production. (See Trotsky's "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" for a complete analysis of this question.)

It is difficult to see how you draw your conclusions since you believe (and quite correctly) that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy are not in the best interest of the Workers' Republic. The Stalinist followers, at least, proceed from the premise that Stalin is infallible. The capitalist crisis affects the Soviet Union in several ways (and here the tie between Soviet and world economy is clearly demonstrated). In the first place the exports of the Soviet Union are mainly raw materials whereas imports are mostly the products of heavy industry (machinery, etc.). The world market prices of the former fell proportionately more than those of the latter, thus putting the Soviet Union in the position where it was necessary to export a greater quantity of raw material in order to import the same quantity of machinery. In addition to this, the contraction of the world market decreased the possibility for Soviet exports and, as a

Imperial Valley Notes

The Brawley News, the most flagrant and red baiting paper in the Valley, a few days ago printed a statement released to the News by A. N. Jacks, president of the Imperial Valley Growers and Shippers Protective Association, containing charges that the U. S. Government is conspiring in the organization of a red union—to stir up trouble in the Valley. One can read that for what it is worth and pass on to what is really taking place.

Chester Williams of the American Civil Liberties Union arrived in Brawley last week and had conferences with the recently appointed labor conciliator, General Pelham D. Glassford—infamous or famous, as you will have it, for his Bonus Army rout, and later as a "liberal" who protested against the

Government's attitude toward the Bonusers. Mr. Williams was termed as "the leader of the good will tourists" and his subsequent conversations with the General was splashed over the News, with brazen declarations of his Communist leadership and the Red Invasion of the Valley; that his entrance into Brawley strangely coincided with the arrival of Mexican "red agitators" who were, it seemed, interested in organizing the workers for the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union. The News, not to be outdone by such simple matter of fact things as organizing workers, continued, "They are attempting to influence members of the local Mexican Union, or the Mexican Workers Assn. is under the patronage of the Growers of the valley, and of Mr. Joaquin Terrazas, who is strangely also the Mexican Consul at Brawley."

Pledge Fund

Manhattan Branch

I. Glade	\$1.00	monthly
Leonard Lewis	1.00	weekly
Dorothy Morris	1.00	"
Clara Nelson	1.00	"
J. Wright	2.00	monthly
M. Spithos	1.00	"
S. Blecker	.50	"
S. Gordon	2.00	"
Paul King	1.00	"
Florence Becker	2.00	"
J. Weber	2.00	"
M. Tamas	1.00	"
F. Victor	.50	"
M. Kling	2.00	"
K. Konikow	1.00	"

Others in New York City

J. Porter	1.00	monthly
E. Alby	1.00	"
E. E. C.	1.00	"
E. J. Conwit	.50	"
Cornelis	1.00	"
Samuel, E.	1.00	"
Ann Ehrlich	1.00	"
The Gellmans	1.00	"
L. Haidous	1.00	"
P. Miller	1.00	"
Sydney Moroff	1.00	"
A. McCabe	1.00	"
City Subway Worker	1.00	"
Beecher	.50	"
Colay	.50	"
Cochran	.50	"
Jerry Marsh	1.00	"
Ann Toven	1.00	"
Gonzales	.50	"
T. Smith	2.00	"

Bronx

Edith Sher	1.00	"
S. Eckstadt	1.00	"
M. Lifshitz	1.00	"

Newark, N. J.

Lambert	1.00	"
G. Holly	.50	"
L. Nagy	.50	"
Becker	1.00	"
G. Kotz	1.00	"
A. Sympathizer	.50	"
A. Social Worker	1.00	"
A. Clerk	.50	"

Boston

E. Wiener	.50	"
C. Sheeket	.50	"
W. Henderson	.50	"
J. Chiplowitz	.50	"
A. Wolfe, New Haven 1.00		"
A. Friend, Youngstown 2.00		"
(paid 4 months in advance)		"
A. Teacher in N. Y. C. paid for 18 months in advance.		"
A. Friend of The Militant paid \$25 in advance at \$1 a week.		"

Militant Builders

Local New York Climbs to the Top; Minneapolis Branch Takes Second Place

As the second club plan sub drive (4 six-month subs for \$1) draws to an end, the branches are getting busy, keeping us guessing as to who will lead the following week. The following subs were received during the past week: George Trubar for the Cleveland Branch, 4; Doughty for the Los Angeles Branch; Leonard Lewis for the Manhattan Branch, New York Local 4 and the New York City organizer 8; Philadelphia Br. 4; Ross Moran of Patterson 4. A total of 32 new subs. REMEMBER! THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st. GET YOUR CARDS NOW!

Complete Record

Local New York	48
Minneapolis Branch	40
Cleveland Branch	38
Los Angeles Branch	36
Chicago Branch	28
Philadelphia Branch	12
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Branch	8
Constance N.	8
Davenport Branch	8
Toronto	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leiser	4
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Youngstown Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
TOTAL	306

MARCH OF EVENTS

Contraction of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The more the Stalinist bureaucracy loses its mass support, the more it feels its isolation and divorce from the masses, the greater becomes its contraction into a bureaucratic directory. The process of elimination of all control, even the fictitious control by the left-over apparatus of what was once the powerful Russian Communist party, goes on apace. Nothing could prove more conclusively the utter disintegration of the Russian Party than the cavalier fashion in which the most prized symbols of Soviet power created by the revolutionary Bolsheviks are ushered out of existence.

A stroke of Stalin's pen is enough to wipe out the Workers and Peasants' Inspection. Lenin hailed this institution as the means of uprooting the growing bureaucracy which he saw menacing the progress of the proletarian dictatorship. Ironically enough, Stalin placed Ordzhonikidze at the head of this organization, formed to eliminate these very Ordzhonikidzes. It will be remembered that Lenin had demanded the expulsion of this same Ordzhonikidze for his high-handed bureaucracy in the Caucasus. And to think of this man made head of the Control Commission!

Following this blow at the October Revolution there came the elimination by simple decree (there could be no discussion of such vital problems in a dead party) of the once all-powerful G.P.U. The latter institution embodied a force of bureaucrats knowing too much of Stalinist intrigue and methods of dealing with opposition.

The Bonapartist Danger

Now comes a still more ominous step in the direction of Thermidor and Bonapartism. This is the abolition of the Peoples' Commissariat of War (the Revolutionary War Council) and the concentration of power in the hands of Voroshiloff as Supreme Commander of the Red Army. We recall that these same bureaucrats, aiming at this type of uncontrolled Bonapartist power attributed their own design to Comrade Trotsky, creator of the Red Army and organizer of its revolutionary successes. The bureaucracy naturally cloaks its arbitrary acts under the guise of increasing efficiency and individual initiative and responsibility. (And who is to bring this reactionary clique to task for inefficiency, nay for its crimes against the international proletariat and the October Revolution?)

As the danger of imperialist war looms closer and closer the Stalinist bureaucracy entrenches itself ever more firmly. One can see the outlines of a future Directory of Public Safety established for the "efficient" carrying out of Soviet defense. Whether this Directory will consist of its present candidates,—Stalin, Voroshiloff, Molotov, Kaganowitch, Ordzhonikidze,—no one can now predict, for developments become rapid during national crises. That the dictatorship of the proletariat that has not yet been liquidated, since the Soviet system still endures, is nevertheless under the gravest danger from the ever contracting bureaucracy, goes without saying.

Build New Parties

The fate of the international revolution, which means the fate of the Soviet Union, for the years to come depends on the rallying of the revolutionary vanguard of the world's working class under the banner of the Fourth International, on the speed with which the new parties of the Fourth International can be constituted. The Russian workers have forgotten their leading role in the world revolution. Stalinist defeats have turned their attention inwards on national problems. Only a new party of internationalist Communists in the Soviet Union too can guide the Russian masses back on the road of world revolution. Only the new party can prepare for the dangers that lie ahead in the further evolution of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. The defense of the Soviet Union becomes linked more and more abroad and at home with the construction of the Fourth International.

The Infallibility of Stalinism

As this Militant goes to press the Daily Worker comes out with an offer of United Front in the struggle against fascism—with the new executive committee of the Socialist Party. What will become of the infallibility of the Stalinist leadership with such an offer made from organization to organization? Is this a United Front from below or from above? We shall await with interest the outcome of this most belated action. Needless to say, the past of the Stalinist Party here has hardly led up to a ready acceptance of such an offer by anybody. Events will demonstrate whether this is a maneuver to save the party from the type of split that occurred in St. Denis.

—JACK WEBER.

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We Must

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THE MILITANT

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The Burning Question In France

Towards Opportunism or Towards Marxism --- There Is No Other Road

CONVERSATION WITH A COMRADE FROM THE SAINT-DENIS DISTRICT

After the events in Germany, Doriot, foundation member of the Communist party of France and a member of its Central Committee, requested a wide discussion in the party on the united front question and a revision of its insane policy of "united front from below". The Central Committee dared not bring this question into the open and tried to "influence" Doriot by a combination of cajolery and threats. All the attempts to get a hearing in the party press, to have his point of view presented to the party membership having failed, and realizing that the aim of the party apparatus was to isolate him completely from the membership, Doriot made his views public in the paper, *L'Emancipation*. This brought matters to a show-down. Doriot found himself outside the official party but carried the whole district Saint-Denis (about 400 members) with him.

The party apparatus is cracking under the pressure of the rank and file, clamoring for real unity of action of the proletariat in struggle against fascism. Saint-Denis tore itself away from the official party, but whether it is going? In the brilliant article reprinted below from our French organ, *La Verite*, the author indicates the road it should follow. Tr. note—S.W.)

—If one is to believe *L'Humanite*, you are following us into "the camp of the counter-revolution". In that case when are you scheduled for expulsion from the Communist Party? And what do you think of doing?

—As to our expulsion, the Central Committee will not be long in pronouncing it. For the Saint-Denis district decided by over 350 votes against just a handful to break off relations from now on with the party leadership. What will we do? Give life to our Vigilance Committee and help the workers to establish more of them throughout the whole country to resist fascism.

For Unity There Must be a Vanguard Party

—To realize the unity of action of the workers, is very fine; we support you on this point for which we have been fighting for a number of years (you recall the German events). To fight, the working class needs unity despite all its political divisions: reformists and revolutionists must close ranks. But if you break with the Communist Party because it tramples the teachings of Lenin on the United Front, I do not believe that you want to trample the teachings of Lenin on the question of the party. If a party which calls itself Communist, if the Third International is no longer the organization of the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat, it is necessary to build a new party and a Fourth International. Will your district harness itself to this task?

—We do not want to trample the teachings of Lenin, but we refuse to follow you in the building of a party and of an International. These organizations cannot be set-up arbitrarily.

—I agree with you that it is harmful to set up organizations arbitrarily; that is why we, the Communist League, have combatted the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement which was an apparatus contrivance for evading unity of action with socialist organizations by utilizing the cover of literary and artistic personalities, of whose talents I cannot judge, but who are absolutely devoid of responsibility before the organization of the working class.

You have recognized in action that Amsterdam-Pleyel did not permit the safeguarding of real unity of action of the workers. Others (Autonomous Federation of Employees, Action Socialiste, etc.) have come to the same conclusions. It is necessary to come to an understanding to do away with this arbitrary combination which can only stage a few meetings where a Thorez (member of the C. C. of the French party—tr.) can parade, but which, as a consequence, can create obstacles to unity of action in every community, in every quarter, by opposing itself to all committees of real organizations which may exist.

If No Party Exists We Must Create a New One

Let us do away with artificially set-up organizations. But the working class needs a party, a Communist International. If none exists now, we must work to build it up. We must pose the problem clearly: this does not mean that we can solve it in a couple of days.

—Of course, it is not arbitrary to say that the working class needs a Communist Party, but to build it you need definite conditions. It would be premature today, the masses would not follow it: they will follow the Vigilance Committees, they are for unity of action. To pose, as you do, the question of creating a new party is to appear as a splitter and to isolate oneself from the masses.

—I cannot entertain the argument of "splitters"; you are a Com-

munist and consequently you know well that to gather the vanguard to the proletariat means not only not to split it but to create the basic condition for rallying it in struggle. But I will take up your other arguments: it is too soon, we are too few. You advance arguments of opportunism but not of principles. Is it too soon because the masses are not there? For one, I am certain that there are more numerous than Lenin was at the end of 1914 when he proclaimed "Long live the Third International"; he knew the masses well, and at certain moments was not afraid of being almost alone; secondly, how can we lead the masses to an idea, to a conception without explaining it to them clearly? It cannot be too soon for laying down a clear political basis and this is the surest means of becoming more numerous.

Reaction and Fascism

—You forget the principal task of the present hour: to bar the road to fascism and for that to develop committees of vigilance, to bind them to the masses. A new organization of the proletariat vanguard can crystallize itself in action and not in struggles over these.

—I am far from forgetting reaction and fascism, and it is precisely in order to combat them that I pose the question of the party, without opposing it, but on the contrary, by tying it to the work of the united front. To bar the road to fascism, to bar it once and for all, it does not suffice that workers oppose it physically at demonstrations, it does not suffice to denounce its infamies in Germany and Italy. Today we defend ourselves against the rise of reaction, but—and you have stated it in your "open letter to the C. I."—to be efficacious this resistance must transform itself into a struggle for power. The Vigilance Committee—you wrote correctly—must be a step towards the Soviets. But tell me from whom can we expect the proper vigilance for the struggle of the Vigilance Committee, a program of action around which the slow process of gathering the masses should proceed? Not from the Socialist party? I am sure; and a anti-fascist com-

mittee is not a fountain of youth where the decrepit social democracy can rejuvenate itself. Nor from the masses as a whole; the masses undergo their own experiences which permit them to choose and to progress along the revolutionary road but on condition that they find a vanguard which, at every stage of the struggle, explains the situation to them, shows them the objectives to be attained, the methods to use and the ultimate perspectives. It is only by means of an initial nucleus, which acts in an independent and disciplined manner that the selection can proceed inside the Vigilance Committee. Without that, even the most numerous aggregation of workers would have no future.

The Vigilance committee is not a sufficient base to assure the life of the Saint-Denis district. To limit oneself to that is to condemn oneself to disintegration. None of the local nuclei which detached themselves from the Communist party escaped that: Municipalism, Pupism (Partie Unitaire Populaire—Tr.), social democracy eat into them.

"Soviets Without Communists"

One more word. Your committees of vigilance without a Communist party, they remind me of the slogan of... Mensheviks and counter-revolutionaries; by this I do not want to call you a Menshevik or a counter-revolutionist. When the October revolution found itself at loggerheads with its worst difficulties, when civil war and famine raged, the enemies of proletarian power advanced the slogan: "Soviets without Communists". The counter-revolution understood instinctively that even the Soviet form is not immune against its influence and there were no Communists in the Soviets to introduce into them class intransigence, counter-revolution could make use of Soviets against the revolution. And if this is true after the Soviets have conquered power, how much more true is it with regard to Vigilance committees which are not Soviets; one may be sure that Committees of Vigilance without Communists (that is without a party, since there is no communist action outside of an organization) could never be-

A Falsified Biography of Lenin

A book—a biography no less than a novel or a play—like a building must be constructed according to a plan and definite rules. The first law of biography is to tell the truth as you see it and understand it. That is not the basis of Fox's biography of Lenin, nor is the book informed with the spirit of truth or even a respect for accuracy. Fox is no disciple of Diogenes. He lies about Lenin, about Trotsky, yes, about Stalin. In his biography all three appear like the caricatures in the mirrors at Coney Island: Lenin is seen as a mist, suspiciously god-like; Trotsky is the Evil One; Stalin is the Bolshevik angel Gabriel of the Russian Revolution.

The truth is—Ralph Fox is a Stalinist, a leading member of the British Communist Party, a product and defender of the system of lies, slander, terror and defeat which has entered into history under the name of Stalinism. His work is written from that bias in support of its political needs.

But after all the thing has the form of a biography and must be judged as one. Let us examine its plan, first with regard to Lenin. If you have the patience to wade through its lies and distortions you will find the author's thesis explicit and precisely stated on page 309. Lenin "... had knowledge, intellectual power, vision; the power of swift decision and decisive action; courage beyond the normal; ..."

Falsified Picture of Lenin

It is true; Lenin had courage, intellectual power, knowledge. But the possession of these qualities did not by themselves distinguish him from thousands of men in the world's history, nor yet from hundreds of revolutionary leaders. Nor does Fox allow for a peculiar combination of these qualities of Lenin which could conceivably explain his greatness.

Fox himself must have felt the shortcoming of his explanation for he attempts to add in the same sentence quoted above, precisely that quality which, in his opinion, distinguished Lenin from all men in all the years of the world's recorded history, and explains his greatness: "... but yet the most striking thing in his whole character is that he was a man like other men". Here is wisdom! Lenin was great because he was not!

But it is not a laughing matter. For this stupidity serves Fox as a means of misrepresenting Lenin and all that he stood for. It would take a volume equal in size to Fox's lamentable work to set aright the errors and lies he encompasses in 313 pages.

Suffice it to say that on this basis Fox has no need to explain Lenin in relation to the epoch in which he lived, the conditions in which he worked, and the impres-

sion he made on the world and the movement. For the explanation lies entirely in Lenin himself. Thus Fox can entirely neglect the question of internationalism so decisive for Lenin. A sentence or two for the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences and not a word about the first four Congresses of the C. I. So it is with Lenin's fundamental analysis of the post-war epoch of capitalism as one of wars and revolutions. There is very little discussion of it so that it is impossible for Fox to illuminate Lenin's historic struggle against the Second International which culminated in the founding of the Third.

No Word of Lenin's Ideas

As a result there is not a word—literally not a word—about Lenin's conception of a revolutionary communist party as a centralized, sternly disciplined organization based on a democratic, inner life. How could anyone with the knowledge of what a Stalinist party is like today discuss Lenin's conception of what a vanguard party should be!

What results is that Fox, looking at Lenin through the colored glass of Stalin's embalmment of Leninism, makes a mystic out of a great, human, revolutionary leader. Read the passages in which assassins are turned from the execution of their foul designs by some mysterious force in Lenin which transcends all human understanding and "explains better than a thousand political theses what was happening in Russia".

If Fox is forced to exercise some restraint in his treatment of Lenin, the current needs of Stalinism give him carte blanche to heap abuse and lies on one of the great figures of the revolutionary movement of the modern proletariat. In his treatment of Trotsky Fox reveals himself as a literary assassin: Trotsky underestimated the peasantry; he agitated for peace during the war; he patronized Lenin; he was wrong in the revolution of 1905; he was a leader of the Liquidators; he was responsible for the defeat of the Finnish revolution; he was only a figure head in the armed insurrection of October; he bungled the military direction of the civil war; he was partly responsible for Lenin's death; and so on and so forth.

And all this structure of lies rests on a thesis, if you please, which the author is not ashamed to advance as the solemn truth: "Trotsky's whole political life and outlook were colored by the outlook of those petty-bourgeois elements in Russia whom history had forced on to the revolutionary stage". Let us put a cross over the slander and pass on.

Fox advances no explicit thesis about Stalin. But there is one. Let us put together what he says about

come Soviets and would never take power.

The Struggle Against War

And then one other question intrudes itself into the question of the struggle against fascism and for power; that is, the question of the struggle against war. Who will lead this struggle? Strictly speaking the committees of vigilance could organize actions against the preparations of war, against the two-years service, etc. But who will lead the anti-fascist work, who will launch the defeatism? In the united front you have socialists, imbued with patriotism or pacifists, defenders of the League of Nations. Soon you will find the latter even within the official Communist party due to the Soviet Union's entry into this association of brigands.

—I warn you openly that we will never approve of your attacks against the U.S.S.R., we will never join you in that.

—And I will answer you no less openly: we have never attacked the U.S.S.R. Consequently you do not have to join that which does not exist. What we have done is to combat a policy which we consider false, harmful to the October revolution and to the world revolution. You struggle against the policy of the C. I. in France; do you believe that it is independent of the general policy of the C. I. and also of the policy of the U. S. S. R.? When Lenin and Trotsky led the Communist and the Soviet Union they did not practise two contradictory policies, one a good, the other a bad one: the policy of the C. I. and that of the Soviet Union complemented each other in serving the needs of the international proletarian revolution. When the revolutionary wave receded, when the workers' state had to make concessions, its leaders explained this openly to all the workers. While today, what do you read in *L'Humanite*? First, that the revolutionary movement in all countries does not stop growing, that it goes from success to success, that at the same time the U.S.S.R. marches at a rapid pace to socialism, and finally, that the U.S.S.R. is about to join the League of Nations. Do you believe that this act is a manifestation of strength, of power?

Opening New Homesteads

Knowing that an increased food supply meant a great increase in the exploitation of the greater cultivatable land areas, vast areas of free homestead land was opened up, particularly in the west. But this was not determined wholly and solely by the Malthusian obsession. The rapidly developing industrial East was absorbing more and more of its working population into the factories and the development of West and Midwest agriculture was a necessary corollary. Land values continued to mount and while the periodic crises of capitalism hurt agriculture it continued pretty much as a going concern for many years.

Later on the requirements of American imperialism demanded further increased acreage. The imperialist world war which took tens of millions out of production and set them to the task of destroying life and the means of life brought with it a pressing demand for food and fibers to "win the war for democracy". In the seven years from 1913 to 1920, from 30 to 40 million acres was brought under the plow in the United States. Land values mounted sky high. Almost every conceivable inch of land was brought under cultivation and this on the very eve of a constricting world market. Humpty Dumpty was indeed preparing for the great fall.

Present-day Capitalism in the U.S.

Modern capitalism in the United States today is characterized by two things:

1. The United States is the creditor nation of the world, and
2. It is imperialist and forced to export capital to all parts of the globe.

The tremendous effect this has on present and future agriculture in America can be seen when we remember that our position to the European market has been completely reversed since the world war. Before we shipped agricultural goods to Europe to pay the interest on debts owed. Now we must be prepared to receive these from Europe since it is Europe who is the debtor and we the creditor. So much for the United States position as the creditor nation.

Now a brief word concerning the second characteristic mentioned above. The surplus profits of the capitalists which could not be reinvested profitably in American business has been invested elsewhere:

- (1) by loans to Canada, Mexico, South America, Africa, Australia, and Asiatic countries who in turn can only balance their international payments by selling on that same world market on which American agriculture has in the past loaned so heavily, and (2) by the direct investment of American capital in foreign land holdings.

Why Agrarian Crisis is Insoluble

The foregoing are the most significant reasons why the crisis in American agriculture is not merely passing but permanent. Out of the World War there emerged a completely changed orientation among the European ruling classes. Italy and Germany strive toward a national self-sufficiency, England tries in every possible way to favor her own over-seas possessions, other European countries favor Poland and Denmark for the sake of trade advantages whereby they may unload some of their own surplus industrial products, while Japan, for the sake of its Indian market, is quite willing to buy Indian cotton. Britain, while not satisfied with this agreement, looks on for the sake of profitable alliances later on in the event of a war against the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the most significant facts of the changed international position in agriculture can be gleaned from the following figures. Between 1913 and 1932 the United States increased its areas for the production of principal crops from 290,000,000 acres to 320,000,000 or a little more than 10%. In the

Recovery "For the Farmers"

No Solution for the Agricultural Crisis Is Possible on a Capitalist Basis

In arriving at an objective understanding of American agriculture, its position and relation to world agriculture, it is necessary to know that the historic role of American agriculture has been that of preparing the foundation for the mighty structure of American imperialism. The young but vigorous capitalism of the post-Civil War days could not advance to maturity and power without the financial assistance of the European States. This assistance was obtained by ceaselessly pushing onto the European market every conceivable ounce of agricultural produce beyond domestic need and building its own economy on European savings.

Just about 1890 when this task was largely accomplished an artificially conjured spectre of starvation a la Malthus took possession of the minds of the American governing classes and an additional spur was given to extension of the agricultural domain together with the extension of its scientific technique. Budgetary allotments to the Department of Agriculture began to run in figures of seven and eight nines. It was during these years that we witnessed the launching of the giant irrigation projects, land reclamation, governmental experimental stations for crop improvement and a general back-to-the-land crusade.

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same period the other leading countries increased their acreage from 631,000,000 to 724,000,000 or more than 15%. The crop output in the foreign areas was far greater than this, being recorded in the neighborhood of 40% while the increase in American crop output is put at about 10% over the pre-war acreage.

"Too Many Farmers"

Quite recently and rather suddenly the American ruling class has discovered that there are too many farmers just as there are too many industrial workers, and the reason why there are too many is because they have produced too much. The penalty for this production of an overabundance is starvation and misery for those who in blood and toil and sweat have produced America's wealth. The burden of the ruling class has always been the problem of getting rid of surplus at a profit. Now they are faced with a surplus population and its disposal is giving them no end of a headache.

"Recovery" politicians and their brain trusters have discovered the fact that 50% of the farmers in the U. S. produce 90% of the total value of all crops. Hence 50% of the farmers could be "withdrawn" from production with only a loss of 10% of the products grown for sale. To this end we have the subdivision of the farmers into two classes: "marginal" (rich) and "sub-marginal" (poor). It is proposed to "eliminate" the "sub-marginal" as a competitive factor and leave the field free for the "fit". The solution is (believe it or not) substance homesteads.

Turning the Clock Backward

Subsistence homesteads! Millions of people are to learn again the ancient arts of spinning and weaving. The clock of history is to be turned backward and millions are to return to the simple primitive peasant economy of a thousand years ago. And this at a time when the productive forces necessary for the creation of all the material requirements for all humanity have been developed to an exceedingly high degree. In the words of Marx

it is indeed time that the "productive forces have come into conflict with the existing property relations". Therein lies the problem.

The cost of such subsistence homesteads, which in the end is to be borne by the worker, is estimated at not less than \$2,500 per family and the total cost, if the plan were put into operation, would be a grand total of \$10,000,000,000. Thus while the living standards of the masses are driven to never low levels, and while the government continues to regard cynically and lightly the whole question of federal relief, the spending of billions to still further increase the suffering of the poor farmers and the workers, all for the sake of adding more millions to the coffers of the rich farmers, the food speculators and capitalists in general, meets with no serious opposition.

The Farmers' Way Out

Under capitalism there is no solution to the problem of the poor farmers. The crisis in agriculture is a part of the general crisis of decaying capitalism. The withdrawal of millions of farmers to the "self-supporting" (!) subsistence homesteads would result in a still further contraction of the domestic market, purchases of industrially produced commodities would fall off to be followed by more unemployment, more speed-up, more wage cuts, more misery for the workers. Workers and farmers must get together against the starvation program of the "recovery" schemes of the Roosevelt New Dealers.

The poor farmers can solve their problems only by placing themselves under the leadership of the industrial proletariat, the only class in modern society which is historically fitted for the organization of a new society which will be based on production for use and not for profit, a society where the slogan will be: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. For the realization of this the old order must perish, must be wiped out, by the revolutionary masses.

—G. ROBERTS.

Strikes and the National Guard

A bright page has already been added to the history of the American labor movement by the heroic struggle of the Minneapolis truckmen and the Toledo Auto-lite workers. The militant battle put up by them against overwhelming odds shows that the fighting spirit of the American working class is not crushed.

Since the inception of the NRA strikes have broken out often and frequently. But for genuine militancy and determination to win nothing like these two have been seen in the last few years. It is of course redounds to our credit that members of our organization played a leading role in one of these—Minneapolis. But from both of these strikes, one lesson among others must be learned, if we are to take the lead in building a new revolutionary party.

The Police and Strikes

To a Marxist the role of the state is known in advance. That it will unleash its police against striking workers at the first sign of militancy on their part is elementary. Should this not suffice, the hiring of gangsters, the deputizing of "better elements", and the issuing of injunctions can always be counted upon to augment the regular police force. The gangsters of the law are but too happy to be utilized against the workers. That their itching palms are usually greased by a grateful boss or association, plays, of course, no little role.

A policeman, however, is by and large only a glorified thug, sworn in to protect private property, backed by the state and considered by the average man as "the law", he becomes arrogant and bullying. Added to this is the fact that the average man is brought up to respect "the law" and that he rarely if ever demurs at a gruff—"git along now". The cop therefore assumes a contemptuous attitude towards him and his almost unbridled authority over people gives him qualities common to all bullies. He feels it needs but a wave of his club to rout any one.

Strikes Transform the Worker

But John Smith, the peaceful citizen, becomes changed into something entirely different during a strike in which he is participating, as the Minneapolis and Toledo police and special deputies found out to their sorrow. There the strikers were out to get the scabs and stop production. And this they did, despite police special deputies and the "better element", who were armed with guns, tear gas and clubs.

The blazing courage and brave fight of these militants put to rout the hiredlings of authority and laid down the challenge of labor to the entire American boss class. What worker has not tingled from head to foot as he saw the picket lines, photographs and newsreels of these battles? What scab has not felt the icy hand of fear clutch his throat? It heralds the new dawn

of American labor and labor will look, listen and absorb the lessons.

Role of the National Guard

The capitalist class, when it sees its minions of the law—the police—powerless, resorts to other especially armed bodies of men to enforce its reign of terror. Chief among those used in industrial strikes is the National Guard. Up to now the National Guard has been the ace in the hole of American capitalism. It is at present its chief form of suppression and coercion of strike movements. However, the National Guard is by no means a force that cannot be neutralized. Sections of it can even be won over to the side of the working class. Indeed its very composition makes it ideal for weaning it away from the influence of its commanding officers.

Basically it is composed of young men and boys from the city, springing from proletarian stock and themselves proletarians, their average age being about 18 years. Most of them enlisted for a lark or because they are unemployed. The fact that they drill but once a week and have only two weeks camping mobilization during the summer, the discipline within it is not as strong as in the regular army. But that does not mean that it is loose or non-existent; as many a striker can testify.

It becomes then the stern revolutionary duty of the Spartacus Youth Clubs in their task of helping to build a new revolutionary organization to concentrate on these young workers dressed in soldiers uniform.

Tasks of Our Youth

Both the Yipels and the Y.C.L. have failed to do this. The former has hardly any of its membership enrolled in this important force. Their anti-war activity is confined to meetings and an occasional distribution of leaflets. Nor has the Young Communist League been able to do much more. Perhaps a few scattered Y.C.L.ers here and there. Or at best a nucleus of two or three. Their activity is blessed with the same results that crown all Stalinist efforts—nothing comes of it.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs must assign a certain definite proportion of its membership to carry on work in the National Guard; that is, to enlist within it and to work there as if they were a fraction in a shop or factory. In their activity the youth comrades must be given every possible aid by the Communist League. Contacts must be made and leaflets put out on important issues. These to be distributed within the armory whenever possible.

To help build a new revolutionary party we must root ourselves in the trade unions. The events in Minneapolis have given us a grand start. It is clear that in the future we will again be faced by the National Guard. Therefore it is important that special work in this field be not neglected.

—AL DASCH.

—STAMM.

Factions Vie for Control of Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

voted for the Declaration of Principles; and the Open Letter to the party by Louis Hendin, Old Guard and secretary of the N. Y. Labor Committee, printed in the New Leader, June 16.

"No Compromise"

Hendin bluntly refuses a post of fered him on the National Labor Committee, "until the infantile Communist Declaration of Principles is rejected." Hendin makes no bones about how far the Old Guard is willing to go, but says plainly: "Comrades, let us be frank about it. There can be no compromise between democratic Socialism and that anarcho-Communism which the Declaration represents." He makes clear that the issue is not merely one of verbal formulation of the Declaration, but says to the new executive of the party: "Some of you may realize too late that by ruthlessly eliminating all the forces that built the party (i.e. by not re-electing the Old Guard) you will have destroyed the very movement you have set out to capture." In other words, the Old Guard is not merely fighting to defeat the Declaration, but to take over the party or smash it and start their own.

The temper of the Old Guard is also revealed by a vicious reactionary attack on the S. P. convention by B. Charney Vlodeck, in the Forward of June 15. Vlodeck even denounced the convention's decision to put back on the application for membership the phrase "class struggle," which had been removed in 1928, Vlodeck declaring that the "class struggle" has no place in a party desirous of getting the support of American farmers! Furthermore, Vlodeck puts aside the pretenses of some of the Old Guard, who said they objected to the Declaration of Principles, but would not have objected to the St. Louis anti-war resolution. Vlodeck declares that he is grateful to Waldman for not pretending that the St. Louis Resolution was correct. For his part, Vlodeck says that "All that the St. Louis Resolution did was to disorganize the Party, to send hundreds of Oklahoma farmers to jail, and to shorten the life of Eugene Debs." Refusing to declare himself even a pacifist, Vlodeck demagogically thinks up a "good war", Russia against Japan

and German, and says that in such a war he would be in favor of "America fighting on Russia's side."

No Criticism of Labor Fakes or NRA

The idea of criticizing the A. F. of L. bureaucracy moves Vlodeck to heights of frenzied denunciation, and he ends with this glorification of the labor fakes: "When, when will we learn that Dubinsky, Hillman, Zaritzky, Miller and Hochman and Nagler, have done more for socialism through building their unions than all the delegates to the convention." Even the NRA resolution, which the Old Guard successfully bowdlerized on the convention floor, by removing any reference to the A. F. of L., is attacked by Vlodeck for not giving credit to the NRA! He declares the Socialists should give Roosevelt full support, thus pushing him left. "To say that every concession given by Roosevelt is only a trick, makes workers laugh at us."

In the face of this onslaught by the Old Guard, the "Militant" party majority has responded by conciliatory moves and fervent cries of unity. With the Old Guard refusing any compromise and carrying the attack to their enemy full force, the cry of unity can only signify the majority's tendency to capitulate to the Old Guard. What does it mean, to cry unity, when Waldman has already repudiated the party decisions, Hendin has refused to work for the party until it withdraws the Declaration, Panken makes distinctions between "same" and "insane" Socialists? It can only mean that the party majority has no will to fight.

Pious Hopes for "Peace"

Thus, in the face of the open threats of split and of Waldman and Hendin's written statements, which of course are the decisions of the whole Old Guard apparatus, Norman Thomas with Christlike innocence writes in the New Leader of June 16, that it is "gratifying" that "group after group in the party is declaring itself against wild rumors of split which unfortunately were being circulated"—a nice set of euphemisms to describe what Thomas heard and read with his own ears and eyes. "I think," Thomas says, "there will be no more intemperate discussions in the capitalist press." One can be sure that this is merely a pious hope, for

Waldman certainly gave him no guarantee.

Worse still, Thomas sought to conciliate the Old Guard by continuing the re-interpretation of the Declaration of Principles which began with the pro-Declaration speeches at the convention. At least at Detroit, however, Thomas did speak of "new beginnings"; but now the whole Declaration becomes meaningless, when he says: "We have been together too long to divide now on a question of how to say what in their hearts most Socialists agree ought to be said." If "most Socialists" include the Onells, Pankens, Waldmans, Hendins, Matthews Levys, Charles Solomons, Joseph Sharts, etc. etc. etc., then the Declaration is not even an ambiguous, centrist document, but a reformist fraud. Rather than being ashamed of the cynical right wing support of the Declaration, which was given as part of a horse-trade in votes, Thomas exhibits this right-wing support as proof that the Declaration is all right! He says: "Nowhere does the Declaration of Principles in words or by implication support any kind of dictatorship." "A document supported by the Wisconsin delegates (Mayor Hoan, etc.) and President Graham (the Montana Federation of Labor cannot be too strong for American workers."

Conciliatory Gestures

Thomas continues his defeatist, conciliatory gestures in the New Leader of June 23; he can find no stronger words than to say it is "not encouraging" that "the party which has not yet raised a fifth of its quota of the National Fund Drive can raise so much for factional controversy." Why does Thomas say "the party," when it is only the Old Guard raising money for the fight; certainly the Thomasites and the Militants are not only not raising money, but aren't even fighting. All that Thomas can do is to sign at the Old Guard's boast that it can raise \$50,000 for its fight; says Thomas, "comrades can meet at expensive hotels to plan a campaign which, alas, has not so far confined itself to the discussion of principles but to attacks on persons."

One must search high and low to find any evidence of any militancy in the "Militant" camp. The nearest thing to an appropriate answer to the Old Guard is a resolution by the Y.P.S.L. of New York (New Leader of June 16) which says that "some individual party members have made certain threats which, if pursued further by these individuals, can only result in a defection in our movement." And what does the Y.P.S.L. say in answer to these "individuals"? Why, that "For these individuals, the Y.P.S.L. can only express contempt and disdain." A militant voice. The only other explicit recognition of the deliberately splitting and anti-democratic methods of the Old Guard was Murray Baron's statement in the New Leader of June 23, which refers to Waldman's "disloyalty" which must not go unchallenged and his "recent statements in the New York Times which warrant the severest discipline." Outside of been a peep out of the Militants, whose every move, at the Detroit convention and since, betrays the name that designates them.

R.P.C.-Militant Merger?

In view of the failure of the Thomasites and the Militants to put up any fight against the Old Guard, while the Old Guard goes rip-roaring along in its bludgeoning campaign, the various and widespread attempts to merge the Revolutionary Policy Committee with the Militants, expose the real quality of some of the R.P.C. leaders all the more glaringly. It is already clear that the Thomasites and Militants, first by writing an ambiguous centrist resolution, which means anything except a revolutionary policy, and secondly by watering down that resolution, by a series of re-interpretations since the convention, are already on the road to a shameful and unprincipled compromise with the Old Guard. The only reason made is that the Old Guard will not have it, but demands open and complete capitulation. In view of this situation, the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party are crystallizing in opposition to the merger and are quite correctly denouncing it as a treacherous maneuver to disperse the left wing and deprive it of a rallying center. These elements are also flatly rejecting the proposal that they vote for the centrist "Declaration of Principles" and are demanding that a declaration of their own be voted on.

Help Cuban Comrades

One of the most effective means of delivering some powerful blows against our own exploiting class is to help our Cuban comrades who hold a strategic position in the struggle of the Cuban masses against American imperialism and their lackeys. The pressure of the Cuban masses against the native exploiters and the United States imperialists has already forced them to grant some concessions.

We appeal to the readers of the Militant to collect money to aid our Cuban comrades. Ask your shop mates and friends to contribute. And then, with the money you collect, send in your own contribution to: The Militant, 128 East 16th St., New York City.

Behind the Scenes In Fascist Germany

(Continued from Page 1)

we gone through an anti-Marxist revolution in order to carry out a Marxist program? For every attempt to solve the social problem by collectivization of property is Marxism."

"Would the German people do better by it, would anybody do better, except perhaps those who scent booty in such a pillaging raid. Social problems certainly exist, but they can be mastered only when property is again put under responsibility—not through making collective responsibility the ruling principle."

This is clear and precise. The danger conjured up by von Papen is not the danger of the proletarian revolution in Germany, for even he knows that this would not be possible without a revolutionary proletarian leadership and least of all without a revolutionary international party. He is speaking directly for the benefit of the fascist guardians of the capitalist system. His task is to remind Hitler and his lieutenants that their first essential service has been performed. With their petty-bourgeois and plebeian fascist hordes they destroyed the German labor and revolutionary movement. They liberated their masters from the fear of strikes, revolts or proletarian insurrections and put the working class in chains. The many fists in the petty-bourgeois and plebeian army was the dagger was their only value to the exploiters.

Too Many Fists

But von Papen is now calling attention also to the danger lurking in the many unprincipled petty-bourgeois and plebeian fists. Too many of them have taken seriously the demagogic pledges that were embodied in the fascist program in order to rally the mob and to create a mass movement against the proletariat. Too many of them still remain under the illusion that they can cash in on these pledges. At the same time even the Fascist leaders cannot fail to take into account the present enormous strain on the German national economy, the reduction of the whole standard of living of the German masses, including the middle class, and, as a result of this, the enormous danger of a seething discontent.

Certain points in the Nazi's demagogic program, declared to be unalterable for all time, still remain imprinted in the minds of the plebeian brown hordes. Point 13 of the official program reads: "We demand the nationalization of all businesses which have been up to the present formed into companies (trusts)." And, further on, point 17 reads: "We demand land reform suitable to our national requirements, confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes and the abolition of interest on land loans."

These points were inserted to attract the masses, particularly the urban and rural middle class. It stands to reason that they were never intended to be carried out. The Fascist army was not created for any such purpose. It came into being at the time when German capitalism could no longer function on the old basis, when the masses could no longer be held in subjection even by a regime of social reform and when the continued existence of capitalism required the ruthless extermination of all working class organization as a prerequisite for increasing the intensity of exploitation.

What the New Program Means

That function was performed by the fascist army, tempering its artificially instilled hatred to Marxism in a ruthless campaign of terror. But the demagogic pledges advanced in order to create this army also served to instill into its mind the subsequent demand for the completion of the fascist revolution. Because of that the fascist leaders are compelled to give heed to the peremptory ultimatum of German capitalism, as now advanced by von Papen, that the regime base itself more exclusively on the reactionary state bureaucracy and put a brake on the petty-bourgeois and plebeian demands for completion of the fascist revolution. In accordance with this steps are being taken to reduce the numbers of the brown army, and thereby disarm many of its unreliable elements. This is the real meaning of the present movement. Hitler, however, hurries his assurance that what is developing now is not a change in the fascist regime.

In his special interview given to the New York Times reporter of June 24, thumping his fist on the table, he said: "At the risk of appearing to talk nonsense I will tell you that this movement will go on for a thousand years. The people are more behind me today than they were a year ago. They follow me wherever I go and will continue to do so."

This is his boast and it is easy to affirm that it has little to do with the objective historical processes as has the Stalinist prognosis of standing at this moment on the threshold of the proletarian revolution in Germany. Hitler's greatest difficulties are still ahead of him. But that subject will have to be left for another article.

—ARNE SWABECK.

West Coast Strike

(Continued from last issue)

nist leadership. They also condemn the longshoremen for repudiating the agreement signed by the International President, Ryan, which granted none of the basic demands of the dock workers, such as union control of hiring halls, union recognition etc., and which entirely left out of the settlement the other marine unions. At the same time, through the radio, press, and pulpit the American Legion has opened its campaign against Communism.

For Labor Solidarity

In the face of this united assault on the part of the employers and their agents, the unity of the labor movement must be maintained at all cost. A further continuance of such maneuvers on the part of the Stalinists will tend to weaken the strike and split away the bulk of the labor movement. The campaign for a general strike must be waged seriously and systematically. The rank and file of the labor movement must clearly understand that this is their fight. They must be shown that the attack of the ship owners, Chamber of Commerce and the capitalist press is an attack on the rights of all labor unions. Victory in the marine strike will give new confidence and prestige to the labor movement, and free it from the paralyzing conservative influence which has so long been dominant in the bay region.

—D. E.

CLEVELAND First Annual P I C N I C
Given by
Communist League of America
(Cleveland Branch)
SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1934
Garfield Park — Section 7
(Take 105th St. Car—Garfield Pk.)
Admission 10c. Free Refreshments

What the 73rd Congress Did for the Bosses

The actions taken by the 73rd Congress under the leadership of the Roosevelt regime reveal far-reaching bourgeois reforms aimed to prop up world capitalism.

The outstanding features of the 73rd Congress were:

1. Cleverly demagogic but firm steps to centralize and support the exploiting minority, and weaken labor by tying it to class collaboration machinery. This was the main task of the internal measures of the Congressional session. Banking and Industry, Agriculture, and Labor are the three divisions under which these measures fall.

The two outstanding features of the NRA are:

(A) The economic feature. It organizes the industries on a national scale under Code Authority Bodies. It sets aside the Anti-Trust Laws and enables further consolidation and centralization of finance and industry through government cooperation, to form cartels, national industrial groups and monopolies. The small capitalists and sections of the middle class are driven out of business.

(B) The "social relation" feature. It corrals the working class and their struggles against the capitalists into class collaboration machinery. The A. F. of L.'s class collaboration ideology was not sufficient to cope with the rising strike struggles and new class relations. The new and extensive machinery of labor boards and arbitration is needed to check, to disorganize and to prevent the workers' struggles, especially those of the semi-skilled and unskilled millions of American workers.

The NRA has been strengthened

in the last days of Congress by the act empowering the President to set up boards to attempt to force through arbitration wherever strikes threaten. In addition, the setting up of a national Railroad Adjustment Board shows the further steps necessary in this industry, which is one of the sickest capital enterprises today.

The monetary and banking apparatus is being adjusted to conform with the greater centralization of industry. Particularly the first steps were taken toward chain banks and a more unified and consistent bank structure to meet the international needs of American imperialism. The present banking structure of America is one of the most antiquated among leading imperialist countries.

The measures dealing with Agriculture will have far-reaching effects in reorganizing American agriculture to fit present requirements of American capitalism in a world of shrinking markets. The major effort of America is directed to increasing the export of capital, where safe investments can be found, and the export of industrial and finished commodities. This requires reorganizing agriculture, in order to leave the door open for the importation of raw material and some farm products to enable creditor nations to pay. This means a sharp curtailment of domestic production is necessary, and the AAA is designed to this end, as are also the bills for the compulsory control of tobacco and cotton. The curtailment program necessitated special relief to the drought area, and the measure, through the Frazer-Lemke Bill, to help the mortgage companies holding farmers' mortgages.

Government Subsidies

2. Government subsidies to industry have become a dominant factor in this stage of capitalism. In the earliest stages of capitalism, government subsidies were a necessity for the development of the national capitalists. Now it is a necessity to maintain the decaying capitalist system. The direct loans to industry through the Federal Reserve Bank and the R.F.C. and the Housing Act are a huge subsidy, as we have pointed out before in the Militant, to stimulate the production of durable goods and turn the wheels in the heavy industries which has meant profits to industry and a slight increase of production, but with no appreciable effect on unemployment.

3. Outstanding is the fact that many issues, especially international issues, are not handled by Congress, and only reach Congress for its rubber stamp which, especially this year when Congress is thoroughly dominated by the President, means that for practical purposes international issues are in the hands of the Executive. In addition, Congress has delegated power to the President to conclude reciprocal treaties with foreign nations and to raise or lower duties by 50%.

International Policy

The Gold Act, vesting control in the President, was not only significant as an internal measure, but as a weapon of international policy which is now out of the hands of Congress. In these various ways power and funds have been centered in the hands of the Executive, so that pressing international issues can be handled with dictatorial decisiveness and rapidly by the President. These issues are the imperialist armament race, which will be cloaked in naval treaties and peace pacts, and the trade war that is already in full swing, disguised by reciprocal treaties and tariff manipulations.

4. In spite of all this increase of dictatorial power and centralization, bourgeois democracy in the United States is still a powerful force. Under conditions in any way approximating the present situation, the bourgeoisie will not have to resort to an open dictatorship. It still has sufficient internal strength and resources, so that further shifts of the workers to the left will be met by concessions designed to check and scatter the concentration of this leftward shift.

Unemployment Relief

Further struggles of the unemployed will bring forward additional relief funds. More basic reforms, dealing with the thirty-hour week and unemployment and old age insurance (or a kind) have been left over for the next Congress, as concessions to be held in reserve to be presented later when the class storms become greater. Naturally, even these bourgeois substitutes and imitations of real social insurance measures, are only granted if the pressure of the working class is sufficient to warrant such stop-gap measures.

The Administration hopes to be able to handle the rising strike struggles in the coming period as effectively as it handled the Auto and Steel strike threats. The measures passed in the last days of Congress, giving the President full power to act and the setting up of arbitration boards is to be used in an attempt to keep class peace at home and the workers in subjection while the imperialist mongers are busy with the international problems confronting them in their attempt to organize the world.

—HUGO OEHLE.

There is a crying need for a revolutionary youth league which can organize, educate and win the youth for communism. Today this movement can arise only from those who make an integral part of their program and practice lessons of the victories and defeats of the modern working class, particularly from the war of 1914-18 to the recent defeats of the workers in Germany and Austria. It is the movement for the Fourth International and new Communist parties, and a new revolutionary world union of youth, which embodies these lessons and draws the necessary conclusions from them.

The national convention of the Y.C.L., by showing the impotence of Stalinism, also clearly reveals the need for building the Spartacus Youth League as the nucleus of the new revolutionary youth league in the United States.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

MINNEAPOLIS NOTES

The Organizer. Weekly paper of General Drivers No. 574, Minneapolis. Vol. 1, No. 1.

It is evident that the militant Minneapolis truck drivers' union is moving ahead with all possible speed to clinch the opportunities which have been presented due to the splendid strike of a few weeks ago. Recruiting into the union goes on with gratifying speed (an average of 25 members daily still coming into the Drivers); study classes in trade union history, union structure and strike strategy have been formed and are under way. And on June 25 appeared the first issue of **The Organizer**, new weekly paper of Local 574, designed to cement together the bond of understanding among the membership, and to blaze a trail of progress before all labor, organized and unorganized, in this section.

Five thousand copies of this first 4-page sheet were published. Most readable, progressive in character, the paper has gauged to a nicety the general trade-union and political development of the workers within the union. As the class consciousness of the members is inevitably brought to new levels, one can anticipate that the editors of **The Organizer** will reflect and lead this consciousness.

In the first issue are articles dealing with the latest organization campaigns among petroleum workers and laundry drivers, the status of recent wage arbitration with the employer committees, a write-up of the last general membership meeting, the relation of the unions to the unemployed, etc. A feature of the paper is an excellent humor column, "The Sharp Shooter." And do not think that a lot of humor does not crop up in a city dominated by such a gang of tough, super-civilized bandits as is the Minneapolis Citizens' Alliance.

One word about the mechanical make-up of this potent weapon in the fight against the bosses. Because of its handy size, **The Organizer** is going to prove most flexible in times of stress. It will be no problem to get out daily editions during strike battles. With the success of the handbill printed after that Tuesday battle in the Market, one can appreciate just what this will mean.

The editor of **The Organizer** is Farrell Dobbs.

PLOT FRAME-UP IN MPLS

The Hennepin County chapter of the Minnesota Law and Order League (a desk in the offices of the Minneapolis Citizens' Alliance) is going ahead with its plans to frame militant workers involved in the recent truckdrivers strike, out of which arose the killing of two businessmen thugs who were acting as special debs, Arthur Lyman and Peter Brath.

The hysterical Citizens' Alliance, frothing at the mouth over the loss of their "Christian Soldier", Lyman, have raised a fund of over \$10,000 in the last few weeks, out of which rewards of \$5,000 are being offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction on the charge of murder or manslaughter of the persons guilty of either killing. The capitalist press, at the beck and call of the Alliance, is featuring news of these rewards on the front pages.

The very fact that the organized reaction has moved so slowly and with such hesitation indicates that, despite their frantic questioning of stool pigeons and poring over newsreels taken during the Tuesday battle in the Market, they have not a shred of evidence as to the identity of the "criminals". And, of much more importance, the fact that there is in the field such a strong, militant union has deterred the reaction from moving with any confidence and decision.

The president of the Hennepin County chapter of the "Law and Order League" announced that "in carrying out the purpose of the League in aiding the city and county authorities to maintain law and order, efforts will be made to set up a permanent fund for rewards to be paid for like information in connection with law violations generally that are of a serious nature. The offer of such rewards would undoubtedly assist materially to prevent the commission of crimes and to bring offenders to justice."

The union will know what action to take to fight such a move. —H.

THE "RANK AND FILE OPPOSITION"

Extract from a Letter)

The Drivers' situation is still tense. Held a mass membership meeting last Thursday to try and arrive at a way to force the employers to negotiate the wage scale demands. It was decided to call a joint strike conference of all transportation unions for Thursday P.M. the 28th.

The Stalinists issued two leaflets last week over the signature of the "Rank and File Committee", attacking the settlement, leadership, and conduct of the strike. The leadership took the leaflets up and got two of the "rank and file committee" to come forward. The rank and file of the union would not allow them to speak. It was shown that while these critics had May buttons of the union, they had no receipts and no union cards.

They barely were able to get out of the hall under guard furnished by the union and after the union president had spoken and asked for their safe conduct from the hall; in spite of this, one of them got a bat in the jaw.

Hitler «Purges» Party in Bloody Reign of Terror

Fascist Leaders Throw off Middle Class Ballast; Degenerate Character of Regime Revealed

Hitler has remained the victor in the palace revolt within the German Nazi party. While his real difficulties still lie ahead of him it is clear that at the present moment his stranglehold on the German state of affairs is strengthened. The blackest reaction, the big industrialists, the financiers and the Junkers are, if anything, as a result of the recent events, more firmly in the saddle, ruling through their instrument—Fascism.

Those who lost in the revolt faced the firing squad, their guts splattered in gory scenes which have become commonplace in Fascist Germany. The Schutz-Staffeln—the specially picked section of the Fascist army, selected by social origin and physical distinctions—along with Goering's special political police and assisted by the Reichswehr army, were the executioners. For the moment they turned their attention away from their regular pursuit of bounding down proletarian rebels.

Human Refuse

And as for those who now were the victims—the vilest types of degenerates—nobody will shed a tear. Only now this fact is admitted openly although it has long been a byword that this condition was widely prevalent and these elements constituted the brown shirted army as a whole. Only the scum of the earth, the human refuse, can be used for the dastardly role this bestial horde had to play. It was, and it remains after the purging, a monster trained to be fierce, schooled for use as a class instrument of suppression.

Hitler came into power, carried forward by this movement. Its social base consisted in the main of the middle class, urban and peasant, together with demoralized proletarian elements, rallying from desperation and despair. This middle class had its own aspirations, nourished by the demagogic promises of the Nazi program of national socialism. These aspirations, representing in themselves a danger to the fascist regime, are now dashed to the ground in the gory scenes called the self defense of the state.

German Workers Prostrate

There was no evidence at all of the German proletariat in these recent events. It still lies prostrate, sacrificed by the miserable failure of its parties. The German proletariat as a social force has played no role as yet. However, the objective result of these events will serve to narrow enormously the base of the blood curdling ruling regime. Its exploitation and suppression of the masses will of necessity increase, preparing the day when the German proletariat will again rise. But it will not rise until it regains its consciousness, its organizations and above all, not until it re-establishes a revolutionary party.

To gain a better understanding of these recent German events it is necessary to recapitulate some historical facts.

Under the Weimar Republic the capitalists and the Junkers remained the real rulers. The Weimar constitution stripped them of some of their formal authority. Governments changed in make-up and in political color, from social democratic to outright bonapartist, but the police, the army and the whole of the state bureaucracy remained theirs. The big industrialists, the financiers and the Junkers never for one moment gave up the hope of regaining their glories of the old empire, of regaining its colonies, of regaining the markets of exploitation, of scrapping the Versailles Treaty, of crushing the Weimar constitution and above all of crushing the working class movement.

The Custodians of Capitalism
The social democrats had been good enough to rule as long as the masses could be held in subjection by its promises of reforms. In the most trying period of the German capitalists, when they were the weakest and when the working class asserted its demands, the social democrats came to the rescue. From the inception of the Weimar republic the social democrats drowned the proletarian revolution in blood and prepared the road for the reestablishment of capitalism. They continued as the custodians of the interests of capitalism and in an almost uninterrupted coalition with the capitalist parties gave up even their own reform program. Of

the parliamentary democracy, which they had so laudatorily appropriated as their own, they made a sham and a debacle.

The working class found itself reduced to the lowest level. Impoverishment struck the middle class. Social Democracy was no longer useful to capitalism. Communism grew. The Communist movement began to appear dangerous and the trade unions, despite all the betrayals of the workers, remained strongly entrenched. But the forces of Fascism grew out of the same conditions of capitalism. The big industrialists needed an instrument to crush the Weimar constitution and to do that they had to first crush the working class movement. In this situation the fascist movement developed and became powerful. It became the instrument. It attracted to itself the vilest and most decrepit elements of the capitalist class, but essentially the desperate and despairing middle class and the demoralized

proletarians.

The Rallying Slogans of Fascism

Its rallying slogans were embodied in its deceptive national socialism. Within the former was contained the promise of the scrapping of the hated Versailles Treaty and the restoration of all the glories of the empire of the old days to which the middle class, disappointed with Social Democracy and never attracted to support of Communism, still harked back in its dreams. In the fascist slogans of Socialism was embodied the bizarre promises of busting up the trusts, of dividing up the big businesses for the benefit of the small retailer and of parceling out the big landed estates to the peasants. To the middle class this program represented a glorified empire but with the oppressive features of big business eliminated. The capitalists and the Junkers were never fooled by this "socialist" part of the Nazi program. They knew it was only a bait for the

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Old Guard Routs Militants In New York S.P. Convention

The Old Guard won a complete victory at the New York State convention of the Socialist Party, nominating as candidate for governor the extreme right winger, Charles Solomon, by a majority of nearly three to one; electing a complete Old Guard slate for the new State Executive Committee; and put through every Old Guard resolution, including a repudiation of the centrist Declaration of Principles adopted at the recent national convention.

A section of the Old Guard finally permitted the nomination of Norman Thomas as candidate for U. S. Senator, by the withdrawal of his opponent, James O'Neal. But the controlling elements of the Old Guard, the Solomon-Waldman-Hendin-Panken gang, were unrelenting. Though Thomas was the only candidate running, he received only 58 votes to 38 against, in a convention of 118 delegates.

Militants Pussyfoot

The Militant-Thomas faction lost every claim to leadership in the struggle against the Old Guard. Not only did they put up no fight in the pre-convention struggle for delegates, but at the convention they were conciliatory and pussyfooting on every basic issue, and instead of fighting on the fundamental questions, contented themselves with boozing the most provocative attacks made by the Old Guard.

Even in victory, the Old Guard made no pretensions of loyalty to the decisions of the national convention majority. Charles Solomon, standard-bearer in the state elections, bluntly told the Militants, "You are making it practically impossible for some of the comrades to remain in the party," and declared that if the referendum on the Declaration were defeated he would continue to fight against its principles. In direct contradiction to the constitution of the Socialist Party, Algonon Lee, convention chairman, ruled that the Detroit Declaration was not binding until after the referendum. The Old Guard resolution went further, repudiating the Declaration by saying that "the Socialist Party of the State of New York is a social democratic party," that the Detroit declaration "in some of its features is in conflict with the principles and tactics of social democracy," and pronounced the reactionary Declaration adopted in 1924 to be "still in force."

Crushing Policy of Old Guard
By nominating James O'Neal in opposition to Thomas, the Old Guard served notice that they are determined to crush or drive out all opposition, and will give no place in the party to those opposing them. Part of the Old Guard did not go this far, feeling their overwhelming victory was sufficient. This group included full-time party functionaries like Julius Gerber, Henry Fruechter and O'Neal. The ruling Old Guard, however, remained adamant to the end. Since they are in full control of the new State executive Committee, it is clear they intend to wipe out the Militant opposition.

The miscarriage of the Old Guard

plans to keep Thomas out of the election campaign was largely due to a slip-up in strategy. The Old Guard planned to adopt the state platform and other right-wing measures, and then demand that Thomas could not stand as candidate unless he supported the right-wing program. But the time element saved Thomas. The Old Guard's machine did not move fast enough, and the hour for choosing candidates arrived before passage of the right-wing program. The Old Guard suspended the rules long enough to pass their repudiation of the Declaration of Principles. This, however, since it was in contravention to the decision of the national convention, Thomas was able to say did not bind him. It was then too late for the Old Guard to put through the state platform before the candidates.

Humiliation of Thomas

But the nomination of Thomas, instead of being the "victory" which the Militants claim, was a thorough humiliation of Thomas. Laidler's speech nominating Thomas was shamefully conciliatory. He let pass by Waldman's chauvinist statement, in nominating O'Neal, that the candidate should be one "to whom the U. S. Senate means something in the American tradition." He ignored the insistence of the Old Guard "that the candidate should represent a definite position." In the face of Solomon's denunciations, Laidler assured the convention that Solomon and Thomas were ideal running mates because "they have gotten along together splendidly in previous campaigns."

Panken, in opposing Thomas' nomination, declared that "Thomas has been a candidate all this time, and if anybody is responsible for the failure of the movement, it is Thomas." The climax in the attack on Thomas was the denunciation of him by Joseph Tuvim for the stand he took on the furriers, the Progressive Miners, and his attack on the movie union racketeers.

O'Neal had risen to ask for the

(continued on page 4)

General Strike Near in Frisco After Killings

New York, July 6.—Twelve hours after Joseph P. Ryan, chief of the longshoremen's union had issued a vicious reactionary attack on the longshoremen's strike, which Ryan had attempted to settle and leave the other unions in the lurch, Ryan was forced to change his tune. All A.F. of L. unions on the waterfront, were planning to meet on the question of tying up New York piers and Ryan was declaring for the strike.

San Francisco, July 6.—General strike looming. Frisco murders with indignation at the inflamed and violence inflicted on the strikers. Strike sympathy is so strong that the governor and the bosses are afraid the morale of the national guard, now patrolling the piers, will break under the pressure. "Any man who fires into the air will be court-martialed," Colonel Mitchell-stadt warned his men, in issuing the order "Shoot to kill."

The pressure is also driving forward the Frisco Labor Council which last week passed a resolution calling upon the longshoremen to drive radicals out of the union. The Council meets tonight, on the general strike issue. So does the Marine Engineers' Association. Teamsters' Union votes on strike Sunday. Street railway men on the move too, and other union meetings scheduled for next few days will undoubtedly take strike votes.

The two thousand national guardsmen have not stopped the strikers and sympathizers who are pressing against the military and police lines. Outgoing trucks are being turned back at outlying points. Trucks carrying perishables were overturned at Livermore Canyon. The Belt Line Railroad connecting the piers with the railroads, but is the worst striking weapon, not only carrying freight, but its cars are lined up to provide a protecting alley for the trucks.

The strikers killed yesterday were shot down on the corner of Mission and Stuart Streets. Today pickets chalked off the square on which they were killed and asked passing workers not to walk on it. In the center of the square is inscribed:

"Police murders here"

The labor movement here comprises 120 unions with about 50,000 members. Only the combined efforts of the whole labor movement can defeat this onslaught. Everybody has combined on the side of the bosses—chambers of commerce, the notorious Industrial Association, Governor Merriam, the police, the troops, the ship owners. For all they know that if the marine workers win San Francisco will be a union town. That's just why all the unions have to fight this fight. If they don't fight, they're licked.

New Address

All members and sympathizers are urged to take notice of the change of address of the Communist League, The Militant, Young Spartacus and all the other institutions which formerly had their headquarters at 126 E. 14th Street. The new address is 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

Housewarming

A housewarming party at the new headquarters of the New York Local of the Communist League of America will take place Saturday, July 14th at 8 P.M. The new headquarters are located at 144 Second Avenue, corner 9th Street. A program of entertainment has been arranged for this occasion. Food and refreshments will be served. All friends and sympathizers are invited.

New Truck Drivers Strike Impends in Minneapolis

Back the League In New Drive

With the general strike impending in Minneapolis, the need for concerted efforts on organization work, and the stabilization of our press becomes imperative. A definite duty is imposed upon us by the events.

Can we rise to the situation? Comrade Cannon has already left for Minneapolis to cover the news and analyze the events for The Militant and the New Internationalist. If the strike breaks, we must give further assistance. The entire League must be mobilized for the tremendous tasks ahead.

SHOULDER TO THE WHEEL! BACK MINNEAPOLIS BY HELPING THE LEAGUE. SEND YOUR COLLECTIONS IMMEDIATELY. DON'T DELAY.

Receipts

(Since last Report)
A Friend, N. Y. \$15.00
Chas. Anthony, N. Y. 2.00
Marion McLeod 1.00
S. C. Baltimore 1.00
G. James, Berkeley 1.00
Helen Mason, Columbus 10.00
A Friend (King)50
Manhattan Branch 1.25
M. M. 25.00

Broad Silk Dept in Silk Union Backs 7 Expelled Militants

(The following article on the expulsions in the Silk workers union was due to appear in the last issue of the Militant but unfortunately was crowded out because of lack of space.—Ed.)

BULLETIN

PATERSON, June 25.—The Broad Silk Dept membership meeting (A.F.S.W.) overwhelmingly voted today to recommend to the Joint Executive Board and to the General Membership Meeting that they throw out the expulsions of all Associated members brought up on charges by Eli Keller for their participation in the Albert (Roy) case, and for being members of the United Silk Workers Club. This motion was opposed by only two votes.

Among the seven expelled members of the Associated are: members of the Broad Silk Executive, members of the Constitution Committee, members of the last strike committee, and shop chairmen. All of them are candidates for election to the incoming Broad Silk Executive. With a single exception, they are all members of the United Silk Workers Club. The attack of the officialdom is being directed in particular against: Eddie Swaifull, Charlie Weiss, Felix Giordano, Ross Moran, and Anna Fisher.

The Albert (Roy) Case

On April 23 a strike was called in the Roy shop because of discrimination. The worker discriminated against was a member of the National (Stalinist) Union: the shop was under the jurisdiction of the A.F.S.W. members. All the workers in the shop, both National and A.F.S.W., walked out.

On April 26 the bosses offered to settle provided the workers took a wage out. The workers stayed out, now striking on two issues.

For two weeks everybody was out on strike, including one, H. Berman. Then the bosses moved the shop to Madison Ave. & 3rd Ave. and changed its name to Albert Silk Co. At the same time they became members of the Manufacturers Association in an obvious attempt to break the strike by claiming a contract with the A.S.W. In other words, the bosses moved their shop, rushed to the Bosses' Association and then—to Keller who had just managed to squeeze through in the election for General Manager on a "progressive platform."

Here was an excellent opportunity to demonstrate to all silk workers not only the suicidal policy of Stalinism but also the forward-looking policies of the Associated. Instead Keller obligingly appointed one Berman as shop-chairman. The bosses promptly appointed Berman, —as Berman. As now this foreman-shop-chairman Berman proceeded to aid the bosses in the name of the A.S.W. (!) in getting an injunction against the picketers.

Demand Open Investigation
At this juncture a committee of A.S.W. workers appeared before the Broad Silk Executive and demanded an open investigation of the Albert case. Although the motion was made and seconded, the "progressive" majority on the board completely ignored it, and proceeded then and there to carry on an

Entire Labor Movement Backs 574 General Strike Possible

Another general strike of truck drivers under the leadership of the indomitable Local 574 looms in Minneapolis.

After the crushing defeat they suffered at the hands of organized labor in the first drivers' strike the bosses are now trying to recoup their losses in an effort to swindle the workers out of the wage increases which were taken for granted at the conclusion of the last strike.

The employers, violating the terms of the agreement, have refused to arbitrate the question of wages and working conditions with the representatives of the union.

In the meanwhile the open shop bosses have issued half page paid ads to the press, lying about the facts and charging the union with the responsibility for the impending strike.

But Local 574 will not be cheated out of the rightful gains they so victoriously won in the recent strike. They have accepted the challenge and hurled back the answer.

The answer is FIGHT!

Minneapolis labor has been called upon for its support. A joint conference was held and from the Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L. they have joined hands to the last man with the fighting truck drivers against the notorious Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis.

Under the aegis of this joint conference of all the unions of Minneapolis a mass demonstration is to be held tonight, July 6th, at 6:30 P.M. Union representatives will expose the conniving tactics of the bosses and their jackal tricks before tens of thousands of cheering workers.

The leaflet advertising the demonstration says that "DECISIVE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AT THIS MEETING."

Breaking the written pledge which was wrested from them by the fearfully militant actions of Local 574 in the preceding strike, the bosses have undertaken a movement to deprive the truck drivers of those advantages which were implicit in the arbitration they agreed to.

Lies and Evasions

Amidst a veritable barrage of lies and evasions to the kept press they complain bitterly that the union is not living up to its promises. These promises, they presume to be, are not that the questions of wages and working conditions shall be brought before the arbitration board for adjudication. The employers conceived the agreement as the usual run-around. After failing to come to terms with the union representatives they thought the matter would be dropped and nothing more would be heard of it.

But this was Local 574 they were dealing with, not the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In this statement of the 168 firms they display that hypocritical indignation that is so typical of bosses when they are compelled to surrender the smallest part of their blood-profits extorted from their wage-slaves.

A tear-jerking whine that the union would not permit itself to be victim of delay—the time-worn method of cheating the workers out of their victories—is expressed at the fact that 574 promptly placed pickets before those few establishments which continued to discriminate against strikers.

A Real Industrial Union

If these aggressive tactics on the part of the union and its leaders were unsavory to the bosses then it certainly must have been a bitter pill for them to swallow when they discovered that they were not dealing with a craft union of drivers and helpers but a broad industrial union covering handlayers, banana men, tomato men, potato men, cooler men, celery trimmers, orange men and California fruit men. The bosses howl that these were not included in the agreement. But the very fact that it is these self-same bosses who deal with the drivers that are making the complaint gives the lie to this assertion. The bosses would have very much liked to separate the workers into ineffective craft unions. But they reckoned without their host.

We are paying enough, about the profit-mad bosses. Are we not living up to the 50 cents per hour minimum for truck drivers? Fifty cents an hour may be the conception of the wealth-sated bosses of a living wage for their employees. Fifty cents an hour may have been the lot submitted to by the workers before their last strike, before they stood up to the stature of human beings who want a decent living wage. But certainly not after they drove the bosses, their police and hired thugs to such a miserable rout.

The Union's Answer

The answer of the union leaders to the false charges of the employers is quite explicit. It throws the responsibility where it belongs. They make their position clear beyond doubt in a statement issued to the press which follows. We quote from the Minneapolis Journal of July 2nd.

(Continued on Page 4)

MASS MEETING

The Meaning of the German Events

SPEAKERS:

Max Shachtman - Arne Swabeck

Sunday, July 8, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza Hall - 15th Street and Irving Place

Admission 15c

Questions and Discussion

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Hell Hitler!"

Not the least nauseating feature of the recent murder campaign in Germany was the unanimity with which the lesser bureaucrats, fearing their own necks and jobs, repeated with variations all the official denunciations of those who had yesterday been hailed as heroes. Now it is "the traitor," "enemy of the revolution," "degenerates," etc., etc. Hitler is hailed as "the Leader," "the German state with Hitler as the leader," "the National Socialist Party with Hitler at the head." Such belly-crawling and lickspittle "hero"-worship betrays properly to the degenerate and petty-bourgeois Fascist movement.

Hitler and Capone

Newspapers, particularly the English press, have been comparing Hitler's murdering of his bosom pals to the St. Valentine's Day massacre of gangsters in Chicago. There is this difference. Hitler was able to pass a law making his murder campaign legal after the event. Capone was never able to do that.

The Fascist Danger

That murderers, dope-fleas, sexual degenerates and maniacs make up the leadership of Fascist movements has been amply demonstrated first in Italy and now in Germany. The record of the leadership of the Ku Klux Klan, Silver Shirts and Khaki Shirts show that this feature is also common to similar movements in America. That the powerful German labor movement should have allowed such a gang to grow in strength is the most telling condemnation of that movement that can be made. In America we must not repeat their mistakes. We must again raise the alarm and call for joint and crushing action against the first stirrings of the Fascist beast.

Stalinism and Germany

The Stalinists who saw a "revolutionary upsurge" in Hitler's coming to power now see a proletarian victory approaching in the death of Von Schleicher and Roehm. Open-air speakers go a step further than editorial writers and call on their audiences to prepare to "defend Soviet Germany". But the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reports that Soviet officials consider a Bolshevik revolution in Germany something in the remote future. Actually, he reports, they would not like to see such a development now. It might lead to war. And yet the Daily Worker shouts "Long live Stalin, leader of the world revolution".

Voodooism

Science may explain the world, explain it so clearly that even the witch doctors of the various churches are compelled to acknowledge its truth. But let some upsetting natural phenomenon occur and the preachers revert to the primitive. The New York Times reports "Prayer bands have been organized throughout Kansas. Catholic as well as Protestant churches are holding prayer services in behalf of rain." There must be a shortage of lunatic asylums in Kansas.

Bert Wolfe

Bertram D. Wolfe of the Lovestone Group ventures to attack Karl Radek in the latest issue of the Workers Age. Radek's article in the Daily Worker on the League of Nations is the object of the attack and Wolfe does a fair job of demolishing Radek's reactionary position. However, before attacking Radek, who is but a tool of Stalin, Wolfe bows before the "leader". "We can quite agree with Stalin," says Wolfe. Yes, yes, we know that. You always agreed with Stalin on every thing but one. "Dual-unionism", "Social-fascism", "third period", "Socialism in one country", "expulsion of Trotskyists", "expulsion of Brandler", "removal of Bukharin", all was agreed to. But removal of Lovestone and his supporters from the leadership of the American party—ah! that was a different matter, a principle question.

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(Cleveland Branch)

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The Military Coup d'Etat In Latvia

The character of the military coup of May 15th in the small Baltic country, Latvia, leaves no doubt in the minds of the revolutionary working class that the leadership of Karl Ulmanis and General Bolodis are inseparably identified with the hated ultra-reactionary "Peasants' League", which is known to all revolutionary workers as a petty-bourgeois, kulak-nationalist sect, and which has led a characteristically clear fascist movement in that country for a long time.

Not by any accident has this party—the most reactionary and anti-proletarian in Latvian politics—been at the bottom of the initiator and influencing force of the coup d'etat of May 15th. First of all, this "Peasants' League" has been the initiator of the notorious special tariff law on export goods, in favor of the middle-class kulak economy; the "Peasants' League" representatives in the Saeima (parliament) are the constant looters of the state treasury, for the benefit of the former Baltic barons and landlords of Liv- and Courland; the "Peasants' League" has been the medium that most efficiently pursued those policies which shifted all the sufferings and hardships brought about by the general crisis upon the shoulders of the city proletariat, the village poor and the farm workers; and, finally, the "Peasants' League" is the ruthless creator of the system of terror by which the Latvian ruling class have suppressed and are still able to suppress the slightest attempts of protest by the masses. They are employing subterfuge and deception to hide their true motives and real intentions.

The Program of Ulmanis

By the direct support of this petit-bourgeois clique that has the form and policy of the unbridled monster of fascism, the Ulmanis dictatorship rode into power. The goal of Ulmanis' ambition was to replace the parliamentary form of government with the authoritarian or dictatorial power. Several months before the coup, he presented a bill to that effect in the parliament, where it was drastically criticized, changed and fled. A week before the coup, the parliament adopted in its second session the new constitution, with complete rejection of all Ulmanis' amendments. Then it became evident that the third session would not even consider his proposals and the only way left was—the military coup, which was successfully carried out the night between May 15th and 16th.

That night armed bands of war veterans broke into the Labor Temple of Riga, capital of Latvia, where the Social Democratic headquarters were located, arrested all present, confiscated all property, and transformed the place into a so-called "National Defense League" headquarters. On the same night all Socialist members of the Saeima were arrested in their homes. The S. D. president, Dr. Paul Kalnin, was amongst the first arrested. From all other members of the Saeima signatures were taken, under threat, not to attempt to call an assembly. Early in the morning, all trade union leaders were rounded up and their offices closed. Fifty newspapers and periodicals were suppressed, mostly Socialist, although one neutral German language paper, Europa, was included.

The official report next morning circulated stories that carloads of arms were seized, and two hundred revolvers taken from Dr. Kalnin's room. The second part of the report announced, ironically, in contrast to its own actions, that in the near future, the Fascist Legionnaires would have attempted an uprising and the action of Ulmanis was simply to stave them off. But very few Legionnaires were arrested by Ulmanis.

Rests on Military Force

In throwing all his opponents into jail, Ulmanis' dictatorship expected to prepare the ground for the coming general election, the date of which has not been set in which to carry his program into action. In the meantime, it rested purely on military force. The morning after the coup, eight regiments of regular troops marched into the city. Simultaneously, new regiments were organized from the reactionary volunteers. In recruiting first from the most conservative layers of the population, soon the government found full support also from the various centrist groups and of the German national minorities.

Ulmanis, being himself a rich land-owner and capitalist who recently spent several weeks in Nazi Germany to "study" the government there, formed his new government after his own image, that is, of the capitalists and landlords.

His cabinet includes, besides himself as Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs: Skujenieks—Vice-Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs; General Bolodis—War; Gulbis—Interior; Einbergs—Communication; Rubulis—Public Welfare; Kaulnsh—Agriculture; Ehkts—Finance; Apsitis—Justice; Professor Adamovits—Education; Jaudsens—Assistance.

All "good" men, when judged by individual standards of morality and respectability. Looking at it from a little broader point of view, the vocabulary of denunciation and abhorrence seems inadequate when applied to their records and actions. Viewed with still wider social and historical vision, they seem to be instruments in the process by which the capitalist class hopes to maintain its power, without which it could not retain its stranglehold over the working class of Latvia.

Aimed at the Workers

It is clear from here, that the Latvian working class and the toiling masses are the subject against whom the Ulmanis coup d'etat was directed. Bourgeois reaction, with armed forces, and not altogether without the support of the S. D. leaders, is trying forever to crush the resistance of the proletariat. The "Peasants' League" and its war-fascist traveling companions dared to take the power, with the knowledge that the Latvian working class is split and demoralized by the Social Democracy on the one hand, and the Stalinist bureaucrats, with their political isolation and false trade union policy on the other.

The Latvian Social Democracy and the Stalinist phrase-mongers helped Ulmanis' accession to power, just as much as the armed kulak bands of the "Peasants' Party". Only recently, the Social Democrat Members threatened the fascist forces from the floor of the Saeima, and also in the party congress, that they would not make the mistake their Austrian brothers did. Members and Bruno Kalnsh warned the bourgeoisie with threats: "Nothing comes to us unexpected," and that in case of the violation of the constitution they would "come to the streets".

More than fifteen years the Social Democratic leaders have split and sabotaged the working class fight for freedom. In every case where the working masses attempted action against their exploiters, they called for "law and order" and "discipline". At the same time they matched their wits with the Stalinists, in sabotaging the united front. Whenever the sentiment of the workers called for action, they, with Members and Kalnsh, gave them promises for the future. The Stalinists on their part answered by organizing a "Labor Sports Union" of their own, and played football with fascist storm-troopers, while refusing to meet with Social Democratic workers.

Workers Without Leadership

Tricked by Social Democracy, repelled by the Communist Party politics of bluff and ballyhoo, the bombastic phrase-mongering which held sway over every activity of the party, great masses of class-conscious workers sank into apathy and indifference. Thousands have been lured over into the camp of Ulmanis and the "Peasants' League".

The petit-bourgeois element in the Peasants League and their war-fascist allies have prepared for the coup of the 15th of May for a long time. It manifested itself in the systematic wholesale arrests of the workers, imprisonment of the workers' delegates, the revision of the constitution, the fascization of the state apparatus, the mobilization of fascist storm-troops, and terror in town and country. Reaction made wide preparations while the Social Democratic Party and the Stalinists undermined the unity of the workers by calling each other the "main enemy".

It is interesting to note the attitude of the "Peasants' League" towards the open fascist organizations that were led by Stalmacher, Karlson and other adventurers under their ringing names, such as "The Fiery Cross League", "The Knights of the Lightning Cross", etc. The Latvian newspapers published in past months a lot of material concerning the connections these organizations had with the German Nazi agents, who in Riga already had established an official representative. It is true that some of the military leaders are trying to show that the new regime is also against these fascist bands that are directly led by German Fascists. But the German Fascist journalism approved wholeheartedly the Latvian insurrection by Latvian militarists, and not accidentally so. Hitler's Nazis do not endorse anything without expected returns.

The Latvian military coup d'etat, although not very important in itself, has a great significance and bearing upon the Soviet Union. Latvia, which now geographically presses the ribs of the body of the Soviet Union, should attract all the attention of the working class of the whole world. It looks like the actual spearhead of the fascist hordes against the workers' fatherland.

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

QUESTION BOX

COMRADE H. L. Newark.—Yes! Lenin gave a very clear answer to the question of work in the trade unions controlled by the reactionaries, and his words of 14 years ago are a scathing denunciation of the present Stalinist trade-union policy.

"We carry on the struggle against the 'labor aristocracy' in the name of the working masses in order to gain them on our side; and we do battle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist leaders to achieve the same object. To forget this elemental and self-evident truth would be foolish. But the German 'Left Communists' (read today Stalinists, Ed.) commit the same stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary heads of the trade unions they, through some inexplicable mental process, jump at the conclusion that it is necessary to abandon these organizations altogether! To refuse to work in them! To invent new working men's unions! This is an unpardonable blunder which results in the Communists rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie.... Not to work within reactionary trade unions means to leave the backward or insufficiently developed working masses to the influence of reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labor aristocrats or 'bourgeoisified workers'." (Lenin—"The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism." Emphasis ours)

By all means read this work.

SYMPATHIZER, N. Y.—Right now Trotsky's address is "somewhere in France". The idea of a party of your friends to raise money for his guards is excellent. Such money can be sent to The Militant.

Trotsky never wrote the leaflet containing the slogan: "Without a Car—But a Labor Government", as your Lovestonette friend says. This was written in 1905 by Parvus. In attacking "Trotskyism" in his "Problems of Leninism", Stalin (who, with Trotsky, never saw the leaflet) found it convenient to change this factual side of the matter in order to be able to accuse Trotsky of "underestimating the peasantry". In 1928, when still in the official C. P., the Lovestonette, Bertram D. Wolfe, in slaying "Trotskyism" in his pamphlet, "The Trotsky Opposition" (p. 20) echoed this falsehood of Stalin. This is probably where your friend got it. To be fair to yourself always check the "quotations" of the Lovestonettes at the original source. We speak from much experience.

F. S. U. MEMBER, N. Y.—There are no known official statistics by which to judge the accuracy of the Stalinist bullyhoo about the Chinese Soviets and the thousands of Chinese they claim to be in the I.L.D., etc. Certain facts are clear, however. In the Chinese Soviet districts there is practically no industry, the section being purely agricultural. The Red armies and the Soviets are purely peasant in character. This class basis, without the leadership of the city proletariat, is by no means a guarantee as to the revolutionary character of the movement. The Stalinists speak of "workers and peasants", but it is a riddle where the proletariat comes from. However, if Amer can find "honest fascist workers" it should not be hard for him to find a few proletarians in those parts of China where industry has not penetrated. Also, the following remains to be answered by the Stalinists: If there is a Chinese Soviet government, why does not the Soviet Union recognize it, and if it already has, who are the ambassadors to and from the Soviet Union?

We cannot agree with you that a correct definition of fascism is "the more open, more brutal rule of the capitalist class". This is a hardly sufficient characterization of this form of the rule of finance-capital. The Stalinists are particularly addicted to calling every use of force by the capitalists as "fascist" or "semi-fascist". The following random example is handy: "La Guardia is moving toward more open brutalized reaction. There is not an honest person who will not be eager to join in the struggle against this Fascization of the life of the city." (Editorial in Daily Worker, June 28, 1934. Emphasis ours.)

From such a position would necessarily follow the conclusion that in its democratic form capitalism does not use force. The use of force, however, more or less open or brutal, is, and has been, a characteristic of all class society, and is by no means the feature which distinguishes fascism from other forms of bourgeois rule.

"... the gist of Fascism and its task consist in a complete suppression of all workers' organizations and in the prevention of their revival. In a developed capitalist society this goal cannot be achieved by police methods alone. There is only one method for it and that is by directly opposing the pressure of the proletariat—the moment it weakens by the pressure of the desperate masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this particular system of capitalist reaction that has entered history under the name of Fascism." ("What Next", by L. Trotsky, p. 32.)

The Chicago Friends of The Militant Club

Chicago.—The Chicago Friends of the Militant, as an auxiliary organization to the Communist League of America, came into existence almost two years ago.

For all those who are not familiar with this organization, its program and its tendencies, it would not be amiss to sketch in brief the purposes of this organization and the development it has undergone since its inception.

It was founded by a handful of sympathizers who became convinced that the Left Opposition was correct in its critical attitude toward the C. I. for misinterpreting Marxian theories and misapplying these principles or not applying them at all to the practical field of tactics and strategy.

The innumerable mistakes and deviations of the C. I. and of the various Communist parties, which were so clearly foreseen and warned against by the Left Opposition through all the available agencies, such as the press, literature and platform, and whose analyses and criticisms have proven so correct since, have developed the consciousness in this small group of sympathizers that the Left Opposition is the only wing in the revolutionary movement which pursues the correct Marxian policy.

The Friends of the Militant Club was formed as an auxiliary, first to render financial and moral support to the parent organization, in particular its press, so as to enable it to propagate its views among the large masses of workers; secondly, to secure a membership and develop it by educational means so that the more ripe and fully class-conscious would be ready to enter into the fold of the Party proper.

The requirements for admission to membership were made minimal:

- Acknowledgment of the principle of class struggle.
 - Sympathy with the U.S.S.R.
- The educational program was to be broad and varied: while instructing lectures on Marxism and current topics related to the class struggle and the revolutionary movement as a whole, other fields were not to be neglected, such as literature, philosophy and sciences.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Appraisal of the German Events

If the contradictions in the camp of German fascism have broken out into the open, certainly it can be said that the one restraining force that held together the fascist aggregation had been removed. That force which cemented momentarily the heterogeneous forces of reaction, was the independently organized working class. The cruelties of the Stalinists (witness the article by Harry Gannes in recent issues of the Daily Worker) repeat ad nauseam: "German is on the eve of the greatest revolutionary struggles.... The fires of revolt are burning high in Germany."

Nor does Gannes yet refrain from informing us "that the stalwart, heroic leader of the German working class, the Communist Party, is growing by leaps and bounds, tremendously increasing its leadership in the fight against the bloody fascist dictatorship." When as a matter of fact the lack of any sort of relationship, let alone that of leadership, between a revolutionary vanguard party and the widest masses of the German proletariat is itself a decisive factor in permitting the disagreements in the camp of the enemy to come to the surface. Were the situation that pictured by the Stalinists its party could play a tremendous role at this moment. The events themselves give the lie to the false and premeditated deluding estimate of the Stalinist bureaucrats. For the relation between the revolutionary party and the working class is decisive, and the revolutionary party is now in process of building in Germany, as elsewhere, under the banner of the Fourth International.

The Fascist Hostages

If the bourgeoisie was impelled to resort to fascism, it nevertheless feared the petty bourgeois forces of the reaction because these elements once in motion tend to go further than is desired by the big bankers and industrialists in control behind the scene. The exploited small tradesmen and peasantry attempt to throw off some of the oppression to which they are subjected by monopoly capitalism. Furthermore the middle classes have been led to expect far greater rewards and achievements for their "heroism" than can be afforded by the big bourgeoisie. Hence the latter are anxious to restore "law and order" as soon as possible after the counter-revolution.

By a series of stages the armed forces and the "party" of the petty bourgeoisie must be dissolved. The storm troops became acutely aware of these designs, to which Hitler had perforce to acquiesce, when they attempted to gain control of the army, the Reichswehr. This force was being expanded from one hundred thousand men to three hundred thousand by including Stahlhelm and Junker elements and excluding the Nazis.

In the conflict that ensued a clear attempt was made at the beginning of dissolution of the storm troops by forcing them to give up their arms and uniforms and giving them a holiday. This precipitated a conspiracy of the underlings who feared for their posts and prerogatives. Von Papen shrewdly helped to precipitate a situation from which he had everything to gain. Hitler, realizing that mass support was slipping from under his feet, had to give himself as a hostage to the bureaucracy representing the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie.

At the same time he keeps Goebbels, titular head of the petty bourgeois "lefts" and still retaining a measure of prestige in the ranks of the millions of Nazis, as a hostage to aid him in the further steps that now become inevitable. Goebbels will feel more than uneasy in view of the shooting of his erstwhile companions.—But precisely for that reason will obey "the leader" while distrusting him. Hitler aids to dissolve the forces that acted as a stirrup to lift him to power.

The Dregs of Society

Hitler reveals openly the constitution of the hordes upon whom he relied for support previously. It is nothing new to the world that the Nazis were the dumpheap for the rottenest, vilest, most degenerate elements in capitalist German society. The fascists everywhere recruit the gangsters, the jailbirds, the dope fleas and the degenerates. Nobody will be taken in by the hypocrisy of "the leader" whose conscience was "torn" by the orgies indulged in by the Helmses and Roehms. Hitler turned to precisely such types in order to build up a movement itself representing social degeneracy and barbarism. When the turn of Hitler comes he will be similarly properly branded by the intrigues of his downfall.

—JACK WEBER.

No Time To Lose Big Tasks Ahead

Minneapolis, Toledo, California strikes showed that the workers are ready to fight for their rights.

The Steel, Automobile and Textile industries are like volcanoes about to erupt.

We must be prepared to enter the coming struggles as a militant force, applying the experiences and lessons of Minneapolis.

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New subs this week: Chicago Branch, 8; New Haven Branch, 4; New York Local, 4; A. L. Rumble, 4; Jefferson Hall 4. Total 24.

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New Haven Branch	8
Toronto	4
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Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4

TOTAL 330

The White Terror

Stalinist Treachery in China

Shanghai May 30.—The Left Opposition in China has repeatedly suffered heavy blows from the Kuomintang reaction. Working under conditions of illegality, many of its members have been arrested, jailed and tortured. Some have died in jail. Others are dying.

In July, 1933, within a week of the conference which resulted in the fusion of the four then-existing Left Opposition groups, the entire executive committee, with the exception of comrade Chen Du-hsiu and two other members, was arrested in the International Settlement at Shanghai.

The next heavy blow was struck in September, 1932 when Chen Du-hsiu and ten members of the Shanghai district committee were arrested. Other members of the Left Opposition have since been arrested and a large number are now languishing in the jails of the Kuomintang in various parts of China.

The Chinese Stalinists have been hard put to it to explain how it could happen that "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists"—and so many of them—have fallen victim to the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary white terror. Being unable to explain, they have slandered. At the time of Comrade Chen Du-hsiu's arrest they circulated the infamous lying report that comrade Chen had been summoned to Hankow for a "conference" with Chiang Kai-shek, thereby implying that comrade Chen had turned traitor and capitulated to the Kuomintang.

The Trial of Chen
This baseless slander was revealed in its true dimensions when comrade Chen Du-hsiu was brought before a Nanking court and sentenced to thirteen years' imprisonment for his revolutionary activity on behalf of the Left Opposition. Throughout his trial, comrade Chen depicted himself as a communist should. His attitude was one of splendid revolutionary intemperance in defense of his communist principles. Far from bowing to and capitulating before his captors, he hurled revolutionary defiance in their teeth.

Comrade Chen's splendid and inspiring attitude in the face of an almost certain prospect of torture and death stands out in amazingly marked contrast to the attitude of most of the leading Stalinists who have fallen into the clutches of the Kuomintang during the past two years, many of whom were among the noisiest in denouncing the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". Their record is one long list of capitulations and betrayals, which in the past year developed into a veritable avalanche.

When men and women are submitted to the vilest physical tortures the human mind can conceive, when their bodies have been wracked beyond the endurance point, submission and capitulation to their tormentors and even the betrayal of comrades is understandable. But torture is one of the supreme tests of a revolutionary. Only those of the finest revolutionary fiber are able to endure it—if necessary to the death—and stand firmly on their principles.

Persecution of Communists
This fact gives us a measure by which to gauge the caliber of the present-day Communist Party of China. Ever since the triumph of the bourgeois counter-revolution in 1927, the party and its members have been subjected to a vicious persecution. Unnumbered and nameless thousands have filled the jails of the Kuomintang. Some have been shot or beheaded or buried alive. Others have died under torture or from disease. Yet others linger on in jail, clinging to a life that is worse than death.

In the early years of the Kuomintang white terror, almost instant execution was the fate of arrested communists. But latterly the Kuomintang has seen the value of supplementing its campaign for the physical extermination of the communists by an ideological campaign against Communism.

And who should be most fitted to conduct such an ideological campaign than the communists themselves? Thus for the old method of instant execution the Kuomintang substituted a system of wheedling and bribing arrested communists to capitulate publicly to the ruling regime, to renounce their revolutionary past, to engage in counter-revolutionary propaganda against communism, and to betray former comrades.

Stalinist Capitulators
Sad to relate, the Kuomintang has made many conquests along this line. One of the first and in some ways most notable example was that of Huang Ping, a leading member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party who was arrested in 1932. Under torture he capitulated to the Kuomintang and permitted publication of a statement in which he repudiated his entire revolutionary past.

A flood of fresh capitulations soon followed. In Peking, batches of ex-Communist Party members appeared at public meetings in the parks and on city squares and under Kuomintang auspices denounced communism before large crowds of people. Some of these renegades, very obviously, had been awaiting

an opportunity to capitulate, to betray, to sell out. They did not wait for arrest, but voluntarily surrendered and offered their services to the Kuomintang.

Some of them were rewarded with comfortable government jobs. A notable example is that of a youth named Feng Ta of the student-intellectual type, who within this writer's personal knowledge edited for a considerable time the Chinese Workers' Correspondence, a mimeographed bulletin which the Chinese Communist Party issued and continues to issue mainly for distribution abroad. (It is this publication which supplies the exaggerated accounts of C. P. "successes" on which scribes of the Comintern in Moscow and elsewhere base their falsely optimistic accounts and estimates of the Chinese situation and which helps secure the continuance of the Comintern subsidy to the C.P.C.)

A Despicable Betrayal
Feng Ta now holds a government job in Nanking, a reward of one of the most dastardly and despicable betrayals on record. He betrayed Ting Ling, China's most outstanding girl writer and a pioneer in the development of Chinese proletarian literature, to the white terror agents of the Kuomintang. Ting Ling's husband, Hu Yeh-ping, was a prominent revolutionary writer, was buried alive with four other writers and poets at Langhua prison, Shanghai, on February 7, 1931. From that time the communist Feng had been her intimate friend. He seemingly remained a friend until May 14 last year. On that date he directed Kuomintang agents to her house in Shanghai (she had lived secretly since the killing of her husband).

For over a year Ting Ling's fate has been shrouded in mystery. She was kidnapped from her house in the International Settlement and disappeared, leaving not a trace. Although there are reports in defense of his communist principles, far from bowing to and capitulating before his captors, he hurled revolutionary defiance in their teeth.

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the territories of the Red Bandits (so-called Soviet districts)—L) are gradually becoming smaller and smaller. . . .

"Let us take a look at Shanghai which the communists think of as the 'capital of the non-property class' and also where communists have put in their full energies in their work. How about the communist organizations in this part of China? How many branch organizations are really working and holding meetings? In the Green Labor Union (!) of the communists, except for a few non-workers running here and there, there is practically not a single healthy branch organization. As to the rest of the communist organizations, like the Mutual Aid Society (Red Aid—L.), the Anti-Imperialist League, Left Writers' League, etc., these are only names for memories. There are no such organizations. . . .

"Before I was arrested I already had an idea of surrendering. After careful deliberation I know that I was travelling the wrong road. . . .

Degeneracy of Stalinism
It has for long been clear that from a party whose members have first to capitulate to the counter-revolution before they can secure an opportunity to criticize the party line, there is nothing to be expected but fresh crimes and blunders. In the degeneracy of Stalinism, in the wholesale surrender of its leaders to the reaction, we are witnessing the rotting of a political corpse, the corruption of which stinks to high heaven.

The Chinese Left Opposition will waste no tears over it. Instead, with added energy and determination, it will proceed to the urgent task of building the Chinese section of the Fourth International.

—LUCIFER.

Business Slows Down

Standard Statistics Company of New York currently comments as follows:

"Evidence of a slowing down in the rate of business activity have continued to accumulate with the pending curtailment of production schedules at cotton mills and other textile plants outstanding in this respect. Moreover, steel operations have receded from the recent high level, in reflection of the relatively heavy stocks on hand and smaller orders from the automobile industry. Building contract awards also have declined further."

Seasonal curtailment is becoming more apparent in steel, motor and production.

The daily average volume of Federal Reserve bank credit outstanding during the week ended May 23, as reported by the Federal Reserve banks, was \$2,475,000,000, a decrease of \$7,000,000 compared with that preceding week.

Bank clearings in twenty-two leading cities for the week ended May 23 amounted to \$4,321,588,000 against \$4,994,501,000 last week, again reflecting rapidly decreasing business activity.

The Wisconsin State Socialist Party Convention

The Socialist Party of Wisconsin adopted a state platform, June 17, at the state convention, which reveals a completely reformist position. Since the Wisconsin delegation was the largest group supporting the "leftist" Declaration of Principles adopted at the recent national convention, and the state convention reaffirmed its delegation's support of the Declaration, the new platform shows exactly how the Wisconsin Socialists interpret the ambiguous centrist phrases of the Declaration.

The paragraph in the Platform on the ultimate aims of the Socialist Party differs not in the slightest from the well-worn "democratic socialism" of the Old Guard. "The Socialist Party proposes to abolish the profit system and establish in its place a real co-operative commonwealth, based upon service in kind instead of profit," etc. etc. The possibilities of war, fascism, or "collapse of capitalism," which the Declaration of Principles suggests as situations in which the Socialist Party would change its reformist tactics, are possibilities not even hinted at in the Wisconsin Platform.

Revolutionist and Reformist Positions
The ambiguous phrases in the Declaration, which might lead some people to think that the Socialist Party is breaking with the reformist doctrine of "growing into socialism" via bourgeois democracy, receive an unambiguous definition so far as the Wisconsin Socialists are concerned. The dividing line between the revolutionist and the reformist is in their differing conceptions of the nature of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The revolutionist declares that, after utilizing bourgeois democracy to its utmost, it is nevertheless no instrument for doing away with capitalism. This requires the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Among the ways we utilize bourgeois democracy is to fight for the immediate demands of the workers, a fight which not only wins provision for immediate needs of the workers, but, much more important, teaches them to fight, and builds their strength, thus bringing nearer the transition to this revolutionary position, the out-right reformist says that bourgeois

democracy is the instrument for the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Wisconsin Reformism
On this fundamental question, the Wisconsin Platform takes an unambiguously reformist position. Referring to the immediate demands to be sought for under capitalism, it says "There are many ways in which the lot of the worker and farmer can be made easier during the transition from capitalism to socialism." If anyone should still think that Wisconsin's vote for the Declaration of Principles means that Wisconsin has ceased to believe that the ballot box will usher in socialism, let him read the convention's resolution on the Progressive Party, which says: "Join the Socialist Party, vote the Socialist ticket, and sweep the forces of reaction into oblivion and substitute for them representatives of your own class."

The whole Platform reeks of narrow sectionalism, as if Wisconsin Socialists were out to build socialism in one state. Except for a phrase that the "Socialist Party of Wisconsin is proud to be part of the National Socialist Party", and verbal recognition of the fact that the problem is national—and not even verbal recognition of the fact that the problem is international—the Platform has no planks in it other than those dealing with Wisconsin. The chief planks reveal, just as clearly as the Platform's general principles, that the Socialists do not aim at building the power of the workingclass in preparation for revolutionary overthrow, but are primarily interested in reforming capitalism.

Planks of Platform
Thus the first three planks are: 1. A constitutional amendment to enable the state government to engage in any industry or business necessary to the welfare of the people." 2. State-owned electric power. 3. A state-owned bank.

In contrast to such reformist demands, a workingclass party genuinely interested in revolution would concentrate on two kinds of immediate issues: 1. Immediate demands, including especially unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the bosses—issues around which to build workers' struggles, from which would grow workers' organizations, and 2. Demands for democratic rights

of workers such as free speech, free press, free assembly, right to organize, picket, etc. These demands also are the bases or the organization of mass struggles to build workers' organizations.

The Wisconsin Platform contains no planks dealing with issues of democratic rights. Nor does it give a central place to the question of unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, but lumps unemployment insurance together with other issues in one vague formula which plays into the hands of every fake "program of social insurance". All it has to say is: "An extension of state insurance to include all the risks to which the worker and farmer is subjected."

In line with their usual opportunism, and despite strong protests from a large section of the delegates, the convention chose as the candidate for governor, George Nelson, a prominent farmer who had only left the La Follette Progressives after their convention a few weeks ago. Like any bourgeois party looking for sectional votes, the Wisconsin Socialists picked candidates to represent all sections of the state, and even boasted about this fatuous concession to sectional pride.

A Touch of Farce
A touch of real farce was supplied to the proceedings and the Platform by a remark from the floor by Max Raskin, Mayor Hoan's Milwaukee city attorney.

This amendment tacked on to the thoroughly reformist platform the following chosing paragraph:

"In the event the people of the State of Wisconsin by majority vote endorse this platform, and thereafter the vested interests by force refuse to yield to the mandate of the people, we pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to its accomplishment."

This, certainly, is a lovely bit of "revolutionary" bombast to finish off such an absurdly timid Platform.

The final bit of comedy was furnished by Andrew J. Biemiller, secretary of the convention and one of the leaders of the "Militants" at Detroit. Said Biemiller in his column in the Milwaukee Leader:

"Never has there been a more important and significant convention."

Never? Well, hardly ever.

—WISCONSIN S. P. MEMBER.

The Man on the Flying Trapeze

The Record of Bill Dunne

"He floats through the air—
"With the greatest of ease—
"That daring young man
"On the flying trapeze."
"His motions are graceful . . .
—A Current Ballad.

No man should be reproached for not being qualified in every domain, for no man can be. But a man who is thoroughly at home on a trapeze bar should not always venture into the field of politics, especially when workers are involved in an important struggle. We are far from saying that a trapeze bar has no place anywhere. It has and it ought to stay there. We do say, however, that a man may be skilled in swinging it yet he may not necessarily be a worth-while critic of trade union policy. Not always, at any rate. And William F. Dunne in the *Daily Worker* is a case in point.

When Dunne launched his blood-curling attack upon the Trotskyists and the Minneapolis teamsters' strike a couple of weeks ago in the *Daily Worker*, no reader but had to ask himself: "Who is the man that speaks with such furious majesty of conviction and authority? He must be a person not only entitled to such savage criticism, but capable of pursuing such a course in the trade unions and their struggles as would make it worth while for me to listen to his strictures, however fantastic they may seem to be at first blush." Those who knew the critic better, shook their heads pityingly. "Just another one of Dunne's sermons, into which he throws himself with all the greater abandon and violence the greater were the errors he made in the last one. But even worse than usual: he is trying to rehabilitate himself in Browder's eyes by degrading himself in the cheap struggle against 'Trotskyism'. Tomorrow he'll improve matters by another serial after having completely forgotten the preceding one."

Dunne's main attack is based upon the fact that the Minneapolis strike did not lead to an uprising, or at the very least the overthrow of Governor Olson of Minnesota. A very radical man, you will say. But he was not always so radical, not always. "It seems to me," he once wrote in a gentler frame of mind, "that there has been enough experimenting with ideal forms of unionism in the metal mining industry to satisfy the most astute seeker of new types of organization. The sum total of these efforts is the conditions I have described, the inevitable result of action based on the mistaken belief that a union of wage-workers can conduct itself in a revolutionary manner at all times, still retain job control and refrain from any com-

promise with the employers in the shape of agreements, etc. . . . A mass organization of the workers in the metal mining industry can be built only by systematic planning, the enlisting of the support of every section of the labor movement connected with the industry coupled with a widespread publicity campaign. It cannot be done by giving the mine workers the problem of the overthrow of the capitalist system to consider while attempting to organize them around their job interests. For the minority of the class-conscious workers this is all right but it has no effect whatsoever upon the great mass of the miners (who at present are interested only in some relief from the oppressive conditions under which they work) except to frighten them."

This was written either in the First or the Second Period, but certainly not in the Third, for it appeared in the *Labor Herald* of February 1924 (p. 15) where it can still be found as a reminder of what Stalinism can do with a once perfectly level-headed trade unionist. At that time Dunne had not yet entered his Serial Period. He merely wrote his articles regularly about those subjects, on which he had something to say. It was only later that he was gripped by the relentless spirit which apparently compelled him to write serials, ranging in length anywhere from six to twelve consecutive articles, increasingly adorned with erudite quotations from the third volume of "Das Kapital", on every conceivable question of the day. Bubbling over in quantity, his product thinned down in quality until the latter completely disappeared, leaving only shapeless mass.

With impetuosity as his distinguishing mark, he jumped in everywhere without bothering to reflect on his theme. Year by year the sad result became increasingly evident, until today his observations, and above all his criticisms in trade union policy, have reached the point where they aren't worth a pinch of snuff. A few examples lifted out of the bewildering multitude of his uncollected works will suffice to illustrate.

The Trotskyists, he it remembered again, were not Red enough for Dunne, but he was not always so particular. In 1925, a whole section of the British labor bureaucracy decided to buy itself off from a Leftward movement in the ranks of the trade unions by making a pilgrimage to Moscow and writing (or having written for them) a report which spoke favorably about the Soviets, however much they emphasized that it might be alright for backward Russians but it would be inconceivable for upright Britons. Just as impetuously as he boils over on to the Trotskyists today, so did Dunne bubble over unrestrainedly over Messrs. Purcell and Co. in 1925.

"Conservative, schooled in the loved intricacies of British democracy which keeps a king for the sake of contrast [?], nurtured in the belief that the world outside is full of howling savages, brought up to reverence the rigid moral code of non-conformism, it has yet remained for the British trade unionists to bring the Russian revolution 3,000 miles closer to the masses of organized workers of the Anglo-Saxon nations than has been done heretofore. . . . It (the report) is wonderful in its dignified British fashion, unburied, careful, restrained [unlike Dunne!], documented and beautifully dispassionate. It might be a report on housing conditions read before the local group of trade union secretaries at their monthly meeting. . . . They apparently thought there was no one but outright imperialists like Lord Curzon who would object to the candidate for governor, George Nelson, a prominent farmer who had only left the La Follette Progressives after their convention a few weeks ago. Like any bourgeois party looking for sectional votes, the Wisconsin Socialists picked candidates to represent all sections of the state, and even boasted about this fatuous concession to sectional pride."

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British Trade Union Congress to the A. F. of L. convention, mark the beginning of a new period in American labor history." (William F. Dunne, *The A. F. of L. and World Trade Union Unity, Workers Monthly*, December 1925, p. 65.)

The working class never noticed this "new period in American labor history", and if it did, it got over it right quickly. But not so Dunne. His faith in the revolutionary virtues of Purcell remained undiminished and undimmed for months to come. And such is the power of faith, that it blinded Dunne to the difference between victory and defeat, between loyalty to labor and treachery. For on the day when Purcell, Hicks, Citrine and their ilk stabbed the British general strike in the back, the *Daily Worker*, under Dunne's editorial direction, carried the following headlines: "BRITISH STRIKE FORCES GOVERNMENT RETREAT" and "GOVERNMENT CONCEDES MAJOR POINTS", and in his own front page editorial called "The British Government Backs Down", our trade union specialist wrote triumphantly:

"The British labor movement has won a partial victory. . . . Even the correspondents of the American capitalist press are forced to concede that the withdrawal of the lockout notices by the mine-owners, their agreement to continue the old wage scale and resume negotiations and the government's promise to continue the subsidy to the coal industry, all occurring before the general strike was called off, is a retreat for the Baldwin regime." (*Daily Worker*, May 13, 1926.)

No condemnation of Purcell for having called off the strike without overthrowing Baldwin. Purcell, you see, was not a Trotskyist in Minneapolis, but a defender of the Communist International, which made it impossible for Dunne to tell the difference between a partial victory and a betrayal. It is true he made up for it within twenty-four hours, but not without the aid of G. Zinoviev, whose Moscow speech denouncing the calling off of the strike as a betrayal, was cabled to New York to appear in the *Daily Worker* on May 14, and to produce one of the most awkward and embarrassing loop-the-loop flip-flops ever performed on the editorial trapeze. Praise for Purcell gave way to imprecations, for the line-type operator will set up for your paper anything you write, as demonstrated again by Dunne's Minneapolis articles. Only this time, instead of calling a betrayal a partial victory, as he did in 1926, he calls a partial victory a betrayal. We call heaven and earth to witness; here is an eminently qualified man!

We skip generously by the year 1926, during which Dunne proposed in the party's Political Bureau that no known Communist should speak during the Passaic textile strike lest it be compromised in Bill Green's eyes, and come to the early part of 1927, when by a brilliant tour de force, he jumped through a paper hoop and accomplished nothing less than a wide-open split in the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, something which no other artist had done for years before, nor since.

It was during the anti-Red heresy hunt of the A. F. of L. officialdom in the Left wing-controlled furriers' union of New York that Dunne performed his breath-taking feat of driving a wedge between William Green and Matthew Woll and proposing to the former to lead a crusade of righteousness against the latter with the support of all men honest and true. Dunne's efforts, it is true, went unappreciated, both by Green and the Communist party membership which took weeks to get over the convulsions of laughter which assailed it. The gem deserves to be dusted out of the archives, if only to see that when Dunne speaks on a trade union problem, it is in order to stop, listen—and laugh.

"We are of the opinion that the speeches of Green and Woll indicate a difference on policy. Green is not wholeheartedly in favor of the campaign and the way it is being conducted. In addition to this Woll is using the drive against the Left to carry favor with the capitalist elements in the Civic Federation and to appear as the most militant champion of 100 percent American trade unionism. Woll is carrying out the policy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Militia of Christ in the labor movement. He hopes to rally to his support a solid bloc of reaction that will put him in the position Green now holds."

"If Green were not a weakling and compromised by a number of shady associations he could easily rally every honest element in the labor movement to his support on a program of freedom for political expression and trade unionism free from religious and capitalist party control. Failing this, with the continual rise of energetic reaction in official circles, Green is doomed to defeat." (William F. Dunne, *Daily Worker*, March 24, 1927.)

Historic importance! We swallow breathlessly as he shoots to a new bar: "Just as the publication of the British Trade Union Report on Russia marked the sweep of the tremendous influence of the Russian revolution into the British labor movement, so did the visit of Purcell, as fraternal delegate from the

"At the Atlantic City convention there occurred an event of historic importance to the American working class."

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(Continued in next issue)

Hitler «Purges» Party in Reign of Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

gullible. So while the parties of Socialism failed ever more miserably as the decisive hour approached many who took the Nazi brand of Socialism serious rallied to its ranks. The task of capitalism proved an easy one.

With the Hitler hordes in power and the working class movement crushed the fascist revolution was completed. Still, it was not entirely completed. The middle class elements, deeply embedded in the Storm Troopers and in the Nazi party, had yet to be reckoned with—not in the fulfillment of their own aspirations of trust busting, dividing and parceling out of businesses and landed estates—but by dashing all of these hopes and aspirations.

Mussolini's Advice

It is reported that Mussolini said to Hitler on his recent visit to Venice: One makes the revolution with one set of men but rules with another. For Fascism this is true. It could not rule capitalist society through the medium of the middle class. It was only a tool utilized to perform the fascist "revolution" and more than that it was never intended to perform. It cannot lead, not even its own forces. It never led any movement in the modern era, but always swung as a pendulum between the two main class forces, and mostly to the support of capitalism. In this present situation in Germany it had to be disposed of and put in its place. For that the executioners are and the firing squad was used. Amongst those executed like Roehm, Ernst or Heines are, of course, not to be found the spokesmen of the middle class. They were merely the degenerate adventurers and conspirators who capitalized on the middle class discontent.

But the reported execution of Gregor Strasser is highly significant. Others like him will surely meet the same fate. He was the particular exponent of the "Socialism" of the Nazi program and on this point he came into conflict with Hitler several times. Incidentally it was out of his theoretical concepts that he could proclaim a perfect harmony with the national socialism of Stalin some years ago.

Capitalist Reaction Strengthened

This most recent bloody carnage of German Fascism begins to open up a new chapter in its history. At the present moment its main significance is contained in the strengthening of capitalist reaction. This is clear to revolutionary realists; but not at all to the Stalinist quacks who dispense their foolish predictions in the Daily Worker.

In the issue of June 23, it is predicted that new forms of the dictatorship in Germany are in preparation which will offer to the discontented sections of the middle class, "certain concessions to join in the fight against the danger of a mass revolutionary armed overthrow of capitalism." What is taking place is the exact opposite. Hitler does not need to fear that danger right now. With the help of his bestial hordes he wanted off that danger when, due to the disgraceful capitulation of the Stalinist party and the Social Democracy, he was able to demolish every section and every branch of the German labor and revolutionary movement, the workers' parties, the trade unions, their press, their offices and homes as well as auxiliary organizations. Now he is settling accounts, in behalf of capitalism, with the middle class.

Fascist Base Narrowed

But in this new chapter Hitler faces a new situation. The chimerical Socialism from the national socialist program will have completely disappeared. Hitler is accused now of moving rightward and it is true in the sense that the dictatorship will henceforth be based much more directly upon the specific forces of monopoly capitalism, upon its state bureaucracy, the police and the army, together with specially picked fascist troops, but without the support of the large middle class strata. The dictatorship will rest on a much more narrow basis than before. Large sections of the Storm Troopers will be disarmed and demobilized to return to the ranks of the desperate middle class or become proletarianized. The economic difficulties of the regime not only remain but become multiplied and intensified. The enormous abyss between it and the mass of the population, which is sinking deeper into poverty and degradation, will be further enlarged. It is certain that out of such a situation new struggles of the German working class against Fascism will develop. Out of such a situation develops also the possibilities for it to rally the middle class to its support as allies but that also can materialize only provided the proletariat constitutes a revolutionary party capable of assuming its leading historical role.

A Corroded Party

Germany is not yet on the threshold of the proletarian revolution. There is not yet at all a "mighty growing upsurge against the Fascist dictatorship" as the stupid Stalinist scribbles predict in the

Old Guard Routs Militants in S.P.

(Continued From Page 1)

door and decline the nomination, and the convention hall was filled with shouts of "Let Oneal speak", but Algernon Lee, Old Guard chairman, refused to give Oneal the floor until every possible available speaker had vented his bile on Thomas. It was a Roman holiday, and every labor faker, every racketeer and "labor" lawyer in the hall had his chance at Thomas, whose integrity and idealism, though hopeless as a substitute for revolutionary clarity, has been an embarrassment to some of the business dealings of the Old Guard.

The speeches of the section of the Old Guard who came out for Thomas were, if anything, more humiliating than the outright attacks. Julius Gerber said that "if there has been any sabotage in the party, it is done by Militants", and prefaced his support of Thomas with this insulting remark, "You make it mighty hard for me to do what I'm going to do, Comrade Thomas, after me sitting where I could watch your actions all afternoon." Gerber was referring to Thomas' jokes to his neighbors about the Old Guard machine which was Thomas' main outlet for his resentment against the pogrom.

Thomas Appeals to Hillquit

Though harassed and resentful, the Militant-Thomas faction showed themselves impotent to lead a fight against the Old Guard. After Solomon had voted against Thomas—which, with no other candidate running, could mean only unrelenting repudiation of Thomas—Thomas said it would be a "pleasure to work again with my friend Charles Solomon." By way of showing that he was not capitulating, Thomas declared: "I will fight against the things that Hillquit, Debs and Meyer London fought against"—taking the notorious Hillquit and the reformist London as his models!

In an article in *The World Tomorrow* of June 28, Thomas denied that by "workers democracy" he meant "another way of saying the dictatorship of the proletariat", and deplored the "bitter controversy over a few sentences of a Declaration." In the convention he reiterated still further. When a substitute Declaration was introduced, mainly written by James Oneal, Thomas said he would be willing to make some concessions in line with the emasculated version.

Militants Evade Issue

The Militants were equally impotent. When Solomon read from their pre-convention program their statement that "workers democracy" meant "dictatorship of the proletariat" and challenged them to say whether this was really what they meant, or did they mean by it any other of the varying interpretations of the phrase, not one of the Militant speakers would give an answer. The Militants talked of the need for "revolutionary socialism," the need for a "new spirit," but none defended principles as principles. Typical of the level on which the Militants fought was Haim Kan-jorovich's argument, against those who said the Declaration would drive the party underground. Kan-jorovich's answer was that the St. Louis Resolution of 1917 was "equally revolutionary and it did not drive the party underground."

No Principled Struggle

At no point did the Militants stand and fight. They could boo Panken's vile slanders, Waldman's chauvinism, Gerber's charges of sabotage—but it was beyond them to get up on their feet and fight a principled struggle on the issues. Chairman Algernon Lee's plainly unconstitutional ruling that the Detroit Declaration was not binding until after the referendum, and the similar intent of the resolution passed by the Old Guard, were passed by without a struggle. With no sense of how craven was his proposal, Jack Altman offered to move Solomon's candidacy to be unanimous, if Solomon promised to abide by the referendum on the Declaration. Solomon answered by saying that if he were defeated on the referendum he would continue to fight against its principles—and no Militant rose to call him to account. When, just before the adjournment of the convention, the State platform came on the order of business, the crafty Old Guard, on the plea that there was no time, moved to adopt it as read and refer it to the State Executive for editorial correction, some Militants did ask for the floor. Were they, at last, going to make a stand, expose some of the worst phases of reformism, and perhaps try to educate a few of the followers of the Old Guard? Panken waved his hand graciously at them, and told them to "write out your suggestions and send them to the committee for consideration." Whereupon the Militants subsided.

Outside the convention hall they were loud enough in their complaints—which was characteristic enough. Outside, too, Thomas provided another example of his hopeless lack of clarity: They spent all their time in there on a national question (the Declaration) and then had no time for the State platform, which was the real business before us.

No Will to Fight

That the Militants so belied their

Silk Workers Vote Down Expulsions

(continued from page 1)

ing a committee to investigate his status, went unheeded. The rest were given a hearing. There were thirty-eight accusers—among them Henry Berman. But all these accusers were present at the trial in the person of Eli (38 in 1) Keller. Each "criminal" was given 15 minutes to clear himself of the charges which summed up to the following "crimes": 1) being members of the United Silk Workers Club (and not of Eli's "Progressive" Club); 2) being active in clearing the union's name and preventing the Stalinists from making capital of stupid and vicious policies; 3) receiving support of the workers during membership and shop-chairman's meetings. The Club, according to Keller, is a dual or secessionist organization—Why? Because it is a social and educational club which aims among other things to work for the organization of all silk workers into a single industrial union under the banner of the A.F. S.W.

The activity of the union members in the Albert case was, according to Keller, under the direct supervision of the Stalinists and in the interests of the National. Why? Because the National once had its headquarters at the same address as the Club; and because Mustelics and Trotskyites were notoriously involved in the activities of the Club. And what is more notorious than the fact that they work hand in hand with the Stalinists, particularly in trade union policies? Keller's third charge really came down to the fact that he and his clique have had to resort to high-handed tactics in breaking up meetings precisely because they were unable to control them. Keller, therefore, decided in desperation to railroad his opponents out of the union before the membership voted them into the Executive Board.

Takes Worker from Job

He did not stop at the red-baiting tactics, but actually resorted to the most vicious method of all. He got Eddie Swayfuit fired from his job. The workers on the night shift elected Swayfuit shop-chairman, and Keller immediately "saw about it" as he told Swayfuit he would. The reaction of the rank and file of the union is precisely what would be expected. The men are solidly behind the militants. No doubt Keller will try as his last desperate trick—to call a General Membership Meeting on short notice and pack it with his henchmen. But he will not catch the union members unprepared. The Broad Silk Department has already gone on record. This department embraces more than two thirds of all the workers in the Associated. Without the slightest doubt the sentiment is overwhelmingly behind the militants whom Keller was taking for a ride.

The action of the Broad Silk membership is all the more significant because of the background against which Keller found it proper to inaugurate his high-handed Rule or Ruin campaign. The bosses have scrapped the Arbitration Board, and with it the contract, and, as they also hope, the Union. The bosses are driving for a wage-cut of at least eight per cent. In the meantime, Keller and his cohorts can only break up a meeting which, they ostensibly called to discuss the acute problems facing the Union, because they were unable to railroad through the expulsion of those militants who stood shoulder to shoulder with their fellows in the last struggle, and who will be found in the thick of the fight in the coming struggles.

The unmistakable indication that a genuine left wing is crystallizing inside the Associated is a signal of ill-omen to the bosses and to the reactionaries inside the Union.

—SILK WORKER.

name is particularly inexcusable since they have ceased to pretend that they do not understand the ultimate implications of the tactics of the Old Guard. Tardily enough they brought to the convention leaflets describing the Old Guard's policy: to bludgeon the majority into submission, or to split the party. Why did they not bring the damning facts on the floor? If they did nothing else, why did they not confront State Chairman Waldman with his statement to the *New York Times* in which he explicitly stated that the "Socialist Party of the State of New York" would resist the "attempt" of the national organization to commit it to the decision of a national convention? The Militants did not, because they have no will to fight, because they are afraid the Old Guard will split and take along the sources and property from which the party derives its funds.

Just as clearly as the Militants' horse trading for votes, their compromises on principles, their failure to struggle on crucial questions at the Detroit convention, the *New York* convention revealed that the Militants cannot serve as a rallying center for a fight against the Old Guard.

Drivers Union Prepares Strike

continued from page 1

"We have been trying ever since May 31, when the regional labor board issued its order based on the terms of the signed peace agreement ending the strike, to negotiate with the employers the matters that the peace agreement left to negotiation, but have not been able to get anywhere because the employers refuse to recognize us as representatives of the employees and have just been giving us the run-around," William Brown, president of the union said in the statement which had the assent of other union leaders, Miles, Grant and Ray Dunne, Farrel Dobbs and Carl Skoglund.

"Our position, which we understand is in accord with the terms of the peace agreement is this," Brown said in his statement:

"The union represents the men. That was the understanding of the peace agreement, because the employers signed the peace agreement with us.

"We have the right to take into the union whatever employees in trucking plants who want to join. This, of course, includes workers as well as drivers and helpers.

"We desire to negotiate in regards to wages and working conditions in every plant where our members ask such negotiations.

"This is our position," said Brown, "and it is what we are going to insist upon."

Preparing to Strike

In that splendid method of organization which in the first strike proved worthy of being a model to be followed by workers everywhere, Local 574 is now proceeding just as efficiently to another strike to insure and extend the victories already obtained, "to insist upon our position," as President Brown so laconically puts it.

Towards this end, realizing that the battle will be so much fiercer and more intense than the first one, Local 574 has secured the support of all the organized labor movement in Minneapolis. The Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council, the Street Railway Workers, the Printing Trades Workers, the Railroad Workers and every other organized trade in Minneapolis has given its endorsement to the battle of the truck drivers.

Mass Parade

The first step in the campaign that will once again bring the bosses to their knees is the mass demonstration to be held today. The demonstration will proceed from Bridge Square to the Auditorium. All of Nicollet Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares of Minneapolis, is to be cleared and roped off. The workers will march in parade from the assembling point to the Auditorium where the mass meeting will be held. The parade is to be held directly after working hours and the leaflet announcing the mass meeting advises the workers to come "direct from the job if necessary. A dinner pail is a badge of honor." The mass meeting is to decide on "decisive action."

All of the Minneapolis working class is aroused. The unemployed organization, the M.C.C.W., and the farmers in the Farmers' Holiday Association have pledged their backing. The coming strike will be a concerted drive to deal a smashing blow to the labor-hating bosses, to make Minneapolis a union town.

Throughout the city, the laundry drivers, the dental mechanics, the retail clerks, the street railway workers have long-standing grievances against the employers with regard to wage scales, working conditions, union recognition. These grievances are coming to a head. The Minneapolis press is full of stories about the possibility of a general strike in sympathy with the truck drivers. Even as we write the mass meeting at the Minneapolis auditorium may have decided upon this action.

The second strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers which will very likely pass over into a general strike will doubtless leave the first one in the shade for militancy and determination of organized labor to defeat the heinous plans of the employers and to really get a new deal through the might of their organized power.

All eyes on Minneapolis!

A LETTER FROM A COMRADE

Dear Comrades: I have waited for one long month for Bill Dunne's article which was promised for June 6th (see D. W. June 5) on the role of the party in the Minneapolis strike. Alas, nothing has appeared to date. Having read of the "treacherous" role of the "Trotskyites," I was more than anxious to see just what the "vanguard of the vanguard" did during those hectic days.

Then again, the Minneapolis strike has given a tremendous impetus to articles about the "Trotskyites" on other questions and in other fields. They never however mention the Militant by name, but always refer to the "Trotskyite sheet". Are they perhaps fearful lest some wayward comrade be tempted to spend two cents for a copy and see through their miserable lies and distortions? —L.G.

To the Saar Workers An Appeal by the I.S.

The date of the referendum is set. Everyone is now inexorably faced with the question of the decision. Only a few more months separate you from the fateful hour in which will be decided for some time to come whether you are to have at least a meager possibility of struggling against exploitation and oppression or whether you are to be completely subjected to the bloody yoke of German fascism.

For the Status Quo!

When we, as Communists, call upon you today to vote for the status quo; when we call upon you today to come out fearlessly and unhesitatingly for this slogan, it is not because we regard the present situation in the Saar as ideal and final, but because we do not equivocate because we answer the question as it is posed in actuality and because it seems to us beyond any doubt that this referendum contains to some degree the possibility of protecting yourself against fascism, the worst scourge for all toilers and oppressed.

We are for the status quo; although we are far from considering your present masters, the League of Nations, as an instrument of peace but regard it as a tool of imperialist foreign policy. We are for the status quo purely for reasons of expediency because we consider it our duty to spare the people of the Saar all that they have seen for the last year on the other side of the border: unbridled terror, mass corruption, programs against Jews, military drill, spiritual devastation, racial insanity, forced labor, ever increasing starvation and need, and danger of inflation.

The workers refuse with thanks the freedom which the lackeys of Thyssen and Roehrling will give them.

Since the revolutionary possibilities have been lost for a long time through the utter failure of the social democratic party and the Communist party of Germany, it is absurd to advocate return to the Reich. We scorn the attitude of those cowards who join the "German front" through fear, that is, those who give themselves up to Hitler voluntarily and thus commit suicide because of fear of death.

The decision will not be reached on the day of the referendum! We warn you beforehand of the following grave illusion. The decision will not be reached by the vote on the day of the referendum. The result of the referendum is entirely dependent upon how successful you will be beforehand in freeing your countrymen from the spiritual and physical pressure which they experience at the hands of the Nazis.

Extra-Parliamentary Struggle for the Improvement of Living Conditions and Democratic Rights!

Only if the population of the Saar sees that the working class is ready and capable of breaking the Nazi terror in extra-parliamentary action, only if the proletariat of the Saar see that the fighters for the status quo are at the same time fighters for the improvement of the living conditions of the toiling masses who are ruthlessly exploited by the present regime; only if you succeed in retaining, during extra-parliamentary actions in time of preparation, freedom of association, assembly, and press,—only then will it be possible to secure a favorable outcome in the referendum.

No Effective Struggle Without a United Front!

The prerequisite for carrying out all these actions with sufficient force is that all organizations which are for the maintenance of the status quo, for the defense against the Hitler terror, enter into a solid fighting front on the basis of a concrete program. Through the stupidity and the intrigues of the various bureaucracies an enormous amount of precious time has been lost. But the fighting alliance must finally come into existence under penalty of defeat. Do not tolerate for one minute longer the sabotage of the United Front! This sabotage is a direct service to Hitler!

Organize a Militia Against the Nazi Terror!

You must not content yourself with joint meetings, demonstrations and even strikes but must organize a militia which will take over the defense against the terroristic acts of the Nazis. No one will help you if you do not help yourself. The "impartiality" of the police is already assured. The League of Nations will not help you if you do not help yourself.

S.P.G. and the C.P.G. Have Failed!

In complete consonance with its whole past the social democracy has been consoling you with the League of Nations while it has at the same time sabotaged the united front. The League of Nations plays the same role in dampening the fighting spirit of the masses in the Saar that Hindenburg played in Germany. Place no trust in these illusions! Close ranks! Act on your own initiative! The C.P.G., under the influence of the laudatory speeches of Roehrling, sowed the greatest confusion. At first they stood unconditionally for return to Germany, then they spouted hollow phrases about a So-

viet Germany, and finally, in the last hour, came out for the status quo. The C.P.G. had also completely sabotaged the establishment of a united front and thereby prepared for a defeat as in Germany. You are, therefore, faced with the task not only of building a united front but of creating a new revolutionary party under the banner of the Fourth International for the struggle against fascism.

United Front of All Anti-Fascists!

Both old parties have now finally taken the position of the status quo. There is not another minute to be lost. No excuses will avail now. Irrespective of how fundamentally irreconcilable reformism and communism are, they must immediately make an alliance for the status quo. Only thus can the hesitant ones outside the ranks of the working class be attracted to it. When they see that even the workers cannot establish a fighting united front, how can they decide to join the struggle for defense?

Hitler Can and Must Be Defeated!

In the coming months the eyes of all Europe will be riveted on the Saar region. Hitler can and must be defeated! Provided that the working class rallies to the struggle in the last hour and pursues correct tactics. No state, no treasury, only the workers can save the Saar!

For the first time in the Saar region—since national socialism has shown itself, no longer in theory and in criticism, but as an instrument of hunger and war preparations (of a war that is bound to hit the Saar territory especially hard), of murder and corruption. National socialism is put to a referendum which offers at least a trace of freedom. How great this freedom will be depends on the militancy the workers display before the referendum. This means:

Hitler must and can be defeated! His defeat would be a triumph and a signal for anti-fascists of all countries! His victory would be a success for fascism in the whole world! A great task is entrusted to you, toilers of the Saar! Your efforts and your sacrifices will help not only yourself but millions of others!

We, therefore, call not only on all our sections but on the workers of all countries to follow the events in the Saar with the greatest attention and with the utmost solidarity and to support the Saar at the opportune moment by actions against Hitler fascism.

The task of defeating Hitler must be solved, it can be solved and it will be solved!

Hitler must and can be defeated! Do not be frightened by the terrific array of influence, corruption lies, threats, flattery of the brown bloodhounds. For them too it is a question of prestige. Do not let yourself be lulled to sleep by their monstrous lies and provocations!

Do not let yourself be duped by forests of swastika banners. Many of those who live under the present regime will vote for the status quo—only under one condition: that you stand together, that you fight, that you, too, put into motion the power which you command! After the defeat no crawling will help against the bloody fate! It is better to perish in struggle than to be slaughtered without struggle. Vienna is better than Oranienburg! But you do not have to perish. You still have enough time to fight.

Do not forget: Hitler must and will be defeated!

When you have beaten Hitler you can set before yourself other tasks of the class struggle!

For the maintenance of the status quo!

For the democratic rights of the working class!

For higher wages and better living conditions!

For the United Fighting Front of all labor organizations!

For the building of workers' militia against fascist terror!

For socialism and the final victory of the proletariat!

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

of the League of Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik-Leninists) Geneva, June 6, 1934

OUR INTERNATIONAL PRESS

What is happening in Germany? You who read German can keep in close touch by reading *Unser Wort*.

Send all inquiries to Sara Weber, c/o The Militant.

Our friends and sympathizers, our readers of the Russian Opposition Bulletin, know that Comrade Trotsky is its regular contributor and editor. The French police want to stifle the voice of Leon Trotsky—they will not succeed. Despite police persecution, despite the fact that the editorial office is forced to move again, despite tremendous financial difficulties and delays, the *Russian Opposition Bulletin* will appear. The next issue is speed up its appearance by a contribution, you can help by getting readers and subscribers to the *Russian Bulletin*.

Send all inquiries and contributions to Sara Weber, c/o The Militant.

CHICAGO MASS MEETING

"Should the Soviet Union Enter the League of Nations?"

Speaker

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Friday, July 13th, 8 P.M.

at

International Labor Center

2557 W. North Ave.

Admission 10c

If the number on your wrapper is

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

No Will to Fight

That the Militants so belied their



MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES MONDAY

Teamsters Join Dock Workers in Frisco Strike

BULLETIN
As we go to press, there comes the news that the teamsters of San Francisco and Oakland, revolting against exploitation on their own jobs as well as against the boss terror used on the striking waterfront workers, have gone out on strike, 3,500 strong. With trucking strikes looming in Duluth and St. Paul, as well as Minneapolis, it begins to look as though the crowd in control of the International Union may have their hands full.

San Francisco, July 11.—Terrific pressure for, and terrific pressure against, a general strike—this is the meaning of events here, since last Thursday's murderous attack on the strikers by the police, killing two strikers and wounding scores of others. With the bringing in of the National Guard immediately after the police attack, the issue was clearly drawn: Either a general strike to back up the waterfront strike, or complete defeat for the strikers.

Only a general strike can save the waterfront strike, because the State of California itself is the chief strike-breaker. The so-called "opening of the port" by the bosses' Industrial Association was a fraud. All they did was get five trucks to be loaded and travel up and back from the pier to a nearby warehouse. This didn't make a dent in the mountain-high load of goods piled on the docks. But the State-owned Belt Line Railway, which connects the piers to the railroads is endangering the strike. Its freight cars are loaded up on the docks, then shunted on to the railroad tracks, and there they are unloaded and the goods delivered in the city by truck.

Casey Affords the Pretext
The Teamsters Union could stop this, but the veteran reactionary teamster chief, Michael Casey, has limited truck drivers' cooperation with the strike to refuse to deliver goods to and from the piers. Even this he did on the basis that the teamsters were "endangered" by the strikers' struggle against scabs. This provided the excuse for the Industrial Association, which initiated the bloody Thursday fight on the pretext that they had sufficient longshoremen to work, but that goods could not be taken away from the piers because the teamsters were afraid of the strikers.

On Sunday the teamsters voted overwhelmingly to go out on strike in sympathy with the marine workers. This is the most important single step in moving to aid the waterfront fight. But Casey is still on the job. He got the teamsters to postpone going out until Thursday, and then got them to agree to another strike vote Wednesday (tonight).

The worst danger to the strike is the so-called "Strategy Committee" set up Friday night by the San Francisco Labor Council. This had a double purpose. First, it was a substitute for the General Strike Committee proposal, which was supported by many of the unions. The substitute merely provides a committee to advise the striking unions. Second, it was a maneuver to put the "Strategy Committee" at the head of the waterfront strike, so that its seven members—whom

(Continued from Page 1)

Comrade Thor Dead

San Francisco.—The proletariat of America lost one of its staunchest and most courageous fighters with the passing of Comrade Andy Thor. The strain of long weeks directing the picket lines of the waterfront strike told at last on a heart whose every beat was for the working class. Comrade Andy, still at his post of duty, was found dead at the wheel of his car.

Fearing foul play, for comrade Andy is not the only striker who has been found dead at his post of duty, his comrades instituted an autopsy independent of the original police verdict but it was comrade Andy's heart swollen from the terrific strain of leading cargoes that had faltered.

His brave wife, his two beautiful children and his comrades mourn the passing of this lovable and courageous worker.

Mass Meeting of Local 574 Unanimously Accepts Call for Walkout; Repudiates Tobin-Bosses Red Scare

PRESIDENT BROWN TEACHES TOBIN LESSON IN UNIONISM

"The cry of Communism raised by those who have contributed nothing to the organization of our Union or to the conduct of the recent strike is in itself a condemnation of those who helped raise the cry. We organized drivers, helpers, petroleum workers, and inside workers for the specific purpose of securing for them shorter hours and higher wages. To do this we use the structure provided by the American Federation of Labor. We have confined our efforts to trade union activities. The union is conducted as a democratic, economic instrument to achieve the ends set forth above. The political affiliations of our membership is not the concern of the leadership or of the rank and file. Every worker has complete freedom in this respect. This is one of the fundamental principles of organized labor."

Quoted from the *Organizer*, Vol. I, No. 3.

10,000 March in Big Labor Parade

Minneapolis.—On Friday night, July 6, workers of the Twin Cities massed solidly in the greatest demonstration of militant labor solidarity Minneapolis has ever seen to show their unanimous support of the fight being put up by the General Drivers, Helpers, Petroleum Workers and Inside Workers Union No. 574, against the lying and murderous onslaught of the Citizens' Alliance—an attack directed not only at the lives and living standards of the Drivers, but an attack upon the entire organized labor movement in Minneapolis. The great parade, culminating in an overflow mass meeting at the Municipal auditorium, recorded the enthusiastic sentiment of the Twin City working class for militant action in support of "Local 574," the pride of the labor movement here.

Beginning at six o'clock, laboring men and women filed into the Block 20 district. For over an hour steady streams of workers continued to pour into the workers' section of Minneapolis—teamsters, street car employees, building tradesmen, brewery workers, railroad workers, the organized unemployed, whole truckloads of delegates from the progressive Farmer's Holiday Association, scores of

(Continued from Page 1)

Daniel Tobin Goes to Bat For the Bosses

Joining his voice to that of the bosses in raising the Red Scare against the militant leaders of Local 574 has been the contribution of Daniel J. Tobin, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, on the eve of the second strike.

This reactionary scab, who sits in a swivel chair the year round collecting the fat salary of \$10,000 per annum and expenses, who gave no cooperation to the workers in their first strike in Minneapolis, now comes to the fore—at the most crucial moment—showing his "solidarity" with the drivers by denouncing their sterling leadership as "radicals and Communists."

Solidarity it is. Solidarity with the bosses.

Tobin has already received the answer for his perfidious strike-breaking move.

From the bosses, praises and panegyric—big scarehead streamers in the Minneapolis capitalist rags.

A Smashing Repudiation

From the workers, a smashing repudiation. At the union meeting of July 9th of Local 574 full confidence in the leadership was manifested. And on the same night a conference of business agents in the Building Trades Unions met and voted to condemn Tobin's red scare and to reaffirm their full support of Local 574.

Of the leadership that led the whirlwind strike of ten days in May that brought victory into the lap of men who had never seen the inside of a union before, the employers' pal, Tobin says that "language describing, or capable of describing this class of serpent, in the shape of a working man would not be put into print. All we can say to our people is to beware of these wolves in sheep's clothing."

If Tobin believes, that by this treachery, for which the bosses undoubtedly show their gratitude, he can split the serrated ranks of 574 and set the workers against each other on an issue that will cripple their ranks and bring victory to the Citizens' Alliance then let him read the statement of William Brown, president of 574 and he will know that the Minneapolis drivers are ready to speak to him in one language.

(Continued on Page 4)

BOSSSES WENT WILD WHEN THEY READ THIS SQUIB

The bosses quote this comment from the *Organizer* (Vol. I, No. 1), official organ of Local 574 and rave incoherently about respect for dead men.

"The Low and Odor" League

"We just found out that this fellow John Dillinger is a 'Piker.' The Government is offering only \$10,000 Bucks for his capture.—Small town stuff—Why?; he only killed fifteen or twenty people. Right here in our home town the 'low and odor' League is offering \$20,000 for any information leading to the apprehension of the exterminator of a couple of rats."

"Notes from our Wild Animal Department:

"There will be less rats in the Central Market this summer. What Ho! Grand Jury!"

Red Herring Cover For Real Issues

Despairing of swindling the Minneapolis workers out of their strike-won wage increases by a broad campaign of public intimidation which reeks with insinuation and calumny, the Citizens Alliance has resorted to the time worn method when all others fail—the Red Scare. In dragging the red herring across the front page of the prostitute capitalist press the Minneapolis bosses are trying to divert attention from the outstanding issue before the Minneapolis working class.

The Real Issue

That issue, recognized by every working man in the Twin Cities, is the stubborn refusal of the employers to increase the wretched wages of the drivers and to deal with the inside men as represented by 574.

They charge the union leadership with being Communists. By that they hope to estrange the sympathy of the Minneapolis toilers and to split the solid phalanx of the Drivers Union.

Reports in another column of the *Militant* show what a complete dud their red scare turned out to be.

In this campaign to terrorize public opinion the Minneapolis bosses have found themselves in hearty agreement with Dan Tobin, International Teamsters President. The Minneapolis *Daily Star* features the revolting attack on the local leadership under a big scare head, "COMMUNISTIC, RADICAL INFLUENCE IN LOCAL DRIVERS' UNION SCORED."

The leadership of the local union is branded as red because their direction was so effective. It is branded as Communist because it brought the bosses to their knees before they had time to consider a plan of battle. It is stigmatized as "radical" because the bosses feel themselves powerless against its unconquerable militancy.

A "Startling" Discovery

A "startling" discovery is made by the "Employers' Advisory Committee, representing 168 Employers" in one of their half-page ads which costs them \$431.30 for one issue. With mock indignation they howl: "Further evidence of the type of men who are attempting to arouse honest workingmen to vote a general strike is furnished in a handbill recently distributed in the streets of Minneapolis. This handbill issues a call for a mass meeting at which speakers (which the handbill identifies as 'outstanding strike leaders') will speak on the Minneapolis

(Continued on Page 4)

Housewarming

A housewarming party at the new headquarters of the New York Local of the Communist League of America will take place Saturday, July 14th at 8 P.M. The new headquarters are located at 144 Second Ave., corner 9th Street. A program of entertainment has been arranged for this occasion, food and refreshments will be served. All friends and sympathizers are invited.

Strike Call of Local 574 Central Labor Union Backs Drivers' Local

(By Airmail to the Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 11.—Since the settlement of the strike on May 25th, Local 574, through its duly authorized representatives, has been attempting to negotiate wage scales with the employers in accordance with the agreement which brought about the ending of the strike. We have attempted to settle with the employers all other matters left for negotiation. All these attempts to settle the dispute by negotiation, conducted with the greatest patience and persistence, have met with failure. The employers, egged on by the Union-hating Citizens' Alliance, behind which stand the banks and the sinister financial interests of Wall Street, have violated the agreement. They have set out to break our union and rob us of the fruits of our victory.

All the efforts of our Union, over a period of six weeks since the ending of the strike, to establish living wages and hours have been frustrated by the arrogant attitude of the employers. The Regional Labor Board by its action, or rather, by its failure to act, has aided in every case in upholding the hand of the employers. Every attempt of the Union to negotiate and secure satisfaction for the just demands of its members has been met with evasions, tricks and subterfuges. Every approach for practical discussions of our grievances has been answered by columns of paid newspaper advertisements filled with misrepresentations, lies and slanders against the union and its leadership.

THE AGREEMENT VIOLATED BY THE BOSSSES

The vital questions of wages and hours, which are of life and death concern to our members and their families, have been callously ignored. The right of the Union to represent all its members—which was explicitly agreed to in the strike settlement, has been denied. Seniority rights provided for in the agreement have been violated by the majority of the firms.

In this unscrupulous course, the Citizens' Alliance and the employers are seeking to shift the issue. They cloak their campaign to wreck the Trade Union movement and deprive the workers of decent human lives behind personal attacks on the leaders of the Union. The bosses want to dictate to the Union what leaders it should have. We reject this dictation. We have the right to be represented by leaders of our own choosing and we intend to assert this right. We reject the insolent demand of the Citizens' Alliance and the bosses to choose our leaders for us. Local 574 is a democratic trade union organization. Its membership is fully capable of deciding this question for itself without any advice from the exploiters of labor.

The general membership meeting declares that the leaders of our Union have faithfully served the interests of the membership. They have conducted themselves as responsible trade union officials and have not imposed on the Union any issues, political or otherwise, contrary to the interests of the Union and its members. They have shown their efficiency as organizers in the building of our Union. They have demonstrated their loyalty and courage under fire.

THE "RED SCARE" MANEUVER

The "Red Scare" of the Citizens' Alliance is nothing but a fraudulent maneuver to distract our attention from the struggle for decent living conditions and demoralize our ranks. They will not succeed. The conditions of our lives are too bitter. Nobody can divert us from the fight to better them.

We note with the greatest indignation that D. J. Tobin, President of our International organization, has associated himself with this diabolical game of the bosses by publishing a slanderous attack on our leadership in the official magazine. The fact that this attack has become part of the "ammunition" of the bosses in their campaign to wreck our union, is enough for any intelligent worker to estimate it for what it really is. We say plainly to D. J. Tobin: If you can't act like a Union man, and help us, instead of helping the bosses, then at least have the decency to stand aside and let us fight our battle alone. We did it in the organization campaign and in the previous strike and we can do it again. We received absolutely no help of any kind from you. Our leadership and guidance has come from our own local leaders, and from them alone. We put our confidence in them and will not support any attack on them under any circumstance.

We are fighting for more wages, for better hours and working conditions and for the right of Union organization. The conditions under which we work are intolerable for men who want to live as human beings and who aspire to provide a decent existence and a future for their families in this, the richest country in the world. That is our right. We have worked for it, and we intend to fight for it to the bitter end.

AN APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY

In doing so we feel deeply convinced that we are fighters for the preservation of the Trade Union movement and for the rights and interests of all workers. Our strength and confidence is multiplied by the conviction that our fellow workers and brother unionists in other trades, who helped us so nobly before, will rally to our aid again. We rely on the sympathy and solidarity of the other unions and workers organizations who endorsed our demands by their presence in the great labor demonstration Friday, July 6th. We appeal for the support also of the organizations of farmers and gardeners, of the unemployed workers, of the rank and file of small business and professional people—of all who are cheated and oppressed by the financial tyrants who turned our great rich country into a land of privation and misery for the masses.

We are confident that our appeal will not be in vain. Therefore, convinced of the justice of our cause, relying on our own strength and the sympathetic aid of the great majority of the population, the general membership meeting solemnly declares:

1. All members of Local No. 574 will go on strike for the enforcement of the Union demands on Monday, July 16th, at 12 o'clock midnight.
2. We call upon our sister Local No. 120 in St. Paul to take similar action at its general membership meeting Thursday night, and we pledge to Local 120 our solidarity and co-operation in a joint struggle to a successful conclusion.
3. We call upon all other trade unions in the Twin Cities to rally to our support with moral and financial aid and to hold themselves in readiness to take sympathetic strike action if such becomes necessary to secure our victory and smash the union-wrecking campaign of the Citizens' Alliance.

By JAMES P. CANNON

Minneapolis, July 11 (By Wire).—Spirit ran high among all sections of the Minneapolis working class tonight, as thousands of workers in a mass meeting of General Drivers Union 574 cast a unanimous vote to strike the transportation industry for the second time in less than sixty days. As a result of tonight's decision, Minneapolis will be tied up tight as a drum from Monday night until the bosses grant the union's demands.

It was announced at the meeting that a strike vote would be taken by the Duluth local.

The mass meeting boiled over with enthusiasm when the members of 574 were asked to adopt a vote of confidence in their local union leaders. Unanimously they repudiated the vicious attacks made on Wm. S. Brown, the Dunnes, Carl Skoglund and the other local leaders by the bosses and Dan J. Tobin, International President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters. Pointing out that the International has done nothing to help organize the Minneapolis truckers, they refused to be stampeded by the Red Scare and reendorsed the leaders who built 574 and led it to victory in the spring.

While the members of 574 were taking these decisive steps, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union also held an important session. The resolution adopted by 574 was laid before this body, the controlling organ of the A. F. of L. in Minneapolis. Here, too, the response was unanimous. The resolution was adopted and the C.L.U. pledged full support to the coming strike. Thus Minneapolis labor gave an authentic class answer to the bosses and all their agents.

St. Paul to Vote on Strike

President Fleming of the St. Paul truckers, addressing the mass meeting, announced that on Thursday his organization, Local 120, will also take a strike vote. "We have the same grievances as you have," Fleming stated, "and we are for common action." Fleming also repudiated Tobin's attacks on the leaders of 574 which have been published as paid advertising of the Employers' Advisory Committee, leader of the strike-breaking crowd.

Among the speakers at the mass meeting were President Brown of Local 574, the three Dunne brothers—Vincent, Grant and Miles—and representatives of the Ladies' Auxiliary of Local 574. One speaker declared on behalf of the latter, that "we will fight side by side with the men to the finish." Wild applause greeted her statement.

The militant spirit of the meeting quickly conveyed itself beyond the confines of the hall. Ever since the mass demonstration of last Friday the solidarity sentiment of Minneapolis workers has been moving to new heights. Tonight workers of many industries waited outside the truckers' meeting to get the decision.

In addition to this spirit of solidarity, there is a spirit of firm determination afoot. The last truckers' strike was a tough fight, but everyone is ready to face even tougher resistance.

Strike talk is spreading to other industries. Barbers, auto mechanics, laundry and dry cleaning workers, street wagon drivers, retail clerks, street railway workers, dental mechanics, upholsterers and building trades workers all have long-standing grievances. The notion of a united struggle for decent conditions is rapidly gaining ground. The laundry and dry cleaning drivers have affiliated with Local 574, the third formerly independent group to take such action since the last strike victory.

Last minute frantic efforts of the bosses to head off the strike are now to be expected. They no doubt will intensify their slander campaign against the union leadership. Tonight's vote, however, makes one thing clear: the workers know their interests and are not to be drawn off by any red herrings.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

That Omnipresent "Zack Tendency"

"Under the leadership of the Communist International with the best disciple, Stalin at the head" the Communists of the entire capitalist world were withdrawn from the regular trade union movement and set the task of building revolutionary unions. In the United States in 1930 the A. F. of L. was said to be openly Fascist and the Party in resolutions, articles and speeches stated, "The most fundamental task in mass work is the building of revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L." In England the new line of Stalinism was so well carried out that good rank-and-file members of the trade unions considered the Party to be anti-trade unionist. (Harry Pollitt admitted this in the English Daily Worker.)

The result of this policy was everywhere the same, isolation and defeat. This has finally become evident to Browder himself in America and so we have resolutions, open-letters and plenums, all taking up the situation. Not for the purpose of finding where the fault was and laying the blame. No, not at all. Every child knows that the C. I. with Stalin at the head is responsible.

But who in the Party dares to say that. So the search is on for a scape-goat and apparently in America "Zack" is "it." Browder, solemn as an owl, announces, "The Zack tendency to underestimate and hamper work in the A. F. of L. unions is being slowly overcome." In all other countries other Zacks who were dumb enough to actually believe in the correctness of the C. I. line are now being made the goats for six years of Stalinist trade union nonsense. And they call it a revolutionary, Communist International.

Rudolf Hess Defends Hitler and Murder

Rudolf Hess who succeeds the homo-sexual Roehm as the closest associate of Hitler, delivered a speech last Sunday. A few extracts from the speech will indicate that in shooting his former intimate companion, Roehm, and securing a new one, Hitler, like Henry VIII, was not in search of brains.

Speaking of the slaughter of his associates by Hitler, Hess says "Who could suppose that every one of the Hitler Youth would not regard the leader as his idol since, especially in the last few days, he has acted the part of the boys' ideal hero."

Describing Hitler's "superman" activities on the first day of the murders, Hess tells how Hitler arrested Roehm and others and goes on to say, "Then he went over to the Brownhouse . . . and out of tremendous tension he poured forth a speech of great historical importance. Again in his workroom the leader pronounced the first sentences of death. Without a pause he worked on . . . he dictated a letter for the new chief of staff and went on dictating the views of the National Socialist Party on the events of the day and on his own actions. From time to time he gave additional orders for arrests of individual persons." (If Hitler could also have dictated the views of the rest of the world on the events of the day and his own actions, his work would have been complete.)

Startling News

Head of 100,000 American trade unionists endorses sub drive of Daily Worker. Yes, siree, believe it or not. Andrew Overgaard, head of the Trade Union Unity Council, which counts 100,000 members (Mike Gold system of counting) has come out flat footed behind the Daily Worker. The Daily prints Overgaard's picture and record in their Labor Who's Who column. His picture was almost recognizable. His record completely so. Just imagine, if you can, Andy in the name of "100,000" refusing to endorse a "D.W." drive or a Browder decision. How the gaps in that record would fill out!

"Holy Joe" McKee and Patriotic Whalen

Joseph McKee, "that honest man of sterling character" and Grover Whalen, the fire-eating patriot, are again in the news. "New York's Finest", who never hesitated to crack the skulls of striking or unemployed workers at the orders of former Mayor McKee and former police chief Whalen, have a Police Relief Fund. Or to be more exact they had such a fund in 1929. Now they are not so sure. In 1929 the fund amounted to about \$3,000,000, all in liquid assets. Holy Joe and Patriotic Whalen were in charge. They sold \$1,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and "invested" the proceeds in the certificates of a mortgage company. That was in the Fall of 1929. Other funds were also "invested" The mortgage certificates turned out to be worth as much as an NRA pledge to labor. And today the \$3,000,000 fund looks like 30 cents. Legal action is proposed against Whalen and McKee. Some cops should begin to realize that they cracked the wrong skulls in 1929.

—BILL.

New Features in Second Strike Wave

With the world-wide crisis still rampant the first year of the NRA and American labor taking the aggressive. The significance of this year's events are here summed up in a simple tabulation:

1. Every important strike or threat of strike involves direct intervention of the state. (Political action by Federal government.)

2. Already a militant attitude is being shown by workers toward the machinery of governmental intervention—against its evasion, delay, suppression, and support of company unions and the boss class.

3. Specifically the trick Ta clause is recognized as such by the workers. It is safe to say the workers are ready to break up existing company unions at the first opportunity.

4. The rank and file have also learned (though not fully, it is true) to distrust the old guard A. F. of L. leadership and to insist on action.

5. It is very easy still to underestimate the aroused militancy of the masses against the terrific pressure of the crisis.

6. The "settlement" of strikes and threatened strikes are not settlements at all but postponements of wider outbreaks. Workers are forced to demand and fight for substantial gains.

7. Strikes spread and grow under present conditions with inflammatory ease. Strikes evolve almost spontaneously and without distinct leadership.

8. A new leadership is bound to spring up representative of this militancy.

9. Fundamental to and clinching the above points is the objective situation. Either extremely centralized "remedies" (fascism) or the direct brutality of big business, or war, is the way out for capitalism. Labor is compelled to learn more rapidly and fight more vigorously and untidily every day.

10. The world situation: the return of Germany in the reckoning of the imperialists as a re-armed rival (a year of German fascism) postpones somewhat national outbreaks "at home" (France) and prolongs somewhat the preliminary maneuvers of national and allied forces for war. Russia has plunged into this diplomatic prelude. However, these maneuvers are proceeding with the greatest speed under the pressure of serious trouble inside the boundaries of each national government.

11. The Communist Party, by its self-inflicted isolation from the revolutionary interests of the working class, stands, or rather falls, condemned by objective events and the party's impotence therein. (Russia will build socialism, workers in other countries will "neutralize" the bourgeoisie, then Russia will defeat capitalism; a paper union is better than an A. F. of L. union, a Stalinist united front is better than a Leninist united front, etc. etc. Germany, Austria, France, Cuba, America in depression, etc. etc.)

The immediate opportunities and duties of leadership in this period and on the basis of the above considerations line up as follows:

1. Spread all strikes. Meet the militancy and solidarity of the rank and file with aggressive leadership and broad organizational unity. Turn half-steps into full strides, masses into an organized class. Fight delay that weakens or withholds the available blows of the workers.

2. A strike in a major industry like steel should be a signal for the labor movement to meet the military aggression of the bosses with a national strike in steel and national solidarity throughout the movement.

3. Thwart fascism in America by increasing the militant mass pressure of the workers against the bosses. Assure the movement a broad aggressive march upon reaction. Preclude despair by giving the fighting spirit of the rank and file a leadership that also fights. Let labor learn its power.

4. In general, America presents the contradictions of capitalism in their extreme form (a world-dominating nation and a labor movement politically unorganized, to take the example nearest to the point), and just as in the past strikes often became civil wars on a local or regional scale, and as, too, in the present crisis the apex of American industry and its collapse coincided in point of time, so also now, in view of the inevitable stringency of the crisis and in spite of the political backwardness of American labor, cataclysmic struggles are absolutely to be expected in this period—struggles of immediate and rapidly expanding political significance. The rapidity of developments in this period, including political action of the masses, must be recognized.

—M. B.

Militant Builders

Two More Weeks for Special Drive. Buy Your Cards Now.

The Club Plan (4 six-month subs for \$1) was initiated for the purpose of giving an opportunity to those workers who cannot afford the full rates. This drive, which is an extension of the first, ends on August 1. After that date the subscription rate for a six-month sub will be 50c. We urge every branch and sympathizer to take advantage of this opportunity and invest a few dollars in these cards before August 1st. The subs will be honored as they come in, but the purchase of them must be before August 1st.

Local New York bought 20 cards the past week and will probably get another 20 before the drive ends. Boro Park Branch of New York bought 4 cards. Chicago branch got 8; Davenport, Philadelphia and Youngstown branches each bought 4 cards. A total of 44. The following excerpt of a letter is indicative of how the Militant is being received by the leftward moving Socialists. We have a few more letters expressing the same sentiment:

"Gentlemen: Inclosing \$1 for 4 6-month sub cards. Will try and

put some Militants with men who need same—but please no publicity for me. I admire your attitude to the S. P. where I got my first light, and am connected there now—you have many friends in same (S.P.) here. Sincerely, A. Low Rumble."

Complete Record

Local New York	76
(Boro Park Br. 4)	
Chicago Branch	44
Minneapolis Branch	40
Cleveland Branch	38
Los Angeles Branch	36
Philadelphia Branch	16
Davenport Branch	12
Youngstown Branch	8
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Branch	8
Constance N.	8
New Haven Branch	8
Toronto	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
A. L. Rumble	4
Jefferson Hall	4
TOTAL	374

Books by Leon Trotsky

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION	Cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00
THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION	Cloth 1.00
THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION	.25
GERMANY—WHAT NEXT?	Cloth 65c, paper .35
THE ONLY ROAD FOR Germany	Cloth 65c, paper .25
COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM	.15
THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER	.15
PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R.	.15
SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER	.10
IN DEFENSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION	.05
THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	.10
MY LIFE, (publishers price \$5.00)	2.50
THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 3 vols. (publishers' price \$10.00)	8.50
WHITHER ENGLAND	.90
TEN YEARS, History and Principles of Left Opposition —by Max Shachtman	.10
I ACCUSE STALINISM—by Maria Reese	.05
GERMANY AND RUSSIA AT BREST LITOVSK	.25

And all the Kerr and International Publishers books and pamphlets.

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84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

QUESTION BOX

Send questions to "Question Box Editor", c/o the Militant. State the name under which you wish your answers to appear.

COMRADE H.M.N., New York.—Your contention that the unemployment figures compiled by the A. F. of L. are low is probably correct, and is borne out by U. S. Government statistics. (Senate document No. 124) as the following comparison shows:

Year	U.S. Gov't.	A. F. of L.
1930	5.3	3.9
1931	9.7	7.4
1932	14.4	11.4

The A. F. of L. figures for unemployment for May of this year is 10,287,000. Allowing for about three quarters of a million young workers who come to age each year, a figure around 14 million is probably nearer the truth.

We have the following data on speed-up. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, a "kosher" capitalist institution, the output per man-hour in manufacturing industries, taking 1929 as 100, was as follows: 1930, 104; 1931, 112; 1932, 121; and 1933, 127. The comment which follows, "Little of the increased productivity since 1929 can be credited to the introduction of new machinery" indicates that there has been an average speed-up of about 27% since 1929.

Theoretically, the "sixty cent" dollar of Roosevelt would raise prices 67% higher than they were at the time the United States went off gold, provided that in the meanwhile the value of all commodities remained the same. Actually, the average price of all commodities is about 40% higher today, indicating that if the same gold standard of price had been maintained, average prices for all commodities would be lower today than in March of 1933.

YIPSEL, Boston.—Yes there were draft riots during the American Civil war, but this does not refute our statement to you of several weeks ago that the war was popular. Out of a total force of 2,128,948 men in the Union army only 119,954 (6%) were drafted. The population of the North was between 21 and 22 million so that about 20% of the total male population went under arms willingly.

Where did you get the idea that "Marx's dialectic is the same as Hegel's"? At least Marx disagrees with you: "My dialectical method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurges of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (Introduction to Vol. I of "Capital")

By no means do we stand on the same theoretical ground as the Lovestonites. It is, of course, impossible here to go into the matter in any detail but suffice it to say that the Lovestonites support the theorem of "socialism in one country", which we reject, and maintain that the 3rd International can be reformed, whereas our position is summed up in the slogan for a 4th International. The Lovestonites, internationally, have for some time been attempting to crawl back to the C. P. For the latest on this subject see the article in the New Internationalist for July called "Brandl on the Road to Canossus."

So you still do not see the difference between the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany since "all are dictatorships". Just ask yourself, "Who owns the means of production in these countries?" and the difference becomes apparent. The capitalists still own the factories, etc. in the Fascist countries; the workers own them in the Soviet Union.

Your difficulty, as is shown by this and your previous questions of several weeks ago flows from the fact that you permit the class nature of society to be obscured by forms.

FOODWORKER, New York.—"Isn't it necessary to build strong national parties before we can begin building an International?" We think not, and see no reason for counterposing the tasks. Our enemy is international capitalism, and we therefore must construct an organization to cope with this problem, building the national parties and International simultaneously. Your logic, if carried to a conclusion, would require that you ask: Isn't it necessary to build strong locals in every city before you can begin building a national party? The very posing of such a question is ridiculous. Why make the same mistake because of the existence of national boundaries?

Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and entitles you to 40% discount on our publications and to a 20% reduction on any book published by other publishers.

Fierce Trade War Grips Entire World

The leading capitalist nations are now entering a period of intensified trade wars that shift in emphasis and political expression almost every week. The ramifications of the struggle for markets is so great that it is difficult to follow the battle line on all fronts. But what can be pointed out is the general trends and the main antagonisms.

This struggle for markets by the imperialist powers finds its political expression in clashes between imperialist powers and in open class war within the countries or industries of the nations which cannot find outlets and markets for overproduction and capital investments.

The economic isolation of Germany and the Anglo-Japanese trade war are two of the main pivotal points of this struggle for markets. Within these two struggles the interests of all the imperialist powers are at stake to say nothing of the interests of the U.S.S.R., and the world proletariat. The United States has up to the present managed to stay in the background of this fight, but in reality is one of the main contenders in these two struggles and is taking a most energetic part in them.

Japan has challenged England in an effort to obtain a bigger slice of world trade. England is ready to strike back in an open trade war and in maneuvers to defeat the Japanese demand for naval parity. This Japanese challenge is aimed just as much at the United States as it is against England. But the unfavorable economic position of England forces it to adopt different measures than those taken by America. The United States is working overtime on the question of naval parity and the trade war even though it is acting covertly.

U. S. imperialism occupies the most difficult position in the Anglo-Japanese trade war. Every retaliation measure adopted by England against Japan becomes a blow at the United States. This forces America to strike back at both nations, and most often with the heaviest blows against England.

Each step Japan takes in opening up new markets with cheap products forces England to counter attack with more effective measures. This forces America to adopt suitable measures against both Japan and England in order to retain her world position. What is true in the struggle for markets is even more pronounced in the armament race between the nations. It can be said with certainty that in the end the Anglo-Japanese trade war will become an Anglo-American trade war.

What can be said of the Anglo-Japanese trade war can also be said of the German-French struggle. Only in this case not only America is involved but the whole of Europe as well. What seemingly starts as a German-French trade struggle ends by involving the imperialist powers of the world and the lesser nations also.

The Crisis in Germany
Germany's economic crisis is worrying the statesmen of the world as well as bloody Hitler. The fate of Europe and mankind hinges to a large degree on the solution of this crisis. The debt repudiation wave that has followed the wake of the world crisis finds Germany taking similar measures. But her difficulties cannot be solved in this manner.

The boycott against Germany has intensified this unfavorable condition. Germany must find an outlet for her highly developed productive apparatus. Otherwise the internal class war will tear the present structure to the ground. But there are no markets for Germany. The victorious imperialists need what they have and are looking for more. This compels Germany to use the most drastic methods in the competition for markets. England, France, the United States and the other nations must follow suit or be pushed out of the race.

In turn the whole trade war is sharpened. Nothing fundamental is solved. The nations that obtain new markets plod along a little better and can beat back opposition at home more effectively, while the nations that lose confront increased internal class war.

The Most Decisive Conflict
The German trade war with an internal economic crisis growing worse daily, is the most decisive and will come to a head with greater repercussions before the Anglo-Japanese struggle matures.

America's stakes are directly bound up with both of these conflicts. Although her favorable world position gives her a point of advantage it does not, however, insure the United States against the European and Asiatic trade wars. America's action to overcome her own crisis only aggravates these already difficult conditions and in turn pulls America deeper into the whirlpool.

All of the internal and international measures under the New Deal taken by the Roosevelt administration to improve its economic conditions and market relations will be in vain unless the problem of trade wars is taken in its broader aspects. It will postpone but not solve the problem. Therefore, American imperialism is speedily preparing for war, which the United States and the other nations know is the logical conclusion of the trade wars now ranging throughout the world.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

Blending the Old With the New

In Roosevelt's latest political pronouncement, the President compared the "New Deal" and the present system with changes which are being made in the White House, during his vacation.

"We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of the old executive office building will remain.

"The architects and builders are men of common sense and of artistic American tastes. They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly, peaceful progress—not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

"Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old."

Let us look at some of the "modern plumbing, electrical and cooling systems" (he did not mention gas) introduced by the "new deal" which will blend and harmonize with the "essential lines" of the old. First we have the huge increase of profits for industrialists and financiers, which will supply the means for cooling sea breezes for the "rugged individualists" and their families. In this we have a perfect blending with the old. The big naval building program harmonizes with the "big stick" of other days. Another new innovation is vomit gas to go with tear gas, bayonets, bullets and

said of the German-French struggle. Only in this case not only America is involved but the whole of Europe as well. What seemingly starts as a German-French trade struggle ends by involving the imperialist powers of the world and the lesser nations also.

The Crisis in Germany
Germany's economic crisis is worrying the statesmen of the world as well as bloody Hitler. The fate of Europe and mankind hinges to a large degree on the solution of this crisis. The debt repudiation wave that has followed the wake of the world crisis finds Germany taking similar measures. But her difficulties cannot be solved in this manner.

The boycott against Germany has intensified this unfavorable condition. Germany must find an outlet for her highly developed productive apparatus. Otherwise the internal class war will tear the present structure to the ground. But there are no markets for Germany. The victorious imperialists need what they have and are looking for more. This compels Germany to use the most drastic methods in the competition for markets. England, France, the United States and the other nations must follow suit or be pushed out of the race.

In turn the whole trade war is sharpened. Nothing fundamental is solved. The nations that obtain new markets plod along a little better and can beat back opposition at home more effectively, while the nations that lose confront increased internal class war.

The Most Decisive Conflict
The German trade war with an internal economic crisis growing worse daily, is the most decisive and will come to a head with greater repercussions before the Anglo-Japanese struggle matures.

America's stakes are directly bound up with both of these conflicts. Although her favorable world position gives her a point of advantage it does not, however, insure the United States against the European and Asiatic trade wars. America's action to overcome her own crisis only aggravates these already difficult conditions and in turn pulls America deeper into the whirlpool.

All of the internal and international measures under the New Deal taken by the Roosevelt administration to improve its economic conditions and market relations will be in vain unless the problem of trade wars is taken in its broader aspects. It will postpone but not solve the problem. Therefore, American imperialism is speedily preparing for war, which the United States and the other nations know is the logical conclusion of the trade wars now ranging throughout the world.

—HUGO OEHLEH.

clubs against strikers. The dead and blinded in Toledo are eloquent testimony of how this blends with the old methods and along the same "essential lines" as Homestead, Haymarket and Centralia.

Plowing down crops, killing of sows ready to farrow, numerous other "farm relief" measures, millions on the verge of starvation, hundreds starving to death, lynching, police terror, deportations, jailings and outright murders—that's the record of the past year. How well the course of capitalism in decay blends with its early days and stormy growth.

And on the other hand, the growth of organization, the militancy and fighting ability of the workers of America, also follows the "essential lines" of their fighting past. The strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo, and the Pacific Coast testify to that. A new Communist Party that will blend that militancy and the fighting tradition of the American working class with the theory and practice of the international revolutionary movement is needed now, not to renovate and redecorate the present social system but to end it and build the new—the Socialist Society. —BILL.

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TO APPEAR SOON

The theses of the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists on "War and the Fourth International" is ready to go to press. This long awaited pamphlet which deals with the most vital problem of contemporary society will soon be available for every revolutionary worker. Every financial obstacle but the coverage for paper for the pamphlet has been met. To overcome this difficulty at once we urge you to send your contributions and advance cash orders at once to Pioneer Publishers.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

War Rumors

Rumors are notoriously unreliable except insofar as they reveal what is creating the greatest anxiety in capitalist society. In the case of war rumors the world press has been unceasingly filled with them since the Japanese seized Manchuria. If one went in for predicting he would surely be on the side of greatest probability in predicting that the next imperialist war would break out in the Far East between Japan and Soviet Russia. That is why any rumors bearing on the tense situation in Asia are given close attention for the earmarks of truth and actuality. One item that appeared recently in the British press seems to bear such earmarks.

The Public Ledger of London, a financial review, discloses that Japan approached Turkey last March for a secret alliance directed against the Soviet Union. The Turkish ambassador to Japan was invited to see Minister of Foreign Affairs Hirota who informed him that war was certain in 1935. Would Turkey care to join with Japan in the war against the Soviet Union? At the same time the Japanese Admiral Matsumura visited Ankara on the same mission. To help blockade the Russian Black Sea fleet. Turkey was promised "compensation" in the shape of territory in the Russian Caucasus. Japan would sell (in actuality give) men-of-war to Turkey, would send her naval instructors and supply technical assistance for the fortification of the Bosphorus against the Russian fleet.

England, Where Do You Stand?

Simultaneously, the English paper reveals that Washington is most interested in Great Britain's stand in the next war. In fact Washington has inquired concerning England's exact attitude in the event of a Russo-Jap war. Japan's diplomacy has been directed, ever since U. S. recognition of Soviet Russia, at either breaking off this too dangerous friendship between her potential enemies, or balancing the U. S. with England. In this scheming of diplomats to build up balances of power is clearly indicated the way in which modern capitalism was inevitably taken on a world character and convulse the entire planet, since all the major rivalries of the capitalist nations come to the fore and demand "solution" by the method of force.

Stalinist Comments on the German Events

The comments of the Stalinist Russian press on the German events hardly take the trouble any longer to carry on the pretence that there exists a powerful German Communist Party. Events preclude such stupidity and reveal the true depths of the lying propaganda that attempted to cover up the betrayal by Stalinism of the German proletariat. One would look in vain for any even remotely concrete directives from the Stalinists to its "German section" in line with the view that the Communist revolution would inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution. The Stalinists reveal their utter "remoteness" from the German events and from the German working class. Only the stupid American party caught up the sensational mongering of the bourgeois press that a Communist revolt was about to take place in Germany. As was to be expected when millions of workers are betrayed by their parties (the social democratic and the Stalinist) and lose their faith in their revolutionary role, the German masses have become apathetic as is now casually acknowledged by those responsible for this apathy.

Pravda says: "The economic condition of Germany is growing worse and must result in accelerating the change of attitude of the masses from passivity toward the robbery and the oppression they are now enduring to an open class struggle on a mass scale." Radek covers with phrases that echo hollowness the same theme in Izvestia: "As yet only the Communist vanguard is actively opposing fascism but all the proletariat is opposed to fascism." He goes on to say that in the Nazi party who have not yet capitulated to fascism! Then why is not the "heroic" Communist party leading them in struggle? And further: "The tempo of Germany's historical development has turned out to be more rapid than was to be expected." But Comrade Radek, does that mean that you expected Hitler to remain in power very much longer without any crisis in his own ranks, or without any difficulty at all? What has happened to the thesis that Hitler was only a short interlude before the advent of Communism? Only the paper For Industrialization drones out, being careful to delete all reference to time: "A Bolshevik Revolution will inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution."

—JACK WEBER.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Problems of Marxism

"Workers' Democracy"

No one with the least understanding of Marxism would insist upon using a certain traditional term in a revolutionary program if there are weighty reasons for discarding that term and using some other one conveying exactly the same idea. Sentiment and tradition necessarily play a role in the revolutionary movement and they apply even to the use of certain expressions and if any question arises as to the advisability of substituting a new for an old term in a program, the factor of tradition should be taken into consideration. But to cling to a word simply because it is customary and traditional when new developments demand or even advise a change, would constitute stupid dogmatism and not Marxism.

It must be absolutely certain, however, before a word or term is changed, that the new term is exactly synonymous with the old. We assume that the idea expressed by the old term is correct. If not, a change of term is necessary because the old idea must be changed. Given the correctness of the idea expressed by the traditional word or phrase, nothing would justify a substitute unless the very same idea is conveyed by the substitute.

The Program of the A.W.P.

With the rise of new and different groups in the revolutionary movement and with the probable fusion of some of the groups to form a new party, the question of program assumes great importance. Ideological struggles will ensue and some of the controversies will revolve around the use of certain words and phrases. The program of the American Workers' Party is the first in the ring and it is sufficiently different from a communist program to furnish rich material for discussion and clarification.

One of the most important changes in the A.W.P. program is the use of "workers' democracy" for "dictatorship of the proletariat". The change is sufficiently important to require an explanation and comrade Sidney Hook does the explaining in his article "Marxism and Democracy" in *Labor Action* of May 1, 1934.

Two main reasons are advanced by Hook in justification for displacing the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by "workers' democracy" in the program of the A.W.P. One, because the non-political worker, hearing the word "dictatorship", associates Communism with Fascism and thus the illusion that bourgeois democracy must be defended against its enemies from the left as well as from the right is preserved. The second reason why "workers' democracy" is preferable to "dictatorship of the proletariat" is because the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has usurped the power of the Communist party and destroyed the democratic rights of the workers' soviets and thus a misunderstanding has resulted to the effect that the dictatorship of the proletariat means in reality the dictatorship over the proletariat.

In all probability Hook is correct in his claim that the "non-political" worker (who however is political enough to follow the capitalist parties) tends to associate Fascism with Communism when he hears the word "dictatorship". Both the capitalist and the liberal press in this country are trying their utmost to put the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and the Fascist dictatorships in Germany and Italy on the same level and thus try to save democracy in this country. That simply means that to all the other misconceptions that the backward American worker has, one more is added. Hook recognizes that a great deal of explanation is necessary for the non-political worker. He takes up two rather lengthy paragraphs to indicate how the backward worker must be taught the difference between capitalist democracy and workers' democracy, how private property rights in capital must be wiped out in order to establish more democracy for the working class, etc., etc. The conclusion can be reached that if after such a detailed and necessary explanation a worker is convinced that a workers' democracy should be established, he could also be convinced that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not what he thinks it is and that he should struggle for it. The fact that leftward-moving socialists openly espouse the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat at this time in just that very phrase is quite significant and lends strength to the argument that the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not repel thinking workers.

The Dictatorship in Russia

The same argument applies to the contention that the dictatorship of the proletariat is misunderstood to mean dictatorship over the proletariat. We concede that the dictatorship of the proletariat, though existing in Russia, has degenerated. We grant that there is no democracy for the workers in the Soviet Union, that the Stalinist bureaucracy has displaced the party and the soviets. And we must also admit that the rule of the bureaucratic apparatus in Russia has had an "objectively counter-revolutionary" effect upon many workers. But does not the fact that many trade unions are controlled by a self-seeking bureaucracy which does not permit the union members to say a word in opposition destroy the confidence of many workers in trade-unions? And should we for that reason advocate a change in the name from "trade-unions" to something else? It is necessary to explain that a trade union should give to the members the right to criticize and decide important matters, that the workers must struggle constantly against any bureaucracy for these rights. Alas, there are many correct ideas which the Stalinists have twisted to a point where they are not recognizable and where the workers are beginning to doubt the correctness of the ideas themselves. Have they not desecrated and murdered the idea of the united front, the idea of democratic centralism? It certainly makes it more difficult to attract thinking workers, but to substitute new terms would hardly make it less difficult.

Necessarily comrade Hook assumes that workers' democracy is exactly the same thing as dictatorship of the proletariat. If that were so one could, though not fully convinced by the reasons given for the necessity of the substitution of terms, agree that a change of terms might do some good or at least could not do any harm. Hook does not enter into any extensive argument that workers' democracy and dictatorship of the proletariat are one and the same. He more or less takes it for granted, simply saying that Marx, Engels and Lenin refer to the nature of the workers' state and the character of its rule as "the dictatorship of the proletariat" or "the workers' democracy". Hook gives no citations so that it is impossible to argue that point. Perhaps that is for the best and the argument need not degenerate into a battle of quotations.

The Characteristics of the Transition Period

It is absolutely correct to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is workers' democracy. But it is not correct to assert that workers' democracy is the same as the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the point of view of the right to vote alone, the workers' state, the transition state between capitalism and communism, will represent a tremendous extension of democracy for the working class. But this extension of democracy is not the only characteristic of the workers' state. If that were so "workers' democracy" would be a correct term to indicate the nature of that state. The workers' state is further characterized by the fact that it uses repressive measures against the capitalists, the exploiters. It takes away their private property in the means of production and it also prevents them from having any say in the government. The workers' state does not grant democracy to the oppressors. It is a dictatorship with reference to them. The term "workers' democracy" characterizes only one aspect of the workers' state; "dictatorship of the proletariat" gives a wholly correct conception of the nature of the workers' state.

In a revolutionary program it is essential that the terms be exact and not such that can be stretched to suit one's convenience. The reformist parties would undoubtedly have no objection to coming out in favor of workers' democracy and would contend that electing them to office would bring the workers' democracy into existence. The argument would then arise as to what a real workers' democracy is. No looney must be given the reformists to confuse and misinterpret. That is difficult enough even with exact terms let alone with terms that are vague and capable of being stretched.

Program Not Propaganda—The Issue

It is necessary to remember that we are dealing here with a program of a revolutionary party composed of advanced workers and trying to attract to itself the more conscious elements of the working class. We are not concerned here with mass agitation and propaganda. A program must attempt to be as exact and scientific as possible. It must educate and furnish guidance to class conscious workers.

Unfortunately it is true that inexperienced or unintelligent agitators use terms not understandable by a crowd of workers. And "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not the only such term used. "Workers' democracy" is undoubtedly to be preferred to "dictatorship of the proletariat" in a popular article or in an agitational speech because it can be understood by most workers. In a program, correctness of idea is paramount and a term can not be discarded because it is not readily understood by backward workers or because it might even be misunderstood.

There was a time when some socialists claimed that the best way to win the American workers for socialism is not to mention the word "socialism". Inevitably such socialists not only substituted some other word for "socialism" but gave up the idea itself. There is always the danger that in substituting an incorrect for a correct term the idea represented by the correct term

The League Marches To New Victories

The Communist League of America stands on the threshold of great events. Never in the history of our organization have opportunities been so favorable.

The whole physiognomy of American labor is undergoing a radical change. Everywhere the workers are stirring out of the chains of the economic crisis. And wherever there is ferment it assumes a new form. More militant, more class conscious and even more political.

In the stress of the class struggle today the cry for leadership—honest, courageous revolutionary leadership—becomes more insistent. The minions of the capitalist class in the A. F. of L. hold back the struggle, stemming the tide when possible or knifing the movement when it gets out of their leading strings.

Spontaneous revolt against the reaction in the A. F. of L. crops up in union after union. First in the steel union and now in the longshoremen, tomorrow the militant workers will break the bonds in another union. But these revolts are sporadic, confused and lacking a revolutionary direction are child's play for the slick fakers.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP VITAL

Political leadership of a revolutionary nature is the key to the successful outcome of the workers' struggle. This leadership cannot be had without the touchstone of Marxism. And the banner of Marxism, looking soberly at the facts, rests in the hands of the International Communist League, the Communist League.

It becomes more apparent every day that both the political parties claiming to represent the workers have failed where history called upon them to fulfill their self-appointed mission. The Stalinist party, which bowed its head in mute acquiescence while Hitler's axe descended upon it, either plays no role at all in the major economic battles of today or occupies the center of the stage for destructive purposes. Stalinism is poison not for capitalism but for the labor movement.

The Socialist party, torn by internal dissension, hopelessly compromised by the major events in Austria and in Germany,—what revolutionist could think of this "stinking corpse" directing the movement of the American working class?

BUILD THE NEW PARTY NOW!

Now then is the time to build that organization which for five years has been forging the weapon of Marxism, testing and tempering it in the crucible of world-shaking events. The intensity of the class battles to come will make the greatest demands on every resource of this organization.

Then their is the titanic job of erecting the new party in the fires of the class struggle. The creation of the new party depends for its momentum on the Marxian corps being rooted in the proletariat.

And already our training over the past five years, our granite foundation in the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky have begun to bear fruit.

Minneapolis is the first milestone on the road.

There the international experience of the Bolshevik-Leninists as congealed in our trade union policy inspired a strike that has been exemplary in the whole labor movement.

And Minneapolis will show the way once more!

The new strike which will probably break as we go to press will make the last one, with all its militancy, look like a social tea party.

All of capitalist reaction in Minneapolis is being pressed into service for the battle which will determine whether Minneapolis is to be a union town or a prey to the labor-hating Citizen's Alliance.

Red scabs are beginning to find their way in the press. Dan Tobin, labor scab head of the Teamsters Union has added his voice to the red-baiting campaign of the bosses against the militants leading the union.

GENERAL STRIKE IN MINNEAPOLIS

On the other side the entire Minneapolis movement knows that this is a final fight and has pledged itself to pitch in, in a general strike.

Comrade Cannon, editor of the *Militant*, has already left, to be on hand when the big doings pop in Minneapolis, to give us first hand reports for the *Militant*.

Out of the Minneapolis and similar struggles we will build a stronger and bigger Communist League. New recruits from the firing line. New influence in the mass organizations.

All our members and our sympathizers must realize how tremendous are these tasks. If we carry them through properly then it is a certainty that the Communist League will be on the map as a political force to be reckoned with throughout the labor movement.

Yet this stupendous task is nothing more and nothing less than building the Communist League.

Building the Communist League requires an apparatus, a functioning staff, and a whole corps of field organizers. Minneapolis, Detroit, Pittsburgh, the Middle and the Far West are all calling for organizers.

BUILD THE LEAGUE!

Besides these organizers there is another organizer, the collective organizer—our press—that must be built, that must be popularized.

When we appeal to you to support this campaign, we do it not to retrench, but to advance; not to stabilize but to build.

In supporting the *Organization-Press* campaign you are building the firm edifice of the new party in strengthening the League as the major instrument in its creation.

In supporting the *Organization-Press* campaign you are laying the best foundation for the new left wing in the trade unions.

F U N D S ! On those five letters hangs the whole campaign.

As a revolutionary worker, as a supporter of Marxism in the labor movement, now is the time to rise to the task you are called upon to perform.

An Appeal to our Sympathizers

Marxists do not hold the stiff-necked attitude that everyone not holding a membership card in the political organization of the working class is to be sneered at as a weakling or castigated as a class enemy.

The concept of the political party as taught us by Lenin rests on the basis that the vanguard organization of the class consists of the best and most qualified fighters in the ranks of the proletariat. But in order that the influence of the revolutionary party extend beyond its membership, it gathers about itself a large periphery of people known as sympathizers.

Don't Be a Platonic Friend

It is to these sympathizers that we are making this appeal. We believe that sympathizers are not platonic friends, who have general agreement with our ideas, but active supporters of our cause heartily willing to work for it, if not to accept its discipline. You comrades and friends of the Communist League are in the second line trenches of the fight for the new party and through it, the proletarian revolution in the United States.

It is in this spirit that we urge all our sympathizers to bring in donations and to solicit contributions from their friends for our *Organization-Press* drive. The call to action is given! The field of the Campaign is the *Organization-Press* campaign! Sympathizers! Take your place in this new battlefield of Marxism!

—ALBERT GOLDMAN.

Support Grows in Org-Press Drive

The heroic struggles of the workers in Minneapolis, Toledo and the Pacific Coast are firing our members and sympathizers with a stubborn determination to build the League and its press.

Two organizers have already been selected to be sent into the field. One to Minneapolis, the other to Detroit. If the funds continue to come in as they have in the past week, both organizers will be able to proceed into the field within a few days.

From Minneapolis we get word that our members there have already rented a headquarters, anticipating the arrival of the organizer. Detroit, we trust will not be long in doing likewise.

In order to maintain these organizers and give them the proper assistance from the national office in the way of timely information and directives, the center has to be strengthened—the press has to be vitalized.

MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE, FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS, DON'T LOSE ANOTHER DAY!

Send in your collection on the *Organization-Press* coupon book without further delay. The returns from our readers are far from satisfactory thus far. Many have not responded at all.

Receipts

(Since Last Report)

Los Angeles Branch.....	\$20.00
Waukegan Branch.....	11.00
New Haven Branch.....	10.00
G. Duell, New Haven.....	1.00
S. Gendelman, New Haven.....	1.00
Pittsburgh Branch.....	17.20
Boston Branch.....	15.00
Cleveland Branch.....	6.80
Youngstown Branch.....	11.00
New Castle Branch.....	15.00
Newark Branch.....	5.60
Philadelphia Branch.....	5.00
Rose Hegedus, South Bend.....	1.00
Pearl Kling, Boro Park.....	1.00
Youth Club.....	1.00
A. Friend, Springfield, Ill.....	1.00
Jeff. Kall, Bryan, O.....	1.00
Manhattan Branch (Kling).....	.80
M. M. New York City.....	5.00

M. M. of New York City has disposed of a total of 32 coupon books to date. The last time he came into the office, he took another 25 books. When asked as to how he manages to sell so many, he told us—"I go from door to door. The other day I rang the bell at a door and a man answered. I told him what I wanted and he refused to have anything to do with anything like it. I talked to him a while and discovered he was a Fascist sympathizer. But most of the places I get results."

Perhaps the method M. M. uses can be used by other comrades with good results. M. M. has also pledged \$2 weekly to our Pledge Fund, saying: "I cut out smoking. The money I save on this expense I'll give weekly to the Pledge Fund."

M. M. is not a member of the organization. He is an example of the kind of sympathizers a Communist organization should have.

Another sympathizer of ours from the Bronx came in to the office two weeks ago with a coupon book in his hands. He had gotten it through the mails. He tore the book in half, as we looked on saying: "I have no way of selling these coupons, so I am tearing it up. Tear another fourteen books for me, and here is \$15."

Here is another interesting item from a sympathizer:

"Dear Comrades: It was because I like the *Militant* so much that I got so annoyed when it did not come. I am now far away, therefore I really don't think I shall be able to sell any of the coupons. Instead, I am enclosing Ten Dollars, my birthday money, slightly anticipated. Helen Mason, Columbus, O."

Marion McLeod, of Iowa Falls, writes:

"This will acknowledge receipt of the coupon book. While I was not able to dispose of them to other people, I am happy to be able to take the book myself and enclose \$1."

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THE MILITANT

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Hitler's Dilemma

The Crisis in Germany

Behind the recent events in the top circles of the Fascist dictatorship in Nazi Germany there looms the dark cloud of an economic crisis which more than any other single factor influenced the course of Hitler and his camarilla. Trade balances are unfavorable. The gold coverage on currency in circulation have dwindled by more than one third. Credit with other nations has been reduced to the zero point. Debts to creditor nations have been defaulted upon. Without markets, deprived of her colonies by the Versailles Treaty, German capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into the mire of an economic blind-alley.

German industry is among the most advanced and technically best equipped of any in the world. Yet hemmed in within the boundaries of the Reich, with its enormous capacity of production, it is like a giant monster stifling for lack of air. Without the normal intercourse of foreign trade capitalism in Germany is faced inexorably with the need for an outlet for its surplus in commodity and capital goods. But to these "normal" problems of German capitalism are added the new difficulties which have been accumulated since Hitler walked into power.

Unfavorable Trade Balance

Germany's trade balance, unfavorable for the first time in four years, amounted to \$5,500,000 in January and increased by March 1st to \$8,750,000. The government itself has augmented this adverse trade balance by placing restrictions on imports. At the same time, trade with the Soviet Union which had for years been one of Germany's leading customers declined from 626,000,000 marks in 1932 to 282,000,000 marks in 1933, and then catapulted again to 21,000,000 marks in the first quarter of 1934. Similarly with France, the Scandinavian countries and Finland whose imports from Germany fell off respectively, 400 million, 41 million and 6 million marks.

By the side of the unfavorable trade balance stands a monetary system so tampered with by the financial doctors of Hitler that the shadow of inflation looms big in Germany. Gold reserves in the Reichsbank have dropped from 351,241,000 marks on June 7, 1933, to 111,135,000 marks in the same month in 1934. The ratio of the Reichsbank's gold to outstanding circulation fell to 3.4% as against 7.3% on June 7, 1934.

Wages Slashed

It is difficult to conceive how conditions could be very much worse for the German masses even if inflation were instituted. Wages have been slashed to below the subsistence level. An indication of this is given in the war industries which have operated at high capacity since the advent of Hitler. In the Krupp works where 35,647 workers were employed in 1932 and

43,409 in 1933 the payroll fell from 60,000,000 marks in 1932 to 67,000,000 marks in 1933. In the Hoechst works with an increase of almost 1,000 workers in employment the payroll dropped some 5 million marks. Like facts can be adduced to cover almost every German industry. If one were to take the boast of Hitler seriously that he has reduced unemployment from 6,000,000 to 2,500,000 then one gets an indication of how deeply wages have been slashed by the statistics of the *Institut fuer Konjunktur Forschung* as quoted in the *Current History* for July 1934. The payroll for Germany has careened from 6,850,000 marks in the last quarter of 1933 to 6,100,000 marks for the first quarter of 1934.

Prices Rise

While wages have declined to the vanishing point prices have risen more than 15.2 in the six months covering the last quarter of 1933 and the first quarter of 1934. How close the German masses are to starvation is again shown by the fact that food consumption has fallen 1,000,000,000 marks in the course of 1933. Retail sales in groceries, delicatessen, department stores, clothing and other staples bear further eloquent testimony to the ration system Hitler has instituted among the already impoverished German population.

Capitalism under its democratic form had become too expensive for the German ruling class. One of their principal objects in destroying the German trade union movement was to eradicate the gains made by the workers in decades of struggle. Tens of thousands have been removed, under Hitler, from the unemployment benefits. Even such an elementary social service as invalid insurance pensions were reduced by more than two million marks under the Brown Shirt regime.

The Master Is Repaid

Hitler has served his masters well. He has destroyed the entire political and labor movement in Germany, slashed wages to the bone, raised prices and made heavy inroads into the social services. The Thyssens, the Krupps and the others have every reason to be grateful to this depraved bandit. And why not? Profits in the Hoechst works were 23,700,000 marks in 1933 as compared with 12,500,000 marks in 1932. Thyssen's profits rocketed more than fifteen million dollars in increases over what was "earned" in 1932. All told German industrialists have been presented with a gift of more than \$1,000,000,000 in the form of tax reductions, subsidies and authorized wage reductions.

The record of one year of Hitler's stewardship in office speaks for itself. Plenty of gray for the capitalist parasites and nothing but misery and the iron heel for the workers.

—G. C.

The Man on the Flying Trapeze

(Continued from last issue)

In 1931, Dunne swings into action again. And whoops! what a radical fellow. As graceful as a swan, he leaps through the air with a new theory: The American working class is on the offensive, and what the employers are engaged in is a counter-offensive. This in 1931! And alas! here too our uncontrollable literary man committed his views to paper with the result that he was kicked unmercifully around the lot by no less a man than Earl Browder, and he took his punishment without a peep. (O Time, O Morals! And in the old days Dunne used to refer to Browder in such disrespectful terms as "Foster's clerk" or "Bill's office boy.")

"It is therefore clear," said Browder in his most imperial manner, "that it is absolutely wrong to speak of the 'offensive of the working class and the counter-offensive of the capitalists.' An example of this wrong use of these terms, which can create an entirely erroneous political atmosphere around our struggles, may be found in a recent issue of the *Daily Worker*, which says: 'Increased mass picketing at Piney Fork and other mines Saturday morning checked the counter-offensive of the coal operators.' (Earl Browder, *Daily Worker*, July 14, 1931. Browder refers to a dispatch sent the Worker by Dunne.)

And as a parting kick, Browder damned Dunne for "the idea that, because we have a splendid fighting spirit among the masses therefore we are already developing an offensive of the working class. Sometimes this is theorized. . . . In its least harmful form, this is no better than phrase-mongering. It is a substitution of the wish for the deed." (The *Communist*, August 1931.)

Now we ask, in all good conscience, why should anybody take seriously the criticisms of the man whose ideas and theories, according to no less an authority than Earl R. Browder himself, are, in their least harmful form, no better than phrase-mongering? Why?

—S.

MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS SOLID BEHIND LOCAL LEADERSHIP

United Front - Tobin and the Stalinists

Having failed to convince even themselves that the May strike of Minneapolis Drivers' Local 574 resulted in anything but gains for the workers, the Stalinists are now out to disrupt the impending second truckers' strike. Utterly indifferent to the interests of the class, basing themselves on their "rule or ruin" policy, they have sent a couple of their traveling salesmen of disruption into Minneapolis. These artists, backed by the *Daily Worker*, are busily slandering the leaders of Local 574.

In the crucial days before Wednesday's strike vote was taken, the bosses and Dan Tobin, International President, loosed a Red scare against the leaders of 574. The purpose was to frighten the workers out of voting for a strike. In this situation the Stalinists made a united front with Tobin and the Employers Advisory Committee.

They showered the workers with leaflets signed by the Rank and File Group—the usual Stalinist name for a couple of I.W.O. members ready to pose as truck drivers any day for the sake of the "cause." These leaflets slander "the Dunnes and Skoglund" in the union leadership and call them "sell-out artists."

The *Daily Worker* follows suit. But the *Daily*, poor thing, is puzzled. It has to explain why the bosses are raising the Red scare against the leaders of 574. And it seems that this is the reason:

The bosses love the leaders of 574, and want them to continue in the leadership of the workers. Fearing that the workers are getting so Red that they may at any moment send for Jack Stachel, the bosses are applying Red paint to the present leaders in order to popularize them with the workers!

The *Daily* also prints a barrage of lies as to the attitude of the leaders of 574 toward the question of the strike. It attempts to portray them as doing their best to head off the strike. It does not, however, present a shred of evidence. The leaders of 574 have viewed the strike purely from the viewpoint of the workers' interests. The strike is not a principle; it is a weapon in the hands of the workers. That the workers of 574 have decided for a second time in a few months to use this weapon is evidence not only of the oppression against which they must struggle to win decent living conditions, but

also of the unflinching militancy of the leadership which has laid down the line being followed by the union. The Stalinist disrupters, who have not led a strike to victory in years, fear that another triumph is in store for an honest, able trade union leadership. And they are out to prevent that triumph by hook or by crook. Thus far, happily, the workers of 574 have been dismayed neither by the filthy outpourings of Dan Tobin and the bosses, nor by the equally filthy slanders of the Stalinists. Against the united front of reaction, oppression and Stalinist disruption, the workers of Minneapolis stand solid behind the leaders who brought them one victory in May and will bring them a second before long.

Red Herring Cover for Real Issues

(Continued from Page 1)

strike. The handbill announces the meeting is "under the auspices of the Communist League of America, Mpls. Br." The names given for the speakers are those of two of the prominent leaders of the last strike, and present agitators of another.

"The question naturally arises: Are the Communists insidiously taking over the union labor organizations—most of which are reputable and patriotic—to achieve the Russianizing of Americans?"

Another rag, the *Saturday Press*, accuses the strike leaders of being instructed by the "Communist International" and financed by "Moscow." And to prove this they reprint the entire leaflet of the non-existent Stalinist "rank and file committee of Local No. 574. This disruptive splitting piece of trash which calls the leading members of the local "sell-out artists" finds its proper place in the brass check papers alongside of Tobin's and the bosses' red scare.

What Is This Communism?

Now it must be clear to every militant worker that fighting for a better life in this world is Communism to the bosses and their agents. That building and maintaining a union of "their own choosing" is "Russianizing of Americans."

Take your choice between that and the 100% Americanism of the bosses which means coolie conditions and abject slavery for the working class.

10,000 in Greatest Parade in City's Labor History

(Continued from Page 1)

members of the Ex-Servicemen's Division, etc.

Handbills, distributed for 48 hours beforehand, indicated to the various trades the section where they were to assemble. In perfect order the working masses assembled at their posts, guided by assistant marshals from the Drivers Union. Each group carried at its head its own large banner. Besides these designating banners, hundreds of smaller placards were raised before the parade began; placards bearing slogans heartily expressing the feelings of every workingclass man and woman: "Smash the Citizen's Alliance!" "Bosses Do Not Want a Union, We Workers Do!" "In a Land of Plenty, We Want Our Share!" "Down Depression by Cutting Hours, and Raising Wages!" etc.

Up Nicollet Avenue

Promptly at 7:30 the parade, which assembled at the call of the Joint Conference of All Unions, swung up Nicollet Avenue towards the auditorium, led by an American Federation of Musicians band.

In the front line of march were the leaders of the Drivers Union, who have inspired the whole working class of the Twin Cities with the spirit of determined struggle: Bill Brown, president; Miles Dunne, secretary; Grant Dunne, Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Clifford Hall and Farrell Dobbs. Behind these leaders marched the Teamsters Joint Council. Then, in the order named, came the following battalions: street railway employees, laundry and dry cleaning workers, union "delegations from St. Paul, the Farmer's Holiday Association, the Women's Auxiliary of the Drivers, headed by Mrs. Grant Dunne, Mrs. Farrell Dobbs, Mrs. Clifford Hall and Mrs. McCormack; the mass of building trades workers, the brewery workers, the printing trades, the Ex-Servicemen's Division, the electrical workers, drivers, helpers, petroleum workers and inside workers, the upholsterers, the city and county employees, the railroad workers, the iron workers, the garment workers, the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers unemployed, the social problems club of the University of Minnesota, and at the end the unemployed councils and their affiliates.

As each division swung into the line of march tremendous cheers

went up from those still awaiting their turn. The Drivers were given a roaring ovation and the Farm Holiday workers, the St. Paul workers and the Ex-Servicemen were greeted with wild enthusiasm.

Six thousand sympathizers flanked the line of march right up to the doors of the municipal auditorium, keeping up a steady stream of applause for the marches.

Filled to Capacity

The vanguard had already entered the auditorium, fifteen blocks away, before the last sections of the demonstration began their trek. No sooner had the marchers seated themselves in the auditorium than the doors were opened to the public, and the immense building was rapidly filled to capacity, over 12,000 being seated. Thousands more clustered around the entrance to listen eagerly to the speeches which were relayed from the stage by amplifying equipment.

Draped across the foot of the stage was the red banner of the Farm Holiday workers. Urbane, president of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, was chairman of the meeting, which lasted for several hours.

The first speaker, Miles Dunne of the Drivers Union, received a great ovation and was cheered again and again as he proceeded rapidly to outline the history of the drivers organization, telling of events leading up to the February strike of the coal and ice wagon drivers' strike, its successful conclusion which won recognition of the union, the General Drivers strike in May, the settlement won from the bosses, etc. Dunne closed by explaining the challenge of the Citizen's Alliance and the Regional Labor Board, who by their stalling and evasive actions are now trying to wiggle out of the agreement signed with the Drivers at the end of the May strike.

Brought out in the course of the speech was the fact that the Citizen's Alliance are now complaining to their St. Paul brethren, from whom they are collecting further funds to continue their vicious attacks on the workers, that the strike in May cost them \$1,900,000. Almost two million dollars, which the labor-hating bosses of Minneapolis paid out in order to avoid paying a decent wage to the workers.

Roy Wier, organizer from the

Central Labor Union, was the next speaker. He outlined the raw results of several labor disputes recently "settled" here, explained that strikes all over the nation are now being settled by political action of the bosses through their machinery of state, and advocated that the workers assembled act together from tonight onward, just as do all the bosses, their masters, the big Twin City banks. "An injury to one is an injury to all workers, from now on." Wild applause.

"Why Wait Till Wednesday?"

Other speakers included Emory Nelson of the Milk Drivers Union, gaunt deep-voiced John Bosch of the Farmer's Holiday Association, who said the farmers would supply produce to the strikers, Robert Fleming of Drivers' Union No. 120, St. Paul, who promised that the next strike would be a Twin Cities strike.

Bill Brown, president of General Drivers Union No. 574 read the evening's resolution which concluded "... that as a united body the unions accept the challenge of the Citizen's Alliance—prepare for decisive action—and proceed to a common victory." When Brown called for a rising vote, setting Wednesday night as the deadline, every last worker in the building sprang up. A great cry arose: "Why wait till Wednesday—let's go out tonight!"—testifying to the militancy of the workers, and to their indignation against the swindling tactics of the bosses.

The program was brought to a close by the addresses of Rubin Latz of the laundry workers, and Myrtle Harris of the garment workers.

By the time this report gets into print, the Minneapolis-St. Paul transport strike will in all likelihood have begun—unless, at the last moment the bosses completely capitulate in a panic before the sight of a united working class which has at last been thoroughly aroused and stirred to its depths, and set in swift motion toward one common goal: overthrow of the bosses starvation program.

—C. H.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANT—ONE CENT PER COPY. JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Tobin Goes to Bat for the Bosses

(Continued from Page 1)

could have expected any from a misleader of the stripe of Tobin.

"We Plead Guilty"

"If being a serpent consists in organizing unions for working men and women to secure for them the necessities of life, then we plead guilty to being serpents. And if being a wolf in sheep's clothing has to do with fighting the battles for those people who are in our union, then we are wolves."

When the whole labor movement, with the exception of the disrupters and degenerates, rise in cheering applause at the strike that pointed the way to a new day for the working man Tobin sits in his sumptuous office and advises the union men in a way that excels anything that has been seen by the bitterest boss.

"The officers of local unions who do not guard themselves and their unions against a human monster of this kind are making a mistake. If you love the union which you have worked to build up then get busy and stifle such radicals because they do not belong in the union."

A Cowardly Appeal

Tobin, himself has not the courage to expel the leaders of 574, so he calls upon the rank and file to do his dirty work. But the rank-and-file "love" their union and they "love" the leadership that made it possible too much to take any heed of the advice of the man whose fame in breaking strikes, conniving with the bosses, and destroying union organizations is known throughout the nation.

The question is: why does Tobin choose this moment of all to hurl his rabid attack at the leadership of 574?

Is it because of radical or Communist opinions which he suspects are their beliefs? Hardly.

Like the assassin that he is he waits for the appropriate moment to drive the knife into the backs of the union men. The last strike, according to Tobin, which suffered none of his conniving help, "was a strike in violation of all of our laws, because the local did not receive the endorsement or any consideration from the International, nor was any request for consideration of official endorsement made to the International by the local union."

That the local union did not receive any consideration from the International Tobin did not have to tell us. No militant worker

could have expected any from a misleader of the stripe of Tobin. But that they asked for no consideration is a brazen lie that fits well with his scurrilous tirade. Not only the Minneapolis Teamster's Joint Council was consulted—and it gave its endorsement—but the International was notified of the intention to strike. And more than that, we are informed by an item printed in the Minneapolis *Labor Review* of another interesting incident that nails the lie to Tobin's charge. It says in part:

Couldn't Do a Thing

"Senator Wagner of the National Labor Board telephoned President Dan Tobin of the Teamster's Union during the height of the street fighting and asked him what he could do to stop it."

"Tobin had to reply that he couldn't do a thing. The truckmen had organized themselves and were making their own battle."

Behind his lies there is no subtle motive for this post-mortem outlawing of the general drivers strike of last May. Tobin is laying the groundwork for an open condemnation of the strike which now stands on the order of the day. Openly ranging himself on the side of the bosses Tobin speaks out against sympathetic strikes which the "union will not sanction." Let the drivers go down into defeat far rather than trespass on the precious sinecure of Tobin.

Preparing the Sell-Out

"... we come into contact with every branch of industry and unless we keep our contracts and protect ourselves, we would continuously be in trouble on account of the inside workers, or others, going out on strike."

That's just the sentiment of the bosses. Blanket refusal to deal with the union so long as it insists on representing the inside workers.

The lines are drawn. The strikers are determined not to be swindled out of their wages. The unions have pledged their support.

"King" Tobin cannot stop the waves.

BROWNSVILLE BRANCH S.Y.L.

Thursday Night.

July 19: George Marlen, author of "The Road", on Proletarian Literature.

July 26: Current Events. 1776 Pkida Ave., near Stone Ave. Brooklyn.

CLEVELAND STRIKE NEWS

Cleveland.—The I.W.W. won its demands by threatening a strike on June 26 at the Dangler Stove Co., a branch of the American Stove Co. Recognition of the I.W.W. shop committee and a ten percent increase in wages were gained. 1,200 of this plant have joined the Metal and Machinery Workers No. 440.

Caddies who struck on June 30 for an increase in wages won a partial victory after a walkout lasting one day. At Ridgewood, Ridge Road and Parma, golf links affected by the strike, the so-called "better" class had to suffer the ignominy of carrying their own golf clubs for the day.

1,100 rubber workers have been out for two weeks in a strike against the General Tire and Rubber Co. for recognition of the union and an increase in wages.

Other strikes in Akron are the walkouts of 350 workers at the Enterprise Manufacturing Co. and 150 Clay workers at the Robinson Clay Product Co. Mass picketing takes place at most of these establishments.

Clashes between strikers and scabs are a daily occurrence in the several weeks old battle of the Taxi drivers against the Yellow Cab Co. Recognition of the union is demanded by the drivers. The Yellow Cab Co. has been forced, several times to withdraw their cabs from the streets of Cleveland despite police protection and injunctions.

The strike fever is catching on everywhere in Cleveland. Many of the strikes have not been reported in the capitalist press. There is the case of the Gas Station Attendants who are still carrying on negotiations over wages and working conditions, after several weeks of striking.

Even the T.U.U.L. won four or five small strikes involving several hundred workers. But neither the Stalinist party nor the T.U.U.L. plays any part in the larger and more important strikes.

A case in point is the Fisher Body strike where the Stalinists issued a leaflet to the men. Rank and file workers called the cops to drive them away. So incensed are these workers at the tame tactics of the Stalinists that they chase them out of the picket line every time they show their face. —P.

Nailing a Few Brazen Lies

A fair example of the politics and journalism of Weisbord is the report in *Class Struggle* (June-July 1934), of the negotiations between the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism (Y.P.S.L., S.Y.L., S.L.L.D., Lovestonites, Weisbordites, etc.) and the Stalinist Youth for a common demonstration in New York on May 30th. For gross misrepresentation of facts and opinions, through commissions and omissions and for its infantile conception of work with the young Socialists the report takes its place with the scribbles of the *Daily Worker*. Space limitation permits only a brief reply. The reader will find a detailed statement of the S.Y.L. on the negotiations in the June issue of *Young Spartacus*.

We read in the first paragraph of the report which is signed G. J.: "The Communist Party wanted the name to be 'United Youth Demonstration Against War and Fascism.' The split occurred on what slogans should be raised by the 'united front demonstration' as distinct from the slogans raised by the separate organizations themselves."

Lie number one. Not the C. P. proposed the name U.Y.D.A.W.F. but our committee proposed this name or any other commonly acceptable name, and the Stalinists rejected it at the joint committee meeting.

Lie number two. Complete unanimity on slogans was arrived at after conflict, at the joint meeting of May 15th. Differences on slogans could not therefore be a basis for a split. (That is why no mention is made of the May 15th meeting in the report!)

Later in the article we are told that the split occurred only on the "name" of the demonstration.

The Disagreement on the Name

Lie number three. First, it contradicts the statement in the first paragraph that disagreement on slogans caused the split. Second, it omits the facts that the Stalinists in addition to insisting upon calling the demonstration "National Youth Day", which led to disagreement on the "name", refused to issue a common leaflet, and common publicity with our committee! In a word no real united front!

We are further told that the Spartacus Youth delegates did not endeavor to prevent a division between the Y.C.L. and Yipsels and thereby "showed it was a regular centrist, opportunist organization."

Lie number four. It was the Spartacus Youth delegates who made the proposal in the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism that our committee work

with the Stalinists for a common demonstration. This fact is judiciously omitted, otherwise the false assertion quoted would be too obvious a fraud.

The report states that in our committee there was a dispute on the "character" of the demonstration and only the Weisbordites favored a demonstration against imperialism and war.

Lie number five. There was no dispute on the character of the demonstration. All agreed that it was against imperialism and war and Fascism. This character was defined by the slogans raised. The difference that existed was on the name of the committee: should it employ the phrase "imperialist war" or "war". The Spartacus delegates claimed that there was little difference as to which phrase was used in the name. The name "United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism" was more popular. It was correct because the chief anti-war demands referred to Roosevelt's imperialist war plans. If the position of the Weisbordites was so correct why were they compelled to distort the facts and report the dispute as one over the character of the demonstration?

A "Non-Aggression" Pact? The Spartacus delegates accepted a "non-aggression pact," the report claims, by supporting the motion that "Only those slogans acceptable to all organizations be carried in the demonstration."

Lie number six. The motion did not hinder any organization from raising their own political slogans. The term "acceptable" did not mean that all had to agree with the slogans, but had to approve their use at the demonstration. This is the procedure at all united front demonstrations! The Weisbordites were permitted to carry the insane slogan calling for the expulsion of all Fascist ambassadors from the United States, although none of the other organizations agreed with the slogan. The Weisbordites and the Spartacus Youth League were permitted to carry banners for the Fourth International though the other groups were opposed to the slogan.

The Weisbordite report further fulminates against the Spartacus delegates because of the spirit of friendliness between them and the young Socialist delegates. As Weisbord himself expresses it in an editorial: "... as though the differences between the Y.P.S.L. and Communist Left were not differences between exploiters and exploited."

How is one to begin to answer

such infantile radicalism? That the differences between social democracy and Communism are those between the defenders of capitalism and their revolutionary opponents is a truism for Communists. Does this mean that we cannot approach the Left Socialists, particularly the militant Yipsels, as comrades in friendly discussions and common action? To answer negatively is to help the Socialist bureaucrats keep control over the young Socialists rather than to win them for Communism.

Another Weisbord Trick

How does this friendliness affect our intransigent politics? When the Yipsels at the May 30th committee issued an ultimatum which was tantamount to no united front with the Stalinists, was it not the S.Y.L. delegates who sharply criticized—and with complete success—their position? The Weisbord report says not a word on this score! Again with good reason!

But the "secret" of the vehemence and slander is given away in the final paragraph of the report. On May 1st the Weisbordites participated in the Stalinist demonstration. Why not on May 30th? Because our original call came out for the release of the four German youth, and the Stalinist demonstration would have refused to permit them to raise the slogan. But did the Stalinist May Day demonstration permit the Weisbordites to raise the slogan of "For the Fourth International"? Of course not! The Weisbordites are now doing penance for not marching with the Stalinists on May 30th.

Weisbord's politics has led him to the worst Stalinist methods of distortion. All the above facts were stated in the *Militant* and *Young Spartacus*, so that no "misunderstandings" can be claimed. His blind hatred of the Communist League leads him to picking up and inventing filthy slanders against it. He is drifting far away from revolutionary Marxism.

ANTONIO FIERRO MEMORIAL MEETING

A memorial meeting for Antonio Fierro, murdered by a Fascist Khaki Shirt, has been called for Saturday, July 14 at 8:30 P.M. at the Debs Auditorium in the Rand School at 7 East 15th St. Speakers

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or smaller, your subscription to the *Militant* expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

Frisco Walkout Grows

(Continued from Page 1)

even Hearst's *Examiner* approves as sufficiently "conservative"—can drive the striking unions into an early settlement, probably on the basis of the June 16th agreement, made between the bosses and Ryan, Longshoremen President, which was rejected by the longshoremen and the other maritime workers.

Ominous as the outlook for the general strike is, it still has a chance. If the teamsters vote again to come out tonight, half the battle will be won. Furthermore, about twenty of the 120 unions have already voted for the general strike, and many more are meeting to do so this week. The vote for the general strike is not mandatory, but enables the "Strategy Committee" to call it if they choose; but if a majority of the unions vote for it, a phony settlement will not be so easy. Also, Oakland Labor Council, composed of eighty locals and about 35,000 members, has voted to submit the question of general strike to the membership. Word also came on Monday of representatives of eighty trade unions to discuss the general strike call.

But meanwhile the Frisco Labor Council will do nothing to further the general strike plan. Efforts of the Joint Marine Strike Committee to get the Labor Council even to discuss it, during a meeting on July 7, were frustrated. President of the Council, Edward Vandeleur, went out of his way to state to the capitalist press that the meeting did not discuss the general strike. All the "Strategy Committee" has been doing the last two days is talk at the open sessions of the National Longshoremen Board and sit in on the secret executive sessions of the Board.

The efforts of the government, the bosses, and the A. F. of L. chiefs are directed to driving the longshoremen into a separate settlement, leaving the other ten crafts—seamen, cooks, machinists, boiler-makers, etc.—holding the bag. This was the meaning of the July 16th agreement signed by the Longshoremen's International president, Joseph P. Ryan, which was turned down by the longshoremen. It provided for joint control of hiring halls, and a number of other dangerous concessions to the bosses, but the main reason the workers turned it down was that the other ten crafts, which really got involved in the strike by going out in sympathy with the longshoremen, should not be left in the lurch.

The 1918 strike of the longshoremen was smashed because they got

no support from the seamen. Now that the seamen have at last demonstrated their solidarity, the longshoremen are not going to turn around and let them down. If the bosses and the union chiefs succeed in forcing a separate settlement, it will take years to heal the breach between the longshoremen and the other maritime workers.

The government is cooperating in this attempt. First, the President set up, not a board to deal with the marine workers as a whole, but a Longshoremen's Board. Then, Attorney General Cummings made a ruling, upon the request of the Board, that the ship owners as a group do not have to deal with the seamen as a whole, but that each company deals separately with its "own" seamen. This was done in order to dodge the offer of the seamen to abide by a secret balloting to be held by the Board to determine the representatives of the seamen. The scheme now is to divide up the seamen in small groups, for a couple of dozen different elections, providing any number of opportunities of spotting union leaders, intimidating workers, and fixing each election. The ship owners insist on pretending that they do not function together as a group which can deal collectively with the seamen. In facing the longshoremen, however, whom even the bosses admit are almost all in the International Longshoremen's Association, the bosses act through a central control.

The action of the teamsters, the strike votes, and the lengths the "Strategy Committee" will dare to go in heading off the overwhelming sentiment for the general strike, will determine the outcome. That will come in the next few days.

Portland, July 8.—By greasing the tracks, and then winning the train crews, the waterfront strikers Saturday prevented any trains from getting to the piers. Representatives of 80 trade unions will meet Monday on the question of general strike. The leaders of the Oregon national guard are having conferences in preparation, with the Governor and the Portland officials.

Seattle, July 9.—The bosses are trying to put over the June 16th agreement, which the workers turned down by overwhelming votes. The bosses are conducting "straw ballots" to "determine the sentiment of the employees" who went out. The strike committee has prohibited the use of coast steamers in transporting goods from Seattle to Tacoma, and all shipping has been tied up.

HOW NOT TO LEAD A STRIKE

The Stalinists who are ever ready to shout sell-out about any strike which they do not control, have again demonstrated their utter incapacity to lead any strike without completely destroying and demoralizing whatever organization existed.

The most recent example comes to us from Bridgeton, N. J., where the Agricultural Cannery Industrial Union, under the guiding hand of Donald Henderson, ex-secretary of the National Students League "led" a strike at the Seabrook Farms.

The strike ended with renunciation of Henderson's leadership by the strikers, when he was forcibly dragged off the platform by enraged strikers, and capitulation to the United States Commissioner of Conciliation sent by Frances Perkins.

The terms of the agreement finally accepted include an "impartial" board of adjustment of 5 members—none of whom are strikers.

And here is how the board is to function: "The duties of the board shall consist in deciding any question in controversy between employer and employee and the decision of the board thereon shall be final in binding on all parties and interest. "The board shall regulate its own procedure."

While Henderson opposed the settlement as finally accepted, the fact that the strikers would have none of him and yelled him down when he tried to speak, is indicative of the "confidence" the workers had in his leadership.

Is this the leadership Bill Dunne wanted the workers in Minneapolis to follow? No, thank you!

The *Daily Worker*, in its customary fashion, hailed the strike as a victory! The old wage scale of 25c to 30c per hour is to remain in force. Working conditions are the same as when the strike was called. And yet in the statement of the union published in the *Daily Worker* on July 12th, they have the audacity to say that: "The workers have won the major demands of the strike." This in face of the vicious clauses in the agreement in which the "arbitration" board—on which not a single striker is represented—is to arbitrate all differences between employer and employee and all decisions are to be binding.

This follows the Stalinist dictum that all strikes in which they participate must necessarily lead to victory, e.g., the N. Y. Taxi strike.



COPS FIRE ON UNARMED PICKETS

A.F.L. Misleaders Betray Frisco General Strike

Terror Used by Bosses to Crush Strike

With the general strike at its crisis, and the reactionary bureaucracy carrying the bosses' colors into the ranks of labor, the bosses unleashed a new strikebreaking weapon: a whirlwind series of raids on Communist and other workingclass centres, workers' meetings, picket groups and soup lines. Thirty-five squads of "vigilantes", dressed as workers, backed up by the National Guard and the police, began an unprecedented reign of terror on the night of July 17, which is still going on.

Over three hundred militant workers and strikers were arrested and held on high bail, and a half dozen workers' headquarters were sacked and destroyed, including those of the Communist Party, the I. W. W. and the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

While the local authorities pretended that this work was done by "lawless vigilantes", and most of the capitalist press reported accordingly, some even attempted to say that workers made the raids, two or three liberal reporters let the real story through. Contradictions piled up, as the same issue of a newspaper carried both the fake and true story.

A special dispatch to the New York Times of July 17 is typical of the lying stories carried by the capitalist press:

The San Francisco Chronicle asserts that the "vigilantes" who raided the radicals' headquarters were organized by conservative labor leaders. The newspaper said that these union men were aroused by evidence that Reds had been masquerading as union strikers and flaunting banners and placards at variance with the aims of the strike.

Thirty-five squads of "vigilantes," said to have been composed chiefly of striking teamsters, according to this version, were sent out in automobiles to make the raids.

The identity of the "vigilantes" has not been officially revealed. At first general opinion was that they were connected with the Committee of 500 organized by prominent citizens yesterday at the behest of Mayor Angelo J. Rossi.

This gag was contradicted in the same issue in a dispatch from the Associated Press, which incidentally gives the bosses' prediction of the raids:

Gives Word of Raids.

By The Associated Press.—A series of raids on known Communist "hot spots" were under way here late today. The police are determined to smash the radical element in San Francisco. Youthful civic vigilantes aided them.

The first indication of the concerted drive against radicals came from Charles Wheeler, vice president of the McCormick Steamship Line, who said in a talk at the Rotary Club here today that the raids would start soon. He intimated government consent had been obtained for the raids.

Armed with clubs, thirty youthful vigilantes rushed the communistic quarters in the Ruthenberg House at 121 Haight Street, smashing windows and upsetting furniture. The few occupants of the building fled screaming down the street. By the time police arrived the youths had gone. The Ruthenberg House, which also was wrecked, quartered the Workers Theatre, Film Book League, sports club, school, photo shop and library and offices of the International Labor Defense League.

Signs advocating revolution and literature were seized. Dolores Park, at Eighteenth and Dolores Streets, was the scene of another civilian demonstration against radicalism. Hardly had speakers mounted soap boxes to exhort their cause when

(Continued on Page 4)

CAPITALISTS JUBILANT, LONGSHOREMEN STILL OUT

San Francisco, July 19.—Never have labor fakers so clearly "headed" a strike in order to behead it as have the reactionaries of the Labor Council led the general strike to disintegration.

Bitterly opposed to the strike, only to be over-ridden by the overwhelming majority of the local unions, Vandeleur, Kidwell, Casey, and their clique rode along just long enough to find the first opportunity to break the strike.

After two days during which the strike was completely victorious, with the bosses on the run, with no sign of any weakening of labor's ranks, Vandeleur's gang suddenly sprang a resolution for arbitration on the general strike committee, Tuesday, simultaneously with the beginning of raids by troops, police and vigilantes, who began weeding out militant workers from picket groups, soup lines and other places, and jailing them.

A Phony Vote

The resolution introduced by Vandeleur was claimed to have been passed by the narrow vote of 207 to 180, but the vote was by a show of hands, which Kidwell counted, and the demand by Harry Bridges and others for a roll call was denied by Vandeleur. Bridges later accused Kidwell of miscounting, and declared many unauthorized individuals voted. Kidwell's only answer was a formal denial.

Green & Co. Knife Coast Labor Unions

Shrewdly timed to coincide with the boss terror against the left wing, and the reactionary drive within the union ranks, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., stabbed the coast workers in the back with the most damaging anti-labor statement of Green's shameful career. This statement was issued from Chicago, with Green en route to the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, on Wednesday, July 18, a day on which the hundred thousand strikers sorely needed the backing of the nation's organized workers. Green, in language identical with that of any bourgeois reactionary, claimed that "the strike in San Francisco is local in character, possessing no national significance... the American Federation of Labor neither ordered the strike nor authorized it."

Knowing that the American working class would react with horror at this traitorous act, Green finished his damnable statement to the press with a formula which mingles a disavowal of a desire to criticize—after the rest of the statement—with crocodile tears. He said: "When working people are engaged in an economic life or death struggle, it does not seem appropriate for their friends to engage in comment which might be used against them by their enemies."

Press Understands Green

The capitalist press gorged themselves with Green's words. Headlines ran, "Green Disavows Strike for A. F. of L." (World Telegram); "Green Disavows Responsibility for Dock Strike" (Herald Tribune); "Green Says A. F. of L. Is Not On Strike, Puts Onus on Local Union" (N. Y. Times).

The bosses are fighting tooth and nail with the weapons of terror and demoralization. Police, thugs, vigilantes, National Guard, gas, pistols, rifles, machine guns—and not least the labor fakers, the yellow \$20,000 a year labor fakers who make unity with the bosses and government against the workers.

Green's anti-labor statement was only the most prominent of a whole series issued by A. F. of L. officials. Other declarations of No Solidarity were:

John Possehl, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, issued the least swinish statement: "We have always tried to carry out our contracts, but if your friends are shot down, what can you do? Our West Coast organization is one of the best, and it is a conservative outfit." There are no Communists in it." He added—that he would not say what he would do if the bosses protested the broken contracts.

William Hushings, legislative agent of the A. F. of L. said he was not acquainted with the terms of labor contracts on the coast, but added: "Personally, I think contracts should be kept."

(Continued on Page 4)

Militant Pickets Close Alabama Textile Industry

So powerful is the sweep of the strike tide that it has inundated the very heart of the Bourbon South. 20,000 new fists were clenched in the statewide textile strike that has brought every loom to a standstill in Alabama.

The haven of lynchers and the home of the attempted legal murder of the Scottsboro Boys for the first time in years felt the might of organized and aroused labor when the United Textile Workers issued their call for a general strike of all cotton workers.

Bosses Fear to Open Mills

Militant action in Huntsville where a strong group of strikers closed down six plants that continued operations and threats to defeat similar moves has caused the bosses to refrain so far from any attempts to open their mills.

The Alabama strikers are pointing the way to American labor in being the first to initiate the battle for the thirty-hour week. Among their other demands are: a twelve dollar weekly minimum wage, elimination of the "stretch-out" system, reinstatement of workers fired for union activities and collective bargaining.

NRA has already issued statements denouncing the strikers in the first opening wedge of the bosses' battle to defeat the workers' attempt to win tolerable living conditions for themselves and their families.

The walkout of the 20,000 textile operatives in Alabama becomes a signal now for labor in the entire cotton and silk fabric industry to galvanize their forces and to make good proposals adopted by the United Textile Workers, the Hosiery Workers in convention a few months back and the National Committee of the American Federation of Silk workers to call a general strike for the thirty hour week.

Reliable reports have it that officials of the U.T.W. have been conferring for some time now over the question of a national stoppage. This momentous issue facing hundreds of thousands of textile, silk and hosiery workers has now passed beyond the talking stage. Labor scabers like MacMahon, who conveniently allowed himself to be talked out of a general strike a couple of months back by rapid NRA promises, and statements like that made by the National Committee of the A.F.S.W. to call a general strike "if necessary" can only stem the tide and let the favorable moment pass.

Strike Now

The time for the cotton and textile workers to strike is now! Now, when workers men throughout the country are joining hands in a formidable move to conquer those rights denied them by years and impossible to obtain by isolated, sporadic actions, the iron is hot for textile workers to take that step which labor fakers, procrastinators, and timid progressives have been delaying for months—the general strike of all textile, hosiery and silk workers.

ATTENTION!

All unemployed members and sympathizers of the Communist League are to report at the city headquarters Monday, July 23, before noon for important work.

—City Organizer.

Tide of Strikes Sweeps Over the Entire Nation

BULLETIN

As we go to press news has arrived that National Guardsmen have been mobilized to smash the longshoremen's strike in Portland, Oregon which has been in progress since May 9th. The labor unions in this city are taking a vote tonight on the proposition for a general strike.

SEATTLE, Wash., July 20.—Armed with long range tear gas guns, Seattle police attacked striking longshoremen in an effort to smash picket lines. Many were injured by gas.

Baltimore, Md.—Taking their cue from Minneapolis, 574, 1000 members of the Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers Union went on strike following the bosses' refusal to recognize the union. Picket lines will be augmented by 800 more drivers who are expected out in a day or so.

New York, N. Y.—At a membership meeting of the Knit Goods Workers Union branch of the I.L.G.W.U., 18,000 workers ratified a strike proposal and prepared to take immediate action to enforce three demands: for the closed shop, a thirty hour week, and a thirty per cent wage increase. 2,000 members of the San Francisco branch of the I.L.G.W.U. have joined the general strike there.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Five thousand members of the Longshoremen's Union here declared themselves in readiness to walk out in support of the general strike in San Francisco. The union is awaiting instructions from the "Frisco strike committee."

Helena, Mont.—Attempts by the bosses to put scabs to work met with firm resistance on the part of 3,600 copper miners who have been on strike since May 8. Picket lines were reinforced by 1,500 smelter workers who struck in sympathy with the embattled miners. The National Labor Board is trying feverishly to break the strike but without success. The miners demand a wage increase of 65c an hour and a thirty-hour week.

Publication of all newspapers in this city ceased when the Typographical Union went on strike for a 30% wage increase on May 16th. Since then, the city has been without newspapers.

Danielson, Conn.—Five hundred workers at the Dayville plant of the Assawaga Woolen Co. have gone on strike in answer to the bosses' refusal to grant a 25% wage increase. Mass picket lines forced the shutting down of the plant.

Kohler, Wis.—The tranquility of this "ideal village," founded by the robber baron W. J. Kohler, was considerably disturbed when more than a thousand workers went on strike to enforce their demands for a thirty-hour week and a minimum wage of 65c an hour. Mass picketing continues despite the police terror.

York, Pa.—Four thousand members of the Cigarmakers' Union of America went on strike here, following the bosses' refusal to grant the demand for a closed shop. The industry is paralyzed. The pressure of mass picketing has forced most of the cigar manufacturers to shut down their plants.

33 Shot In Minneapolis As Strikers Stop All Commercial Vehicles

UNIONS MEET TO CONSIDER CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE

Minneapolis, July 20. (By wire).—Thirty-three pickets were shot with sawed-off shotguns by police who, at the same moment, in two different places, began firing volleys of slugs into groups of pickets. The authorities apparently had planned the double provocation as the opportunity for bringing in the National Guard, for within a few minutes of the shootings the first truckload of machine gunners arrived on the blood-spattered sidewalks, established military lines, and cleared the district.

Within twenty minutes of the shootings the rest of the battalion of guardsmen, held in readiness at the armory here since the strike

Olsen Threatens Martial Law

BULLETIN

One dead and fifty wounded is the toll taken so far by the murderous authorities of Minneapolis.

Governor Olson backed up the onslaught by the local police with an announcement that he is prepared to declare martial law. As we go to press no word has yet come from the vast gathering of all trade union members of Minneapolis.

started on Monday, were widening the area enclosed by military lines. Thirty-five hundred additional National Guardsmen were ordered here at once by Adjutant General E. A. Walsh.

Former-Labor Governor Olson is, according to the law, supreme commander of the National Guard. The Adjutant General's authority to order the additional guardsmen must have been previously arranged for with the Governor, which means that the whole manoeuvre was pre-arranged.

One attack took place on Third Street and Sixth Avenue North, in front of the Slocum Bergen Grocery Company, from which convoys of police cars were preparing to move a merchandise truck. The police were under orders from Chief of

Police Michael Johannes to shoot their way through picket lines and were armed with the murderous sawed-off shot-gun, favorite deadly weapon of American gangsters.

As the scab truck began to move, swaddled around by police cars, a truckload of pickets drew alongside.

Without warning, according to witnesses and newspapermen, the police fired volley after volley into the tightly-packed strikers. While men fell like flies, the rest courageously advanced on the scab truck.

Their defiant advance probably saved the lives of many, for in hand-to-hand fighting with the bloodthirsty police, they prevented them from continuing their gunfire. Despite the number wounded and the truck drivers fighting with their bare hands, they sent two of their attackers to the hospital. Another, a sergeant, was shot by his berserk subordinates when he accidentally got into the line of fire.

The other police attack occurred at the same moment, a block away. Witnesses in between heard the shooting break out on both sides simultaneously, as if at a signal. The signal arranged for may have been the moment of arrival of the picket truck.

A block away, where earlier in the afternoon police lines had been established in preparation for the attempt to move trucks, crowds of strikers and sympathizers were lined up, when suddenly the police fired into the crowd. Four of the wounded fell here.

The militant answer of the labor movement of Minneapolis came immediately.

Union-driven taxicabs, ice, beer and gasoline trucks which had so far continued to operate by arrangement with the union, immediately went on strike.

The district surrounding strike headquarters was immediately cleared of police by the strikers, including traffic cops. Strike headquarters took over the district and strikers took over the directing of traffic.

LOCAL 574 APPEALS FOR FUNDS

The Truck Drivers Union published the following appeal in "The Daily Strike Bulletin", organ of the strike:

Local 574 is fighting a battle which is the battle of every working man and woman. Our victory will be yours. Our defeat will be your defeat. Against us are arrayed powerful forces of reaction. We know that the battle will not be an easy one to win. It will require all the resources at our command. We feel justified in calling upon every man and woman in the organized labor movement, upon every friend of the working man, to grant us assistance.

To win a battle of the kind we have engaged in, means MONEY! Local 574 is calling upon YOU to help financially. Every contribution will be a blow struck in our behalf. Send in your donation immediately. Money given generously and promptly is doubly effective. Contributions should be sent to the General Headquarters of the Strike Committee of 100, 215 Eighth Street South, Minneapolis.

LECTURE

The General Strike

Its Role in the Class Struggle

SPEAKER:

ARNE SWABECK

Sunday, July 22, 8 P.M.
at Our New and Spacious Home
144 Second Avenue

Admission 10 cents Questions and Discussion

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Capitalist Press and San Francisco

In tearful articles about the suffering of women and children, in threatening stories about the power of the National Guard and the Army, in hair-raising reports of "Russian Reds" imposing their leadership on Americans the capitalist press does its bit to discredit the greatest forward step taken by American labor in years—the Pacific Coast general strike. And yet hidden away, far from the front page and the headlines, we find the *World Telegram's* correspondent saying: "The strike, strong and dramatic, has seemed amazingly popular with the general public." Over the protests and barriers set up by the traitorous and yellow labor leaders, many of them bought with enemy gold, the working class of California, "the great American working man" has surged forward in splendid class solidarity. That surging enthusiastic militancy has carried with it not only a "conservative" organized labor and sections of the unorganized but also thousands of the white collar workers, professionals and small business men who make up "the general public." Here we have a mental, spiritual and moral awakening of the workers of California—in a word a rising class consciousness which shows that the grave-diggers of decaying American capitalism are reaching for their spades. No wonder the capitalist press becomes hysterical.

Green—"The Lost Leader"

William Green who is so much in evidence when chains of arbitration are being fastened on labor has nothing to say. This buzzard stands to one side hoping that working class defeat will furnish him rich pickings in bringing labor back to "sanity." Whatever the settlement of the California strike may be, one thing is sure, that the handwriting is on the wall for the blustering Baptist betrayer Bill Green and his kind.

"Lost" General Strikes

The capitalist press with great gusto tells of the lost general strikes of the past and reckons among them the Winnipeg general strike. And it is true that the Winnipeg strike was called off without winning recognition of the metal workers union, the point for which the strike was called. However, during and after the strike wage increases were won by practically all sections of Winnipeg labor. Thousands of workers were brought into the labor movement who had no previous contact with it. Literally thousands broke their church, lodge and other ideological ties with their masters and never returned again. So great was the support of the strike that months later four of the strike leaders, three of them still in jail were elected to the provincial legislature. A labor mayor and a group of labor aldermen were elected in the city. Later with the formation of the Communist party a Communist alderman was elected. Despite the fifteen years of prosperity and depression, fifteen years of apathy in the American labor movement, the solidarity and militancy generated by the Winnipeg general strike is yet a potent force in that city. The San Francisco strike, greater in its scope, occurs under far different conditions. Conditions much more favorable for the working class. Gentlemen of the Capitalist press: American labor, conscious and aggressive, has arrived. It is here to stay. It took some hesitating steps in the past year and again more firmly in Minneapolis and Toledo. Now, standing upright and powerful, it places its feet down firmly in the Frisco general strike. Its face is to the East. There will be setbacks. But its task is laid by history. Awakened and all-powerful it shall march across the continent, clearing the capitalist rats and parasites from the country it has made.

Class Collaboration

The following item was not clipped from the organ of a company union, nor even from Green's *American Federationist* but from the *Stallin Daily Worker*. However, it should occasion no wonder that those who can read "peaceful intentions" in the Imperialist policies of France and England can also "be keenly aware of the problems facing 'both sides' in the factories of American capitalism and 'have a realistic approach to their solution'." Here is the quotation, *Daily Worker*, July 16th—I. Rosenberg writing on the shoe industry in New York: "The manufacturers must admit (really) that our organization is keenly aware of the conditions prevailing in the industry and the problems arising in the shops affecting both sides and they know that our organization is having a realistic approach to the solution of the problems." Bill Green couldn't put the case for class collaboration letter than that. Here again the swamps of Stalinism and reformism merge.

—BILL

Strike Ends in Philadelphia S.K.F. Works

Philadelphia.—The heroic struggle of the SKF Anti-Friction Bearing strikers ended on July 9, after a four month battle.

The strike broke out when the bosses refused to renew the agreement for a closed shop (which had been in effect for six months) and in its place tried to force an agreement embodying all the earmarks of a company union.

The Philadelphia Regional Labor Board's pretensions to "impartiality" were exposed. "These bosses' instrument tried to get the men back to work under this condition: to arrange negotiations between the men and the bosses for a period of 10 days during which the men were to remain at work, and after that to arbitrate all disputed points and render a binding decision in 30 days.

A Vicious Decision

The decision of the National Labor Board was even more vicious. They proposed that 250 workers were to be taken back (900 had gone on strike), the others were to be placed on a preferential hiring list for one year. In this time the company was not to hire any outside help. The Regional Labor Board was to act as arbitrator in all cases of violence.

The strikers correctly rejected both of the proposals. The workers received a lesson which helped to maintain their morale for a time—that the only defense against the bosses was their own organization, the Anti-Friction Bearing Workers Union.

For 10 weeks the ranks of the strikers were solid. Until that time the only ones who were working in the plant were imported scabs who had been brought in by a scab agency of New York City on the third week of the strike after the Regional Labor Board's decision was rejected.

Police Terror

During this period the police terror, unequalled in the labor history of the city, was inaugurated by the head of the Department of "Public Safety", Le Strange. Pick-

eting around the plant during the beginning and end of the work-day was made impossible by the scabbers. Convoys of motorcycle cops guarded the scabs to and from work—300 cops were stationed around the plant during the day and were fed in the plant's cafeteria. Many were injured by the bluecoated brutes, one striker was shot, two were stabbed and more than a score injured with clubs. The city's public strike-breaking agency, the police force, was the most effective tool in smashing the strike.

On the 11th week of the strike about 150 workers went back to work. Realizing that in order to win the strike—that is to keep out scabs—support from other unions was necessary. Calls were sent out to all labor organizations.

Some offered financial assistance and a few pickets but the main body of the Central Labor Union sabotaged the strike.

Labor Sees Boycott Strike

Since there wasn't any organized leftwing that could challenge the conservative and reactionary leaders, this treachery to the strikers heightened the audacity of the firm while the workers became demoralized. After that it was merely a question of how long the workers could hold out against the overwhelming odds.

Though the strike hadn't been called off, as time wore on quite a few workers went back to their jobs.

On Monday, July 9 the strike was officially ended.

From this strike we can learn that militancy in both the leadership and the membership of an independent union is insufficient to win. By being separate from the main stream of organized labor, the A. F. of L. the union was cut off from the aid of other locals in the A. F. of L. The Minneapolis strike shines out like a beacon—a militant left-wing trade union within the A. F. of L. forced the conservative trade-unions into workers' solidarity and into giving united aid against the bosses.

—LOU ROBERTS.

The Pledge Fund A Holy United Front in Mexico

THE PLEDGERS

New York City (New members)

John Delaney pledges 50c monthly, "for period of employment".
George Cooper pledges \$1 weekly "as long as job lasts".
M. M. pledges \$2 weekly "for as long as possible".
This is the same comrade who has disposed of 47 coupon books in the Organization-press Campaign. He has 10 more books, and will undoubtedly sell those too.

Manhattan

I Glade \$1.00 monthly
Leonard Lewis 1.00 weekly
Dorothy Morris 1.00 "
Clara Nelson 1.00 "
J. G. Wright .50 "
M. Spithos 1.00 monthly
S. Blecker .50 "
S. Gordon 2.00 "
Paul King 1.00 "
Florence Becker 2.00 "
J. Weber 2.00 "
Com. Tamas 1.00 "
F. Victor .50 "
M. Kling .50 "
E. Konikow 1.00 "

Harlem

E. Beecher .50 "
Colay .50 "
Cochran .50 "
Jerry Marsh 1.00 "
T. Smith 2.00 "

Bronx

S. Eckstadt 1.00 "
M. Lifshitz 1.00 "

Others in New York City

H. Porter 1.00 monthly
E. Alby 1.00 "
E. E. C. 1.00 "
E. J. Conwit .50 "
Cornells 1.00 "
L. Haldous 1.00 "
Samuel, E. 1.00 "
The Gelmans 1.00 "
P. Miller 1.00 "
Sydney Moroff 1.00 "
A. McCabe 1.00 "
City Subway Worker 1.00 "
Edith Sher 1.00 "
Ann Toren 1.00 "
H. S. 1.00 weekly
(paid for 25 weeks)

A Teacher 1.00 "
(paid for 26 weeks)
Geo. Cooper 1.00 "
M. M. 2.00 "
John Delaney .50 monthly

Newark, N. J.

Geo. Holley 2.00 monthly
L. Nagy .50 "
G. Kotz 1.00 "
J. Becker 1.00 "
Lambert 1.00 "
A. Sympathizer .50 "
A. Social Worker 1.00 "
A. Clerk .50 "

Boston

E. Wiener .50 "
C. Sheket .50 "
W. Henderson .50 "
J. Chiplowitz .50 "
A. Wolfe, New Haven 1.00 "
A. Friend, Youngtown 2.00 "
(paid 4 months in advance)
A. Steel Worker, W. Va., sends a donation to this fund whenever he can manage it. Thus far he has sent in \$15.

NEEDED—A few more friends like

Mexico City.—While considering counter-revolutionary all proposals of a united front with other workers' organizations not directly controlled by them, the Stalinists make no bones about the formation of united fronts with isolated intellectuals or intellectual groups, and at times in actual practice even with the Fascists as demonstrated by the Prussian "Red" Referendum in 1931. The prize example of all, however, seems to have been reserved for the Mexican Stalinists who today maintain a united front in action with the clerical forces on the issue of opposing sexual education in the public schools.

In an effort to cover up its inability to solve the problems of the Mexican revolution and distract attention from the non-fulfillment of the pompously announced educational projects, and the attacks on the standards of living of the school teachers and professors, the government of the bourgeoisie has brought forward through its Minister of Public Instruction, Nicholas Basols, an elaborate and apparently very "revolutionary" project for sexual education to the children in the public schools.

Taking advantage of the prejudices of the most backward sections of the population, the Roman Catholic clergy has succeeded in mobilizing the parents' organizations under its control in a mass protest movement against this "unholy" proposal of the Rodriguez-Calles regime which, they point out is set on destroying the morals of their innocent offspring and corrupting the home with ideas about life and sex not yet accepted by the Holy See.

A substantial mass movement has been raised on this issue having its main support among fanatical housewives. And here is where the official Communist Party enters the scene with its complete collection of appendages and auxiliaries. The Y.C.L. and the Anti-Imperialist League are fighting in the street demonstrations side by side with the Catholic Youth Federation as the shock troops of reaction in this conflict.

As if there were nothing else to attack and criticize in the policies of the bourgeois government, and instead of emphasizing the demands for better conditions for the teachers and the fulfillment of the program for better conditions for the teachers and the fulfillment of the program or establishment and maintenance of schools in the country, side, raising the issue for free books and supplies to school children, the Stalinists pick the issue of sexual education, thereby giving the most direct support to the most reactionary forces in the country. No further comment is necessary. —C.C.

M.M. of the Bronx, the teacher in New York City and the steel worker from W. Va. in addition to our regular pledgers, whose contributions help greatly to lighten our financial burdens.

QUESTION BOX

Send questions to "Question Box Editor", c/o The Militant. State the name under which you wish your answers to appear.

COMRADE G-d-n, Brownsville.—Here, briefly, is the story of the Prussian "red" referendum.

On March 5, 1931, 42,000 members of the Stahlhelm, the nationalistic, reactionary, league of war veterans, petitioned the Prussian government, headed by Otto Braun, Premier and Dr. Carl Severing, Minister of the Interior, both Socialists, demanding the calling of a popular initiative on the dissolution of the Prussian Diet. All the parties to the right of the government, particularly the Nationalists and National Socialists, signified their intention of supporting the initiative, thus indicating who stood to gain by it. By about April the initiative, which required about 5,000,000 votes was carried. The Diet then had the choice of either voting on its own dissolution or submitting the matter to a popular referendum. It chose the latter course.

Now the Stalinists step on the scene. "On July 21, the Central Committee addressed itself to the Prussian Government with the demand for democratic and social concessions, threatening otherwise to come out for the referendum. Advancing its demands, the Stalinist bureaucracy in actuality addressed itself to the upper stratum of the Social Democratic party with the proposal for a united front against the Fascists under certain conditions. When the Social Democracy rejected the proposed conditions, the Stalinists formed a united front with the Fascists against the Social Democracy.

The vote was taken on August 9, 1931; the plebiscite failing, receiving about 19,000,000 votes out of a required 18,500,000. The voting was not done by parties, all the votes being merged, so that no accurate measure was available as to how each party voted. The Stalinists, however, claimed that the showing was due to them and accused the Fascists of having "sabotaged" the voting.

The Stalinists defended their position by claiming that it was not their fault if, in voting correctly, the Fascists voted their way. To this we replied: "The question of the coincidence of the voting with the Fascists is . . . viewed by us not from the point of view of some abstract principle, but from the point of view of the actual struggle of the classes for power, and the relationship of forces at a given stage. . . . To come out into the streets with the slogan 'Down with the Bruening-Braun government' at a time when according to the relation of forces, it can only be replaced by a government of Hitler-Hugenberg, is the sheerest adventurism." By taking such a position under the circumstances "the Communists . . . appear in the eyes of the masses as the aids of reaction."

For a more complete analysis of the question see the article by L. D. Trotsky in the *Militant* of September 19, 1931, from which the excerpts in quotation marks have been taken.

COMRADE B.A.N., New York.—The names of the countries where we have sections, and the names of the papers which they publish follows:

Germany: *Unser Wort*
Holland: *Baanbreker*
France: *Verite* and *Combat des Jeunes* (youth)
Belgium: *La Voix Communiste*
Spain: *Communiste* and *L'Antorcha*
Greece: *Pali ton Taxion*
Poland: *Proletariat*
Bulgaria: *Osvobodienie*
England: *Red Flag*
Italy: *Verita*
U.S.A.: *Militant*, *Young Socialist* (youth), and the *New International* (theoretical monthly)
Canada: *Vanguard*
Argentina: *Nueva Etapa*, *Tribuna Leninista*
Brazil: *Lucha de Classe*
Cuba: *Rayo*
Chile: *Izquierda*
U.S.S.R.: *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*
Switzerland
Lithuania
Mexico
In addition we have groups in China, Austria and other countries.

Com. Abramowitz Dead

Comrade Isaac Abramowitz, a member of the Communist League in New Haven died of cancer on Saturday, July 7. For the greater part of his life he was a fighter in the revolutionary and working class movement. Joining the movement in Russia he was one of the foundation members of the Communist Party of the United States. Expelled in 1928 for supporting the Marxist position in the party he has ever since been a staunch fighter for the Communist League. His death has greatly bereaved all the comrades that knew him.

The Crisis in the New York Painters Union

The widespread belief that the Brotherhood of Painters, District Council No. 9, with its thirteen locals in New York City is facing its gravest internal crisis in recent years, was substantiated by Philip Zausner, fraudulently elected secretary of D. C. No. 9, in a sixty minute speech delivered last Friday, July 13, before the membership meeting of Local 442.

The New York Painters are in open revolt against the unconstitutional, fraudulent and strong-arm methods used in the elections on June 30 and they are determined to clean out the underworld elements from the ranks of the organization. Betrayed in the strike of last October, deprived of \$160,000 which was extorted from working members in the short space of a few months under the pretext of raising a strike fund and then having it spent just as quickly by Zausner and his "friends" who ignored the welfare of the painters and imposed on them a flock of human parasites who maintain their hold by intimidation, force and terror, the Brotherhood rank-and-file members have become definitely insurgent. And rightly so, as the conditions in the trade and in the shops are worse now than they have ever been.

The Steamroller in Action

During the last Fall "season" when the union treasury was bulging with cash, Zausner's clique felt itself firmly in the saddle of the union. The seeming stability soon led to mechanization of leadership. Next he found it easy to create a machine, which was transformed into a perfect steamroller that now dominates all the activities of the union—at meetings and elections—flattening out opposition, balking protests. But the potential rise of new leaders, in time, under the stimulus of real divergences of policies and program is a real menace to the steamroller today.

Last Thursday evening seven hundred bona fide members of the Brotherhood marched in solid ranks to the headquarters of the D. C. on 14th St. and Eighth Ave. and impressed the gangsters and the police there with their militancy. Saturday a huge mass meeting was held in Irving Plaza where pledges were made and a resolution adopted to fight Zausnerism to the bitter end. Every honest painter is convinced that the Zausner gang occupies the office illegally, and the election was carried through by repeaters at the voting machines, by dishonesty and corruption—shortly in a fraudulent manner.

The chief demand was new elections and speaker after speaker directed his speech to that conclusion. "New elections" is a correct demand and since the case is in the hands of lawyers and courts it was also correct to demand that in the meantime the painters themselves take action and force Zausner from office.

A Bit of Fake Bravado

Here we were witness to the usual Stalinist hotbeddedness, where sentiments were allowed to run rampant and emotions take the place of sober reasoning. One of the main speakers, the I.L.D. lawyer Sacher, forgot himself completely and after admitting that he is "terribly interested in the painters" and a feeling had come over him to be one of the painters himself concluded his speech by a bravado: "If I was a painter I would go to and bust up the whole outfit." When during the collection dollar bills were slow in coming in he pleaded with the audience that he personally had put up \$40 for police protection of the meeting and at least that amount should be made good. A few minutes later he burst out again and literally threatened to go out and "tear the gangsters to ribbons."

Louis Weinstein, the rank and file candidate for Zausner's office, as a main speaker also made many statements that didn't win the approval of the painters save the few Stalinists present. He proposed to the painters to violate the constitution whenever possible, since Zausner has also violated it. He spoke of building some new, mysterious union, the name of which he carefully omitted. Weinstein spoke about starving out the D. C.—"not a penny in per capita tax." He also urged the painters to "go back to your locals and give the gangsters their own medicine" with a full knowledge that the painters are not in a position to do so with the exception of his own local and probably one or two others.

The response of the meeting was good, but not as good as it should have been. It is hard to reach all the painters. Despite the fact that during the last month, the *Daily Worker* has printed column after column on the situation only 700 out of 6,000 members could be mobilized for the parade and the mass meeting. The meeting also didn't seem to approve the petitioning for names and addresses that were to be sent to the Executive Board in Indianapolis. Many felt that this self-exposure would result in blacklisting.

Zausner on Offense

Although the militant rank and file is ready to carry the battle to the D. C. door, Zausner's machine is far from sleeping. In fact he is taking the offensive and the odds

seem to be in his favor at the moment. He has a score of men already under charges of Section 272 of the Constitution which, when enforced, means a fine of \$25 or expulsion. The men were instructed to ignore the charges.

Last Friday Zausner opened his barrage in a forceful speech at Local 442 against "Communists" emphasizing that the fight against him is a fight against the union. "We must present a united front to our enemies, the strikebreaking Communists and the bosses who press on us now from all sides." He didn't forget to mention the Taxi drivers and the Seabrook Farms strike as illustrations.

His lieutenants, Harry Rosen and Harry Kaplan even dispensed with lip-service to union democracy and advocated suppressive measures and mob sentiment to give full rein to the ever-present bureaucracy. Many workers were impressed by this demagoguery. The struggle has acquired an ethical tone and "boiled up" into a conflict between the "destroyers" and "saviors" of the Union. Zausner, as a slick speaker and a shrewd politician, capitalizes on the situation. His very position and continuous experience in organizational matters gives him the advantage of wider knowledge. The courageous rank-and-file lacking the constancy that characterizes the leadership loses more than gains from this verbal fight on the floor. What is needed is a wide mass support and for that slow and stubborn organizational work must be carried on. The painters, although they voted for a rank-and-file candidate, are not united enough in action. There remains mutual distrust, a continuous sense of irritation that seems to set the members of the union against each other. This situation must be slowly overcome. And for that more patience is necessary.

Red Baiting

When important issues come to the fore and the old and the new are truly in grips, "names" play a great role. "Red", "Communist", "rat", etc. plays a large part in the stock-in-trade of the Zausner's reactionaries—terms that have no bearing on the real issues that are at stake. Thus every leaflet that the D. C. issues contains one or all of these epithets. The "bad name" campaign is a flank attack. Intimidations, physical force, terror—all these hit the workers directly. "Bad names", or at least unpopular ones, are utilized in an effort to stem the discontent of the painters. So Mr. Zausner "knows" that the Communists are taking advantage of the forthcoming strike, to wreck the union and Elstein also "knows" it is the "dual union idea" which underlies the real cause of the revolt.

The fight against these misleaders will not be a simple one. The very fact that they occupy the seats of power gives them a sharp-edged weapon against the members. They translate every phase of protest into terms of constitutionality, and demand that the protestants obey or be crushed as disrupters of the union. In other words, Zausner's machine wreaths all its acts into the aureole that emanates from the constitution since they are its custodians and interpreters.

Zausner's machine will fight us bitterly. It is a certainty that when all means of combating the influence of the rank and file fails, the officials would use their last and most powerful weapon—expulsion, and revocation of local charters. In order to conduct a successful fight against the Zausner clique we should by all means fight to retain our membership in the union.

Tasks of the Left Wing

Although the fight against the Zausner regime has reached a high point the Left wing has still to enter itself in the union, to win over the wavering, vacillating workers and by means of a realistic Marxist trade union policy to preserve their membership in the union. The double-faced policy of the Stalinists, who would just as soon as not provoke a split in the union in the interests of their paper "revolutionary" outfit can only bring grief to Zausner's mill.

One thing is certain, the fight within the Brotherhood of Painters D. C. No. 9 is on. Behind the conservative officials is the power of the official machine. Behind the radical rank and file is the trend of the times.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

THE MILITANT

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MARCH OF EVENTS

The United Front in France

The threat of Fascism in France is an even greater danger to the French proletariat at this moment than was the threat of Hitler's coming to power in 1932. That is clear when one considers, as every Communist must do, the international setting and the relations of the classes on the world arena. French Fascism strives for power after the catastrophic defeat of the German workers, after the betrayal of the Austrian working class, after the advent of Fascism in a whole string of countries. In their struggle the French proletariat cannot, therefore rely on the active support of the enslaved toilers in the countries given over to the bloody regime of reaction. Furthermore the bourgeoisie of France travel more readily over a road partly paved for them,—it is the bourgeoisie and not the working class that has been shown "how it is done", at least in this recent period. True, the recent happenings in Germany can but strengthen the determination of the masses of every land where reaction has not yet triumphed, not to permit the seizure of power by the Fascists. For that the masses of France, as of every other capitalist country, must be united for struggle.

The inception of the United Front against Fascism in France is at least a guarantee that the French workers will not capitulate without a fight, if such a guarantee were needed in a country with the tradition of leadership in every revolution in Europe except the Russian Revolution. Forced by the inexorable logic of events, the Socialists and the Stalinists, the parties of the betrayal of the German workers, have come to an agreement to fight together against French Fascism. Neither of these bankrupt bureaucracies could resist the over-riding demand and impulse of all the toilers for united action. Both these parties have alike suffered serious splits that threatened their disintegration. The St. Denis communist workers under the leadership of Doriot merely showed the way to the proletarians still under Stalinist influence. At least one motive of the Comintern in "authorizing" the policy of the United Front on an international scale, was to prevent further splits and possibly to win back the St. Denis insurgents.

The Psychology of Forgetting

Both the Socialists and the Stalinists would prefer to start a new page on the united front and to "forget" the past "mistakes". That is partly the meaning of the mutual guarantee not to criticize each other in the united front. The French Stalinists tried to impose as one condition for the united front that the Trotskyists, the International-Communists, be excluded. Indeed they had every reason for wishing this. But their double bookkeeping—denunciation of the Trotskyists as counter-revolutionists in one column for having advocated the only correct policies (which would have made Hitler's coming to power impossible) in the struggle for power of the international proletariat, and sliding in of these very policies in another column (only half-heartedly) at least in the matter of the united front, without any announcement of change or analysis of their past—is the proof that the "new line" is only a false cover to be cast off for further betrayal at a later stage. For the united front can lead to nothing fruitful without correct policies to be advanced through the united front, itself merely a tactic. And until the reactionary theory of socialism in one country is destroyed root and branch (and this means inevitably the liquidation of the Stalinist cliques in every country) the Stalinist parties can only mislead the working class. Precisely because the unity in struggle of the workers permits the hegemony ultimately to pass to that party which advocates a correct course of action based on firm principles, precisely for this reason the Stalinists would like to exclude the Trotskyists whom they cannot face and withstand in open and free debate. They fear the Fourth International!

The United Front to Release Thaelmann

We fight for the release of all political prisoners of Hitler, Thaelmann included. (And do not forget the four German youths shamelessly abandoned to Hitler by the Stalinists). But we cannot help voicing our utter repugnance to the propaganda of the Stalinists which, looking to this figure of "the leader", shamelessly speaks of the daily execution of one or two Communist workers by the Fascist scoundrels as merely the prelude to the killing of Thaelmann. And what of these nameless victims themselves! It is the irony of history that Blum and Thorez form a united front in France to help secure the release of Thaelmann who found it impossible (counter-revolutionary!) himself to unite with Weis, the collaborator of Blum in Germany, to prevent Hitler from coming to power and placing Thaelmann in jail. —JACK WEBER.

Spain

Movement Towards Unity Against Fascism Grows

Conflict almost to the point of civil war is now raging in Spain, though not a word about it is to be seen in the pages of the bourgeois press. Its correspondents and reporters have been ordered by the reactionary Spanish government to ignore the national agricultural workers' strike—on pain of heavy fines—and the government itself takes the position that the strike doesn't exist, while at the same time more and more police and shock troops are sent out from the capital to enforce the illusion with leaden arguments. Our correspondent reports that to date, seven hundred Civil Guards have been killed—which means that the workers are on the offensive, and in a grimly determined, though disorganized way, are putting up a fight that may become the first step of a serious struggle for definitive power.

The strike, called by the Land Workers' Federation of the Socialist Union General de Trabajadores, demands the return of the rights abrogated by the cancellation of reformist land laws passed by the Azana-Socialist government. The gist of these rights are: 1, collective bargaining; 2, fixed wages and hours; and 3, the employment of local, organized labor in preference to transient immigrant labor, either from other regions or from Portugal. This last practice has for many years allowed the landowners to maneuver the work in such a way as to shift the cheapest labor from region to region, at the same time shifting responsibility for the workers in off seasons. Since, as a rule, a land worker can expect a job not more than six or eight months out of the year, unemployment is chronic, and no provision whatsoever has ever been made for relief; and now the quite minimum protection contained in the land labor laws has been completely done away with, this being the backbone of a general reactionary offensive backed first and most powerfully by the landowners, whose two parties, the Agrarios and the Confederacion Española de Derechas Agrarias dominate the present Cortes.

Catalonian Land Laws
As part of this same offensive, the land reforms voted in Catalonia by the autonomous government, under left-republican control, have been declared "unconstitutional" by the National Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees—mostly of monarchist derivation. The Catalonian laws provide reforms of another character than those sponsored nationally by the Socialists. They are designed to protect peasant renters, who by these laws are entitled to demand revision of contracts, expropriation (with arbitrated pay) of land worked by the same hands for eighteen years or over; rent is to be paid in cash, fixed according to the crop-value of the land, instead of in tax-pays as formerly; it is not to exceed fifty percent of the price paid before, and must always allow first for a profit to the tenant.

Since most of the land-workers in Catalonia are peasant-renters, who form the majority of the population, and are also the strongest political base of the Catalan government, it has apparently defied Madrid, re-passing the laws with a retroactive character—though meanwhile it begs the peasants and workers not to take direct action, but to wait for orders. The peasants, however, have started carrying the laws out in their own way—expropriating the crops, while the city petty-bourgeoisie supports them on the issue of Catalan rights, for which the industrial workers too are ready to fight. Thus potentially, another kind of civil war waits on the threshold. Ships have been ordered to the ports nearest Barcelona, the Catalan deputies have retired from the national parliament, and each side waits for the other to break the grim deadlock—both

governments hoping to smooth matters over because such a war would almost surely become revolution.

"We are almost surely at the doors of either triumphant revolution or a Catholic Fascist dictatorship," our correspondent writes. "Spain is living the most crucial moments of her modern history." The objective conditions for revolution are present: the workers in a mood no longer willing to compromise, the army sympathetic to the workers, and no formidable armed force that can be relied upon to support the Right. On the other hand, the workers are handicapped by two serious factors. One, fatigue, after three years of ceaseless, heroic struggle involving a good deal of loss, both organizationally and by death and repression. Two, and this is the pivot of the question, the workers are confused, bewildered, split into conflicting groups and parties, and with no real faith in the revolutionary will of any.

The Socialists, who control the great mass of organized workers (at least a million) have been agitating for out-and-out revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and no more combination with the bourgeoisie, but have done nothing whatsoever concrete in that direction; while at the same time they continue their alliance with the left-republicans, endorse, but avoid, united front action, and merely "deplore" and "lament" their loss every time a Socialist mayor is removed arbitrarily from office. In reality they are working hard to bring back the left-republican forces, talking revolution only in order to keep the workers under control—as the workers by this time are beginning to realize.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists, who at one time were the great driving revolutionary force in Spain, have become much weakened and disorganized because of irresponsible punitives and revolts under terrorist leadership. They, too, sidestep the united front question, calling for a "united front within the C.N.T."—the Anarcho-Syndicalist trade-union federation. The official Communist Party fights the united front with its familiar cross-fire of "united front from below," which is echoed by the anarchists with the slogan of "united front in the streets". And the Izquierda Comunista, (Internationalist Communist) while it has grown considerably since it dissociated itself from the C. P., and though it enjoys widespread prestige and commands respect, is still too small and too weak to take the leadership of the situation.

Yet this is the group which acts like ferment in the shaping of the Workers' Alliance, looked upon by most Spanish workers as their most immediate hope. The Workers' Alliance, started in Barcelona, is an organization of united-front committees. It operates in a manner analogous to soviets, and has aroused so much interest and sympathy among the workers throughout the country that through sheer pressure from below, it has taken shape in some cases, locally, elsewhere, regionally, and sometimes only for given strikes. In Catalonia, all workers' organizations except the C. P. are represented in it, and sometimes the C. P. too is forced to take part in some specific action. The same conditions are true of Valencia and parts of Extremadura and Castile. In the city of Zaragoza, an overwhelmingly successful strike was called out recently on a Workers' Alliance basis. Given a national scope, this organization would unquestionably raise the morale of the entire working class, and give it a powerful fighting weapon. It is this that must be watched—for on it depends, to a tremendous degree, and until a revolutionary party takes leadership in the triumph or defeat of revolution in Spain.

An Appeal for Our Cuban Comrades

In the series of rearguard battles being waged in Cuba by the working class, the Bolshevik Leninist Party is very active. While not supplied with unlimited funds as are the Stalinists, our comrades are deeply rooted in the unions, especially in the sugar industry and among the commercial employees. In Havana province, the Labor Federation is led by Bolshevik Leninists.

One of the most solid labor organizations of the island, the General Union of Commercial Employees with a membership of 7,000, publishes a 24 page magazine, "Proletarian Culture" which contains a number of valuable informative and theoretical articles including in the last issue one by Comrade Trotsky.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party through the Commercial Employees Union is striving for the establishment of trade union unity in a Workers' Alliance.

Can the Stalinists, who dominate the National Confederation of Labor, be forced into a united front against Fascism? Can a solid front be organized in time to prevent a Fascist coup by the A. B. C. and further repressions by

the uniformed brigand Batista? The answer to these questions will depend to a great extent on whether or not the Bolshevik Leninist party is able to bring sufficient pressure to bear within the labor movement. The party organization must be strengthened, tightened and consolidated. Rayo, the party organ, must be assured of the possibility of regular publication. Resources must be made available for the party congress to be held soon for organization purposes and for labor defense. The Cuban comrades have appealed to the Communist League of America for support. The intense activity and difficult struggles they have passed through during the revolutionary period have drained practically every local source of funds, and it has been necessary for them to appeal to us. Comrades and sympathizers are requested to send their contributions to the National Office, 144 Second Ave., N. Y. C., from which they may also obtain collection lists if they wish them. Every contribution to the work of the Cuban Bolshevik Leninist Party is a blow dealt at American imperialism.

Latin American Dept. of the National Committee.

GERMAN FASCISM UNMASKED

Fascism promises the abolition of the class struggle, clean government and material prosperity. In the last three days German Fascism has demonstrated before the whole world in unmistakable terms that it brings about instead an extreme accentuation of the class struggle, a government of degenerates, rakes and criminals as well as abject material misery.

What happened? For months dissatisfaction developed increasingly among all layers of the German people. Fascism was in reality unable to placate any of them, but that this situation would culminate with the dramatic explosions that it did no one was able to foresee clearly.

Discontent on Two Sides
The spirit of dissatisfaction crystallized around two poles. Hitler faced punitives from two sides. The dissatisfaction of a section of heavy industry and, especially of the Junkers, was canalized by the Herenklub clique of Papen and Schleicher who counted upon the support of the Reichswehr. That accounts for the extraordinary courage of Papen in his famous Marburg speech.

The dissatisfaction of the petty bourgeoisie, who had received nothing and were even endangered by removal from their positions took shape in the form of the S.A. and the actual creator of the Nazi party, Ernst Roehm.

In view of the impending danger Hitler compromised with the Reichswehr. Hitler, "the loyal", made them a sacrificial gift of his friends and gave them the monopoly of the armed forces. The "loyal" Reichswehr generals, returning the favor, betrayed the actual creator of the Reichswehr forces, Schleicher and his clique. And then the deed was done with the benediction of heavy industry.

Roehm-Schleicher Combine Impossible

Hitler and Goering are today creating one of those famous "amalgams" from these two oppositional groups but all the facts point to the impossibility of common action between Roehm and Schleicher. Not because they were not personally inclined to conclude a compromise. But rather because they represented two opposing social orientations. If Schleicher's struggle had any significance at all then it must have been a struggle for the absolute domination of the Reichswehr. And Roehm's "second revolution" could have been nothing but a struggle for the final subordination of the Reichswehr. His "second revolution" was a struggle for the spoils of the petty bourgeoisie parvenues.

The second version—that Hitler avenged Schleicher with the heads of the S.A.—is no less contradicted by the facts. For Hitler did not only exterminate the leadership of the S.A.: Helms, Ernst, Schneider, Huber. At the same time he also slaughtered the Papen-Schleicher Herenklub: Alversleben, Bose, Klausener. If he had had the slightest opportunity to attribute the assassination of Schleicher to the S.A., he would have seized it with unmitigated joy. He would never have had to take it upon his own shoulders.

The Hitler-Goebbels Legend

The struggle against the "right" and the "left" wing of Fascism was conducted by the police, the Reichswehr and the socially select, black-shirted elite troops of Hitler and Goering, the semi-government S.S. forces. There is hardly a doubt left that it was conducted along preventive lines. The victory of Goering in the North and of Hitler in the South was achieved too smoothly. People like Roehm, wounded fourteen times on the battlefield, are not captured alive, nor with such insignificant losses, once they have begun the struggle. All the stories of Hitler and Goebbels about the execution of the coup must be considered as pure legend. The hysterical Hitler is capable of skillful intrigues, he can cover up his atrocities with clouds of stifling smoke.

The Struggle for "Morality"

Hitler, knowing his German philistines, conducts the struggle in the name of "morality". Of course the victims were sexually abused; of course they led a life of debauchery at the expense of a starved people; of course, the Roehms, Helms, Ernsts were bloody butchers who have on their conscience the lives of thousands of our brothers. But who are their accusers? Those who were their best friends despite knowledge of all these vices for fifteen years? Who are their accusers? Hitler, Goering and their pack of dogs, frebrands, drunkards, rakes, perverts, bullies, neurotics, traitors and bloodhounds. Hitler would like to appear as a Robespierre sending a Danton and a Hebert to the guillotine but in reality he is the leader of a mob of gangsters. Al Hitler, the cousin of Al Capone, has taken upon himself the reforming of the reprobates. The recent days have shown that Fascism is put at the head of one of the most advanced nations in the world a band which, for its want of scrup-

les, must be the envy of any leader of a Macedonian band.

Our information is still inadequate. But what is revealed is an unequalled slaughter. Mixing the useful with the agreeable, the sadist Goering profits by the occasion—as he did at the time of the burning of the Reichstag—to exterminate every possible bit of opposition in a veritable St. Bartholomew's Night. In the midst of all this the working class appears to have remained removed from the events.

(Only because of this situation was an inner-Fascist conflict possible.)

The explanation of the possibility of the working class is not yet possible on the basis of the information at hand. (The first letters of our German friends, dated after the events, shows that they are better and more rapidly informed than those who are under the thumb of Goebbels' censorship.)

The fact that the murder of butchers like Helms as well as the sharpeners of the Herenklub did not evoke any sympathy among the workers is not an adequate explanation. The explanation of the tragic and painful fact that in face of such a conflict in the enemy camp the working class should be so far removed from intervening to struggle for its rights, can only be the following: the defeat without a struggle caused by the bankruptcy of the Socialist and Communist parties has demoralized the proletariat to such a point, so deprived it of all serious organization, that this proletariat could not intervene however favorable the moment might be.

How Long Will Hitler Last?

For the moment Hitler appears to be the master of the situation. But for how long? And how? Two photographs which were reproduced in the world press illustrate that

In Mussolini's "Paradise"

That technically impeccable journal of "objective" bourgeois opinion—*Fortune*—devotes the contents of its entire July issue to Italy. As such it reviews the past twelve years—the era of Fascist dictatorship in Italy. What it finds there is not entirely unpalatable to the taste of its editors or advertisers. But that's to be expected. How will the working class and the little business man react to the following:

Petty Bourgeois Discontent

And besides this "moral" part will have to pay the same taxes tomorrow. Will have to suffer the same bankruptcy and instead of being satisfied with the apostle of normal sexual relations will have their doubts on those who were so long the friends of the "immoral". With the difficulties to come Hitler can no longer count on any extended support from the petty bourgeoisie, but rather on an important number of irreconcilable enemies from its ranks. The S.A. which had grown campaigning in the struggle against the Junkers, its Steel Helms and its consuls of the Reichswehr, has not yet pronounced its last word.

Taxes on Necessities

Almost half of the total revenue in Italy is derived from consumption (sales) taxes—taxes levied on the most elementary needs of the Italian masses. The income tax which, of necessity, is gotten from the upper strata of society supplies only 20% of the revenue. In fact, in that portion of the article dealing with finances it is pointed out that income tax in the higher brackets—"is a mild drain on the wealthy in comparison with other nations."

That a government exacting a "mild drain from the wealthy" and inflicting an eight cent hourly wage on its laboring class can hardly be construed as impartial never, apparently, entered the refined skulls of the immaculate editors.

With impartial unction it is pointed out that strikes are prohibited—but so are lockouts. Now there, what could be fairer than that. Only this is forgotten—that unemployment—which is but a subtle form of lockout—is not prohibited.

Culture Under Fascism

What does Mussolini preach?—"the fruitful and unassailable inequality of men." The transformation of women from human beings to incubating machines. Culture indeed! Divide and multiply like rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to women. Bear kids so that they can be reared to become obedient and bloodthirsty tools of Fascism. The Ballila, ages 8 to 14, are issued real rifles and bayonets in miniature. The city of Milan spends more for its police than for primary education. And in all of Italy there were last year but 47,000 students attending the universities of the country.

To sum up the picture of Fascism in Italy ever since its inception we find that the workers are the most poorly paid in the world, that the middle class is taxed to starvation, that the arts and sciences are in decay, that higher education is almost non-existent and that all that Fascism inculcates in the minds of the masses is obedience and slavishness. —GLEE

China

Terror and Capitulation Grip Worker's Ranks

Shanghai, June 20.—Much has happened since my last letter. Although many important events have taken place throughout the world the revolutionary movement in China remains in much the same condition. The official Communist party and the Left Opposition have suffered savage repressions from the Kuomintang and its imperialist masters. The party led by the Stalinists faces an alarming danger.

I am devoting this letter to information on the following most important questions: the "soviet territory", the bureaucratic regime and the renegades from Communism as well as the Stalinists at work in the Labor Defense Association (the Chinese L.D.A.).

I wish to state firstly that everything written in this letter is based on authentic facts. As I am now a member of the Stalinist L.D.A. my daily work gives me an opportunity to draw an accurate picture of the Stalinists in China.

The "Soviet Territory"

1. It is four years now that the Stalinists have been shouting at the top of their voices about conquest or victory in one or several provinces. We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, have frequently and openly criticized the party policy in giving up the city workers and seeking revolutionary cadres in the village. The Stalinists stand Marxism on its head—not the peasants following the proletariat but leading them. Four years have passed and the peasant partisans still remain in the same condition, sometimes with more and sometimes with less territory. One section of the peasant partisans led by Hsiang-tien has changed its field of operations from the border of the Honan, Hupei and Anwei provinces to the border of Shansi, Kansu and Szechwan provinces. This section made a big advance last year but they were unable to occupy even Wanhsien, the second important part on the upper Yangtze valley. At present they have suffered severe defeats and have made no further steps forward. All this is not said to prove that the peasant partisans are not brave fighters but rather that the Stalinist peasant policy is following a disastrous road.

Internal "Life"

2. Mistakes in principle questions, impotence in the political life of the country accompanied by dishonest methods in the party cause the Stalinist bureaucrats to refuse to acknowledge their errors and to constantly seek "scape-goats" at every turn in the "road". Expression of opinion in the party is limited to the rigid confines outlined by the bureaucracy. Immediate expulsion is the price of the slightest doubt. Words cannot express the venomous hate the Stalinists display against the International Communists. Only those are permitted into the party apparatus who bow to the bureaucracy in utter obsequiousness. Militancy and integrity count for nothing with them.

This stifling regime opens the door for spies, adventurers and government agents of every description to enter the leading apparatus of the party. They flatter the bureaucrats, perform the most amazing contortions with the most graceful skill at every new zig-zag and work their way into the good graces of their perspicacious leadership. The results are not unexpected.

Yet, the chairman of the Shanghai Union of Labor (an illegal trade union controlled by the C.P.) had been a spy for more than six months. Through his nefarious work a few score of militant comrades were arrested by the police. Zee, secretary of the Chapel District Committee, was a spy for more than a year but the bureaucracy was ignorant of the fact. Rank and file comrades, dissatisfied with his activities, were rebuffed by the bureaucracy when they demanded his removal. It took the Stalinists a long time to discover on whose side the error had been.

Significant Figures

Besides the spies who work in cooperation with the police there are those who turn renegade after arrest. If we express these facts in percentage the number of turncoats and spies in the upper and lower ranks of the party is as follows: From 1932 to June 1933, 75% of these were spies, including among them Lu Fu-tai, Chairman of the National Union of Labor and Chon Kwang-la, secretary of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee, while the renegades after arrest numbered from 25 to 35%. From June 1933 to the Fall of 1933 the former was 80% and the latter 20%. In these figures can be seen that whatever integrity there is among the members of this party it rests in the lower ranks. The monstrous size of the upper category shows that our accusation that the Stalinists have betrayed comrades to the police is not at all unlikely.

The Economic Crisis

3. The economic crisis is deepening day by day. Capitalist exploitation of labor in China is more terrible than ever. Despite the savage white terror of the Kuomintang Blue Shirt Society (Fascists) the Chinese workers still rise and again for improvement of their living conditions. During the struggle in the Shun Sin Seventh Cotton Mill in the Fall of 1933 and the strike against a wage cut in the Shanghai Melia Silk weaving factory in January-February 1934 the workers automatically demanded legal trade unions and wanted to organize an open strike committee. But the Stalinists objected and held that the workers' organizations must be secretly organized or they will face prohibition by the police since they had not registered as a legal body in the offices of the Kuomintang.

The Stalinists are ignorant of the fact that a trade union cannot exist legally without a mass foundation. While, on the contrary, the mass unions of the workers can exist as a struggling organization even if it is not given permission by the Kuomintang. The question is determined upon whether the union represents the workers or not and not on its legality or illegality. But to try to convince the Stalinists of this is like "playing a harp to an ox", as the Chinese proverb says.

4. Under the reign of white terror the number of political prisoners has jumped skyward in recent years. In Kiangsu (including Shanghai), in the latter half of 1932 and at the close of 1933 the number had risen to 2,000. Although prison conditions are somewhat better than they were previously I have received reports from the Nanking and Shanghai prisons that some of our bravest militants have died of tortures inflicted by the prison authorities. There are many more such tragedies in every part of China but if help from the outside could manage to reach the imprisoned comrades many fatalities might be avoided. —P.K.

Make the Org-Press Drive a Success

In the great events now taking place in various parts of the country our organization is playing an ever more direct and definite role. This is the beginning to a new advance. A revolutionary organization is built in the fire of the class struggle and it is in that sense that the League assumes its present responsibility.

We are on the way to new gains; but the job ahead is still an enormous one.

The building and strengthening of the League is the crying need of the moment. To bring our press to ever wider circles has become an indispensable necessity. It is in that way that our views, our policy will win new supporters and become a greater influence. It is in that way that our organization and its sympathizers become a more active and a more vital force in the labor movement.

Ideas become a power when they penetrate the masses. But to penetrate the masses a medium is required. This medium is at our disposal and will become more effective as we succeed in building the League. To make it more effective we have sent several organizers into the field. They are now actively engaged in building the League in Minneapolis, in Detroit and on the Pacific Coast. No efforts are being spared to increase the circulation of The Militant and to establish the New International as a regular monthly publication.

This is the way we have proceeded; but to complete the job we need your support. We have set a

big task for ourselves, and we have done that because we count upon your support. We can report an excellent response so far to our appeals for the organization and press campaign. If we can bring it to a successful conclusion, as successful as it has started, there need not be the slightest doubt that new and great gains will be recorded for the League, for the views we represent, for the development of the new revolutionary party and for the strengthening of the labor movement as a whole.

Additional quick response is imperative. Will you help us finish the job? Will you do your share in the organization and press campaign? We count upon you.

Funds Received in the Organization and Press Campaign.

(Since Last Report)

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Trade Union Strategy

Unionism the Main Issue

Unionism—the right of union organization and union recognition—is the crucial issue involved in the San Francisco general strike. But it is not confined to this one section of the battle front, it is the most burning issue before the American working class today. At the same time it is also the most sharply contested issue wherever the differences between exploiters and those who are exploited come to a head. In this San Francisco is in the limelight.

The right of union organization is by no means an established fact. Union recognition is not something that can be taken for granted. On the contrary, it is accorded only where the workers themselves secure it through the force of their collective efforts.

Recognition Still to Be Won

Many fierce struggles to secure the right of union organization are recorded in American labor history and yet the issue had to be fought out again and again. History once more repeats itself. The present sweep of union organization has brought large numbers of new recruits into unions formerly existing only in skeleton form and now infusing them with new life and new hope. New unions have grown up in formerly unorganized industries. A strong stimulus was undoubtedly provided by the NRA, at least in its early stage. But it did not at all establish the right to organize nor secure recognition of the unions. That this right can be assured only through struggles is verified once more by the San Francisco general strike. It was verified before by the struggles in Minneapolis and Toledo and in its reverse form by the treacherous sell-out in the automobile and steel industries.

On the Pacific Coast the Longshoremen and the other maritime workers in their battle of almost three months duration demanded this elementary right—union recognition and union control of hiring halls. From the outset the contest centered around this issue. The owners of the maritime industry refused to yield and refused to concede even this elementary right. Supported solidly by the whole of the capitalist interests and their government, the San Francisco section assumed the offensive to endeavor to settle the issue to their own liking through their armed forces. The concentration of troops and police became a direct threat to the very life and existence of the unions.

Efforts to Smash Strike

Ever since the general strike began, the combined forces of the capitalist interests and their government, stiffened their offensive and assumed a more aggressive attitude. No longer was the object merely the defeat of the demands for union recognition and control of hiring halls, the whole scope extended to one of smashing the strike, put a stop to the organization developments and to crush the unions. Watchful of any weakening of the general strike, the capitalist forces prepared, as stated in the New York Post dispatch, to challenge the workers, that "they can return to work only upon a basis to be determined by the employers."

Could it be more clearly and more brazenly stated that the issue of the right to union organization is a definite class issue? Additional

The New International

The long awaited first issue of the New International is now off the press. It is an issue that every member and sympathizer should have.

Beginning with a stirring editorial for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which gives the general perspective of the magazine, it contains two documents by Comrade Trotsky: "The Testament of Lenin and The 'Clementine Thesis'" and the Party Regime, a document of great historical importance. Comrade Cannon contributes two analytical articles on the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist under the pen-name of A. Max, writes on the Legend of the Vienna Commune—a castigating analysis of the treacherous role of the Social Democratic leaders in the recent Austrian events.

Then there is an editorial on the Soviets and the League of Nations, an article by Jack Weber on New Trends under the New Deal; Strikes and the Economic Cycle by Alfred Weaver; The Decay of the Stalinist Party by Arne Swaback; Engels on Binetallism, which is particularly interesting in view of the monetary crisis. An article on the internal political situation in France serves to illuminate the recent events there. It also contains a book review section, a survey of current periodicals and numerous miscellaneous items.

All in all, it is a splendid issue which shows great promise for the future. Every effort should be made to secure it the widest circulation. All inquiries should be addressed to The New International, Station D, P.O. Box 119, New York, N. Y.

emphasis is lent to this fact by the campaign of hysteria against communism, charging the objects of the general strike to be an insurrection, and by the savage attacks upon the Communists, the official Communist Party and the Communist League of America. To this the Daily Worker of July 17 answers:

"Any sensible, sane and honest person knows that there is no revolution on the West Coast. The aim of labor in this situation, the aim of the general strike is not to seize political power, but to force the ship owners to grant the maritime workers three demands: (1) union control of hiring halls; (2) recognition of the maritime unions; (3) improvement of working conditions."

What About Minneapolis?

This is entirely correct. Such are the aims today. They imply first of all the building of powerful unions to assert their rights and to establish the guarantees of recognition by their own forces. Incidentally we may ask, in view of this correct statement, from whence appeared the thesis advocated by the Stalinists in the Daily Worker that in the Minneapolis Truck Drivers strike of last May the essential objective should have been the overthrow of the state government, which, the "Trotskyists" "failed" to do? Are the Stalinists now ready to say that "any sensible and sane person knows" that the aim of the Minneapolis strike could not and should not have been to seize political power? Are they ready to say that the aims were recognition of the union, control of the hiring of its members without discrimination and improved working conditions; the very aims that these strikers battled for until the main victory was won? Are they ready to grant that this correct policy resulted in the establishment of a powerful union? Upon honest revolutionists such a confession would be obligatory.

Breaking Strike Solidarity

Meanwhile in San Francisco the general strike developed the whole struggle for unionism to a higher level than before. Hence the desperate onslaughts upon it by the employers. Hence also the craven reactionary local leaders headed by Vandeleur and backed by the A. F. of L. hierarchy, who above all else fear the militancy of the rank and file, began to turn their backs treacherously upon the general strike, gave concession after concession, joined the red baiting chorus and arrests of workers charged as Communists. The objective result of such an attitude is the breaking of the solidarity of the strikers. To break this solidarity is treason to the working class. The attacks of course must be resisted to the utmost and it is the duty of every honest worker to rally in the defense of those attacked.

The San Francisco strike is conducted by the A. F. of L. unions. It is the life of the A. F. of L. unions that is at stake. Unity and solidarity in the A. F. of L. unions for the most sweeping general strike in years had been accomplished. But it had been accomplished against the reactionary leaders. It had been accomplished also in spite of the splitting T.U. U. L. policy of the Stalinists.

Stalinists Foster Division

It is necessary to remember and to bring out once more the criminal policy pursued by the Stalinists which from the outset played into the hands of the employers as well as into the hands of the reactionary leaders. While the maritime unions were growing, rallying thousands of new recruits to their ranks, the Stalinists pressed forward in direct rivalry their private Marine Workers Industrial Union. While the A. F. of L. maritime unions marched forward in a progressive move to strengthen their solidarity and unity in a waterfront federation, which of necessity could not include the rival unions, the Stalinists attempted a counter-move by efforts to rally some of these unions in a separate conclave with the M.W.I.U. Simultaneously they insisted upon bringing into the A. F. of L. waterfront federation, first the M. W. I. U. and when that did not succeed they attempted to bring in a subsidiary of the M.W.I.U., the ship scalers union. So far did this criminally false policy proceed that the party bureaucracy found itself in conflict with the party fraction in the A. F. of L. maritime unions. And naturally so. Unionists loyal to their class, revolutionists loyal to their class must necessarily fight for the unity of the mass unions and can only become bitterly hostile to the splitting policy of the rival unions which have no mass basis.

In the present severe attacks aimed to defeat the general strike and to crush the unions, unity and solidarity is the paramount issue. Unity proceeds against the reactionary traitors, but it must also set itself hard as flint against the splitting policy of the Stalinists. This policy cannot proceed unpunished. A collapse of Stalinism will result, but the revolutionists will continue their fight for unity in the mass unions to prepare for victory in the bigger struggles to come.

—A. S.

The Betrayal of the Coast Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

an order permitting scab trucks to move. When the teamsters came out in sympathy with the waterfront fight, they had seen to it that no trucks rode the Frisco streets without a permit from the union. This procedure was also followed the first two days by the general strike committee. The bosses obeyed, and only trucks with union permits moved. The milk, bread, produce and other trucks exempted from the strike had to have union drivers. But after the resolution and the Longshoremen's Board interpretation, the bosses decided they could flout the union's orders, and non-union drivers drove trucks.

Especially the Standard Oil Co. and other gasoline companies ran scab trucks. The teamsters and longshoremen got busy, and chased trucks off the street, and closed gas stations as far as San Mateo. When for provocative purposes, two filling stations were opened early Wednesday less than a block from the Longshoremen's headquarters, with National Guard sentries guarding each station with rifles, bayonets and machine guns, scores of carloads of pickets went cruising to prevent shipment of fuel into Frisco. Whatever reasons the general strike committee might have about sending municipal car workers back, and liberalizing issuance of truck permits to include owner-driven trucks, it was essential to the salvation of the marine strike, let alone the general strike, to keep scab trucks off the street. That's why the teamsters came out, independently and before the general strike. Had the general strike never come, the teamsters themselves would have seen to it that no scab trucks rode the street.

It was this vital spot of the strike that Vandeleur and his gang stabbed mortally. The small executive committee, without even consulting the big general strike committee on this fundamental question, issued an order "releasing gasoline and fuel oil supplies to the general public." While every other embargo lifted previously had provided for union truck-drivers, this most strategically important factor included no such provision. With the result that scab drivers are filling the streets. This has made the union permit ridiculous, and bosses are tearing them off with impunity. On Tuesday no truck rode the streets without a union permit. Wednesday evening few permits were in evidence.

With these two moves, first the demoralizing resolution, then permitting scab drivers, the labor leaders have broken the back of the general strike. They have also largely nullified by the second move the value of the teamsters' strike.

Waterfront Strike Not Over

But this by no means ends the waterfront strike. Even with the National Guard in control, not only of the waterfront but also of a large part of the surrounding territory, including markets and warehouses, it is a lie that steamers are being loaded and unloaded to any degree approximating normal. They can't get enough scabs on the Pacific Coast to man the ships and service them, nor trucks to bring and take away the freight. If the waterfront workers and the teamsters stick it out, they can still win. The teamsters over-rode their President, the reactionary Mike Casey when they went out. But the rank and file are an inexperienced lot, with no militant core to hold them together. By one trick or another Casey may still drive them back to work.

The longshoremen are solidly behind Harry Bridges, but he is a lone militant. The other maritime unions have no experienced rank and file.

If Joseph Ryan, strikebreaking head of the I. L. A.—word has come that he is driving the men on the East coast to unload ships loaded here by scabs—and Andy Furuseth, white-haired "old man of the sea"—and like the old man of the sea in the story, he's got his legs

tightly twisted around the neck of the Seamen's Union—if these two ghouls start driving the marine workers back to work, can Harry Bridges with a handful of men around him keep them fighting?

Stalinist Responsibility

If the marine strike fails, the Stalinists will bear a heavy responsibility for it. By going right on with their splitting policy of building the Marine Workers Industrial Union, they have done a perfect job for Ryan, Furuseth and the bosses. The existence of the M.W.I.U. has meant the isolating of splendid, fighting militants who should have been in the midst of the marine workers within the unions. Instead of that, most marine workers have come to hate these militants for being in a dual union.

The M.W.I.U. was like a man sticking his chin out for a sock, and when the troops and vigilantes raided its headquarters, the result of the whole splitting policy was that the striking thousands did not come to their help. The failure of the strikers to defend the M.W.I.U., and the condemnation by the Vandeleurs of the red raids, would have been absolutely impossible if it weren't for the splitting policy of the Stalinists. The confusion bred in the minds of the workers has also enabled the police and troops to march right into groups of pickets and soup lines and arrest militant strikers. There have been plenty of fights in which strikers fought to save arrested men, but defense has been spontaneous and unorganized, whereas if the M.W.I.U. members had been all along inside the regular unions, this raiding of strikers would have led to a tremendous and organized defense of the rights of strikers.

It's just beginning to dawn on the masses of strikers what the Vandeleurs, Kidwells, Caseys, are doing to them. It's a known fact here that the Standard Oil Co. has contributed two million dollars to the Frisco Industrial Association's open-shop fund, that almost every firm in town has signed a pledge card covering five years' contributions to this strike-breaking fund, and that the banks are discounting the pledge cards for the full sums in cash, so that the Industrial Association has a terrific batch of cash, and is out to smash the union movement here. The workers are contrasting these known facts with the backing-down of the union leadership and are finding that the answer to this contradiction is: Fight Now or Never.

If the teamsters and waterfront men hold out they can still save the union movement here.

—C. G. E.

Bosses' Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

civilians, who had dressed like workers and circulated through the crowd, struck like lightning. Several speakers resisted and were reported to have been beaten.

Later dispatches in the World Telegram (July 18) by the United Press further exploded the worker-vigilante myth and revealed the tie-up with the government authorities:

"Just Hoodlums," Declares Police

By EVELYN SEELEY,
World-Telegram Special Correspondent.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18.—"America Today," announced the red and white poster bared to view at the first broken window of the San Francisco Worker's School, demolished in yesterday's first general strike violence.

"America Today" was a lecture to have been given last night by Jim Branch, tall young Harvard economist and head of the Workers School. Students said Branch probably would have spoken of strikes and violence, the struggle between capital and labor. But last night's newspapers told the story for him.

We were having a sandwich at

the Maison Paul, that runs through Market St. to Grove, when waitresses began rushing to the Grove St. exit to see what was happening. We followed them, went on out and across Grove St. to join the crowd that stared across at the office of the Western Worker, Communist newspaper.

Glass Front Smashed.

Its plate glass front was smashed, the shattered glass scattered all over the sidewalk. People in the crowd told us that "a gang of hoodlums" had driven by and done it with rocks they carried. They "might have been workers—maybe strikers," they said. They all wore leather jackets.

"They got away," they said. "Where were the police?" we asked. They shook their heads. We went across the street and into the building. We went all through the rooms, both floors, and nobody there.

Soon the police came, four carloads of them, sirens shrieking. It had been about ten minutes since the rock throwing. They did not question the witnesses nor start pursuit. They went right on into the Western Worker and Workers' Bookshop and finished what the "hoodlums" had begun. They smashed every window and every piece of furniture in the place, knocking glass and pieces of chairs down into the street.

Brandish Clubs

They brandished clubs and chased everyone across the street, even reporters. But Herbert Lord, 27, they insisted on hustling inside the building. When he came out his head was bleeding. "I didn't do nothing," he declared.

When they got through there the police raced up to the Workers' School at 121 Haight St. We followed. Police did not have to do much smashing there. Twenty men or more ("I guess they were hoodlums," said the cops), had driven up in cars and done a thorough job. They wore leather jackets and heavy gloves and carried rocks. They didn't leave a piece of the place intact except the poster that stared out the window about "America Today."

Green's Treachery

(Continued from Page 1)

The "Holy" Contract

Richard J. Gray, international treasurer of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, said: "Our policy is to live up to our contracts. A union has no right to walk out, no matter how great its sympathy with another craft, if it is bound by contract."

Joseph P. Ryan issued a statement which is at least commendable for its plain-speaking. "There will be no strike here in New York while we can hold our men. We have an agreement with the steamship companies until October 31, and we shall continue to live up to it. Communists are trying to make trouble in the vicinity of the piers where ships from the West Coast are unloaded." (That is, scab-loaded ships, being unloaded by union men on Ryan's orders.) "They tell the men that it is their duty to walk out to show their sympathy with their comrades on the Pacific, but the men are paying no attention."

Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy must not be permitted to live down this shameful treachery, this flagrant display of unity with the bosses against the workers.

A survey by the N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner based on reports by 1,675 representative factories in various parts of the State, reveals that employment between the middle of May to the middle of June dropped only 1.2% while wages dropped 18%. Compared to last year this means a further reduction in wages of 26.6%.

This is ample testimony to the "benefits" the NRA has brought to the workers. It also accounts for the support of the NRA by the bosses.

It is a commonly accepted Marxian axiom that capitalism can develop only in so far as it can revolutionize the instruments of production. Recent statistics show that unemployment amounts to 47% in the durable goods industries. The Durable Goods Industries Committee also reports that only \$160,000,000 was invested in industry in 1933, as compared with an average of \$4,000,000,000 a year in the 10 years ending with 1930. This amounts to 4 per cent of the annual average.

The NRA codes also show a tendency to restrict the installation of new machinery and to limit productive capacity on the false theory of "overproduction." This planned sabotage of the productive forces is the distinguishing feature of declining capitalism.

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

Brass Check Journalism

The Boss Press and Frisco

A venomous attack on the San Francisco strikers is being carried on by the nation-wide capitalist press.

The Los Angeles Times of July 16 editorially called for the crushing of the strike by force, calling it an "insurrection" and saying: "There is but one thing to be done—put down the revolt with any force necessary." The Sacramento Bee, and the Oakland Tribune editorially hailed Governor Merriam and Mayor Rossi's strikebreaking efforts. The San Francisco Chronicle, declaring the "radicals" are in control of the strike, says the "majority voted for the strike in fear of radical thuggery."

The newspapers are enthusiastically backing the red scare and the raids on groups of strikers being carried on by the police, the bosses' vigilantes, and the National Guard. Before the raids even began on Tuesday, every San Francisco newspaper carried front-page editorials proposing crushing of all militant elements. With eight-column streamers, the yellow Hearst press throughout the country is hailing the mass arrests of militant strikers as seizures of "Reds." The two great national press services, the United Press and the Associated Press, are reporting the raids as raids on "Communist meeting places" and those arrested as "Communists." The N. Y. Times of July 17 attempted to convey the impression that the raids were made by longshoremen. The N. Y. Post was the only paper whose headlines made it clear that strikers were being arrested.

The Myth of the Food Shortage

The red scare was merely the latest of a series of propaganda methods by which the capitalist press has been aiding the bosses against the strike. The worst of these was the myth of a food shortage in Frisco.

In San Francisco, where the public could learn from Strike Committee statements, from strikers, and from the bread, milk and other food trucks passing freely in the streets, that the Strike Committee had made every possible arrangement before the strike began for adequate distribution of food, the myth of a food shortage could make little headway.

But the rest of the country, unable to see what was going on in Frisco, were systematically propagandized by the nation-wide capitalist press with preposterous stories about famine in the strike area. In this attempt to alienate the masses from the strikers, the "liberal" press played its part. As early as Saturday noon the N. Y. World Telegram carried the screaming headline: "Refugees Flee Coast As Food Shortage Grows." This was the main point of many stories. But when an enterprising reporter checked up outgoing traffic, and found few more than usual were leaving the city, the fact was buried inconspicuously in the later stories.

Food "Biot" Scares

While usually the capitalist press maintains a dead silence about the fact that every day in the week desperate unemployed break into food stores, two or three usual instances of the same kind occurring, not in Frisco but in Oakland which was as yet not involved in the strike, were magnified beyond recognition into a fantastic picture of enormous mobs. The ultra-respectable and ultra-reactionary N. Y. Herald Tribune ran on Monday a four-column scarehead: "Famine Menaces San Francisco; Stores Looted in Strike Crisis." The ever so "liberal" N. Y. Post went even further, carrying the same day an eight-column streamer: "Coast Mobs Riot For Food."

This was based on an Associated Press dispatch. A careful reading of the three column dispatch disclosed that one grocery store was involved.

Thus the press attempted to create sentiment against the strikers by falsely picturing them as preventing food distribution, and also to create an atmosphere of rioting mobs and chaos and violence, in order to justify the use of violence against the strikers. In addition, the press pictured the strike as a blow, not at the oppressive capitalists, but at the whole population. These various ways of creating antagonism against the strikers were cleverly woven together. One example is the lead of the Associated Press story of July 15: "The general strike began to swing down upon the 1,300,000 residents of San Francisco's metropolitan area accompanied by vandalism and violence." Another example is the United Press story of July 14, in the N. Y. World Telegram, which said that "unions met to deliver the most devastating blow organized labor has ever dealt to an American city."

Anything Goes in Brass Check Press

The same dispatch says not a word about the Strike Committee's arrangements for food distribution, but instead makes it appear that the unions are attempting to prevent food distribution: "Governor Merriam was ready to declare martial law to assure food deliveries, while leaders said that a general strike and a complete stoppage of

business was inevitable." Anything, any trick, to make propaganda against the strikers!

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

Freed from the restraint of approximating the facts in the news columns, the newspaper editorials were bitterly hostile to the workers. The "fair-minded" N. Y. Times of July 16 said the aim of the strike was "to inflict such hardships upon the people of the city that the authorities will yield"—leaving out entirely the fact that it was a strike against the bosses. The Times hailed the red scare and provocative attacks of the Mayor and Governor, saying their "attitude and proclamations" "are correct and commendable," said the strikers had "already alienated public sympathy" and talked lyingly of the strikers' "determination to keep food and supplies from hospitals and children. Such an open effort to hold it up the city must be prepared to resist with all its might."

The N. Y. Tribune's editorial of July 16 was a tissue of lies. The attempt to separate the longshoremen from the other marine workers, and the bosses' refusal to abide by a vote for representatives of the seamen—issues fundamental to the strike—are thus described: "The most difficult issue . . . is a rather minor one about the recognition of some weak maritime unions in trades in which an election cannot be held at once because most of the workers are at sea." Then the Tribune, like a magician making rabbits disappear, does away with all the issues of the strike: "It is a strike about very little, which presumably means that it is not really a strike at all, but the discharge of pent-up emotions," etc. Then, like true bourgeois, the Tribune blames for the strike—"the Roosevelt labor policy!" The Tribune, no doubt, would like to outlaw labor unions altogether, instead of, like Roosevelt, chaining labor to arbitration boards, special mediators, extra-special mediators and the rest of the clap-net class collaboration machinery.

A "Pro-Labor" Paper

As hostile as the bourgeois is the N. Y. World Telegram's editorial of July 16, but it finds itself subtler arguments. It denounces the general strike as "suicide for organized labor" because "the basis of organized labor is the union contract and any union which engages in a sympathetic strike can do so only by breaking its own contract with its employers." In other words, it denounces unions for breaking the clause often inserted in contracts by bosses to prevent sympathetic strikes—a clause, by the way, which the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, to which the Telegram belongs, has always forced from the Typographical Union. Then the Telegram goes on to say that in a general strike "the public is certain to be wholly hostile. The public, indeed, is made a direct party to the conflict. It fights to save itself." Certainly the World Telegram, for all its false claims to be pro-labor, has been doing all it can to make the public hostile.

By Tuesday the elaborate arrangements made by the Strike Committee, to insure adequate food and other necessities, had become too obvious to ignore, and after two days of ranting about famine the truth began to get through the press, but distorted as in the World Telegram by such phrases as "labor was slowly relaxing its grip on the throat of Frisco."

Militant Builders

ONE MORE WEEK TO GO

No Club Plan Cards Sold After

August 1st.

BUY YOUR CARDS NOW!

A six-month sub cards for \$1 Cards not sold in clubs of less than 4 at a time.

Pittsburgh Branch bought 12 cards last week and A. S. New York City, got 4.

This brings the total subs of the second drive to 390.

Take advantage of the last week to stock up on the club plan cards.

Invest a few dollars and have these cards on hand so as to be able to give an opportunity to such workers as cannot afford to pay the full rate to buy a six-month sub for 25c. After August 1st a six-month sub will be 50c.

Only those who have bought the cards before August 1st will be able to get the special rate.

Bound Volumes

We have just received from the binders a number of Bound Volumes of the Militant, Series No. 3 which includes all issues of the Militant from January 7, 1933 to December 30, 1933 inclusive. Copies can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th Street, at the phenomenally low price of \$1.50 plus twenty-five cents for postage.

Regular price is \$2.50. Order your copy immediately before our supply is exhausted.

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TROOPS RULE MINNEAPOLIS

Police Arrest Cannon and Shachtman

WAR LOOMS AS POWERS CLASH OVER AUSTRIA

Central Europe was charged with the dynamite of a new world war when the Nazis assassinated Dollfuss in an unsuccessful move to extend the boundaries of Hitlerism into Austria.

Not since 1914 have the explosives of international conflagration been nearer to ignition. Italy has mobilized 40,000 troops on the Austrian border, holding them in readiness for any eventualities. Yugoslavia has brought its army to the frontier where shots are reported to have been fired. France and England make ominous pledges to guarantee Austrian "independence".

Whether the powder keg which Europe is will now go up in explosion and thrust humanity into a bloody slaughter is still unclear from reports in the press. But certain it is that the latest events in Austria have the makings of another Sarajevo.

IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS UNDERLIE AUSTRIAN SITUATION

There the tense situation which grips the world in a state of uncertainty expressing the congealing of imperialist rivalries which are rapidly approaching the one remaining issue—war. The struggle for markets, the trade wars, the conflict over colonies and fields for expansion which have given way to the mad race for armaments underlie the earthquake that is rocking Austria.

Whatever credence one can place in the denials of Nazi officials that the Putsch of their brother murderers to the South is a purely Austrian affair and that they are pursuing a "hands-off policy", the indubitable fact remains that the Austrian Nazi movement is a creature of Hitler. Financed from Berlin and Munich, furnished with tons of propaganda from Goebbels' headquarters and given courage and inspiration by bellicose radio broadcasts against Austrian officials and government, the Austrian Nazis pressed forward with the conviction that German Fascism stood solidly behind them.

HITLER'S DESIRE FOR THE "ANSCHLUSS"

But it was not for fraternal sympathy alone that the Nazis in Austria counted on help from Germany. The irresistible push of German imperialism to break out of the boundaries of Versailles to find new markets and to retrieve her lost colonies drove towards the "Anschluss" as the first point of attack.

Recent events in Germany lend confirmation to the belief that the hand of Hitler has helped to engineer the Vienna putsch. The stripping of Hitler's regime of its main support in the decapitation of storm troop leaders and the elimination of over a million and a half S.A.s on the one hand and the shattering economic crisis on the other has driven Hitler to a point of desperation where he knows that a foreign embargo is the only solution for his troubles.

The news that Hitler has proceeded to the Austrian frontier and there ordered all roads on the border closed to prevent a mass invasion of Austrian Nazis anxious to come to the assistance of their friends indicates only that Hitlerites in Austria got out of control and broke the leading strings of their Berlin masters. Or Hitler is retreating in fear before the international frankenstein that he has called into being, and for which he is not prepared.

MUSSOLINI OPPOSES NAZI EXPANSION

Reports that Mussolini is massing troops on the Italian side ready to march into Austria bear witness to the deep-going antagonism between German and Italian imperialism. Italian capitalism will have no truck with the proposition for an "anschluss". Their irreconcilable aims and desire for Balkan expansion and markets bring Italy into violent opposition to any German designs on Austria. More than that, Mussolini is ready for war should the Nazis seize power in Austria.

France and England, while not making such belligerent moves as Italy, according to United Press dispatches are considering a warning to Germany to respect Austrian "independence". These imperialist brigands who have cut Austria into a fantastically impossible economic unit have their own axe to grind in the recent developments. Neither France nor England want to see either Germany or Italy too strong in central Europe. They are interested in maintaining the distribution of the booty—the balance of power or the status quo—as it was handed out in Versailles in 1919.

WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

The sinister cloud that hangs over the international complications caused by the Austrian events is the danger that the plunder gangs now at each others throats may bury their differences for the time being and agree on Hitler's "drang nach Osten"—an assault on Soviet Russia. The sudden leap of Italy out of the lap of the Triple Alliance at the outbreak of the last world war teaches us not to be too cock-sure of alignments that seem most obvious.

The Nazis' thrust for power and the ensuing international situation raises the struggle against the war danger in the boldest relief. The declamation of the Austrian and German working class removes the strongest bulwark against another world slaughter. The difficulties are great and the tasks greater, but the struggle of the working class against war is the most crucial issue of the present moment.

Leon Trotsky in Danger

Gringolia-Chappe, the police paper of Carbuella-Giappe, publishes the following note in its issue of June 15:

"M. Sarruat not only protects the murderer of Bonnetoy-Sibour. He also protects Trotsky."

"One bright morning we read in the newspapers that the revolutionary agitator had crossed the border into Switzerland. This report was incorrect. He lives in a little house where he continues to dream of (Continued on Page 4)

VICTIM DENOUNCES POLICE LIES

Simon Barach, badly wounded by police thugs yesterday, is now in General Hospital, where he issued the following statement:

"The outright lie published in last night's Star, that I told the police that the Communist party leaders said I would get a good job if I joined the strike, I wish to refute absolutely. I made no statement to the press or to police stenographers beyond giving my name and address. I have talked to no Communist party leaders."

"I was not paid a red cent to picket for 574, nor do I expect to receive anything. I am a member of the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, organization of employed and unemployed. Realizing that 574's battle is the battle of all Minneapolis workers against their common oppressors, I was more than glad to do my part on the picket line. I will always hold myself in readiness to fight for the working class—anywhere."

(Signed) Simon Barach.

Frisco League is Firm in Wave of Boss Terror

San Francisco, July 22.—Although the police and police-backed "vigilante" committees have opened a violent and sudden attack on radicals throughout the San Francisco Bay District, new members have been gained and new activities undertaken by the Communist League here. The morale of the Bay District organizations has been unshaken, in spite of attacks on every radical group in the district. Three new members joined the Oakland unit and one the San Francisco unit. Final work is being done, preparatory to publication of the first issue of the Western Militant, which will appear in the immediate future through the combined efforts of the Oakland, Richmond and San Francisco units. The League branches and the Spartacus Youth League of S. F. have stiffened up their organizations without loss of membership.

The terror campaign here has been no mild one. Police, backed up by two truckloads of National Guardsmen, armed with machine guns, raided the Marine Workers' Industrial Union headquarters and arrested everyone there, more than 100 workers. "Vigilante" committees, consisting of plain clothes men and hired thugs raided the I.W.O., I.L.D., and workers club in the hood, wrecking them in the worst hoodlum style, smashing everything in the rooms, tearing books to pieces, smashing typewriters, mineographs and furniture. After raiding the halls of the C.P. headquarters of the I.W.O. were completely destroyed. Proletarian Party and Socialist Party halls were attacked.

Home of League Organizer Wrecked
The Triangle Press, where the Western Worker, C. P. organ and other radical papers and leaflets are published was "mysteriously" burned to the ground. Halls that Communists rented were either wrecked or the owners terrorized. In Richmond the home of Comrade Hesser, organizer of the League branch, was visited by five vigilantes whom the comrades drove off. The next day fifty came and completely wrecked his home and auto, smashing every piece of furniture in the house. They wrecked his car and placed a sign on the ruins—"This Was a Red's Car."

Bricks, wrapped with warning notes were thrown through the windows of homes of known Communists and Socialists in Berkeley and Oakland, signed by the "Berkeley Nationals", and individuals (Continued on Page 4)

40,000 Join Mass Funeral for Harry Ness

(Reprinted from The Organizer, July 25, 1934)

One of the most solemn and impressive gatherings ever witnessed in the city of Minneapolis, was seen when 40,000 workers and women assembled to pay tribute to the first martyr of Local 574, Henry B. Ness.

Men and their families, from every trade and industry, Union men and unorganized, employed and unemployed, came from all parts of the city to honor the first man to give his life so that others might live, the fearless warrior who was shot down in cold blood by Johannes, the Murderer, shot in the back by cowards who dared not face him.

Not a policeman was in sight as the grim thousands gathered at the call of 574. Starting from the funeral parlor, they marched to the strike headquarters at the old Sutro-Garage, packing the streets until not a person could squeeze through. In front of the headquarters, a temporary stand had been erected and a broadening apparatus set up, from which last tributes were paid the heroic martyr.

William S. Brown, president of Local 574, spoke about the fighter whom he had known so well and who was so beloved by all the men. He was so overcome with emotion as he spoke about the man by whose side he had fought many good battles, that he was unable to say more than a few brief words.

Albert Goldman, the noted attorney from Chicago who is now attached to the Union's legal staff, followed him on the tribune. In solemn, well-chosen words, he exorcised the murderers of the dead man, not those who shot him down, but those higher up who had given the orders for his assassination.

The last speaker was Chaplain Nelson of the Post of the National Veterans' Association to which Henry Ness had belonged. His invocation was a touching tribute to the intrepid soldier who had so fearlessly fought for himself, his family, and for his brothers—for his Union.

The echo of the last address brought down the massed thousands wheeled into marching columns behind the coffin of the dead. Hundreds upon hundreds of automobiles filled with workmen who swung into line.

So magnificent and startling a demonstration has not been seen in Minneapolis in years. By the tens of thousands, the workers of Minneapolis displayed a solidarity with 574 and its martyr which flung into the teeth of their detractors the lie that the labor movement of the city is not behind the truckers and inside men on strike. By the tens of thousands, the workers of Minneapolis showed their hatred and horror of the murderous attacks of the police and the masters from whom they take their orders. By the tens of thousands, the Minneapolis workers bowed their heads at the grave of a hero and soldier of the labor movement.

Farewell, body of Henry Ness! Farell, your immortal fighting spirit!

Goldman's Speech

In my years of experience defending workers caught in the clutches of capitalist class justice, I have come to know well the brutality of police officers against pickets and workers' demonstrations. Now, from an examination of the available evidence, I am convinced that if ever anyone was guilty of malicious, premeditated murder and attempt to murder, it was the police who fired at the pickets last (Continued on Page 4)

Rush Funds for Cannon-Shachtman Defense

Comrades Shachtman and Cannon have been arrested by the Minneapolis police, the first victims of the terrific "red" baiting campaign unleashed by the bosses. In this we witness once more the celebrated frame-up methods of American capitalism hitting directly at the Communist League. But in its essence it is a part of the general efforts to break the truck drivers' strike and if possible to crush their splendid fighting union.

The strike is solid. No trucks move. But the bosses bring into play their most deadly weapons: the frame-up, armed police attacks and martial law.

Help is needed to defend our comrades against this dastardly frame-up. Rush funds immediately to the Militant office.

Local 574 on Martial Law

(Reprinted from The Organizer, July 25, 1934)

There is increasing talk about establishing martial law in Minneapolis. Some reports even indicate the possibility of martial law being established by the time this issue of The Organizer is on the press. The thousands of National Guardsmen encamped in the city are to take control in the present strike situation and regulate all activity by force of their military authority and arms.

The establishment of martial law means a recognition that a state of war exists which cannot be dealt with by the ordinary police authorities. And, in a certain sense, it cannot be denied that a state of war does exist in Minneapolis. It is a war in which thousands of workingmen are fighting for something more than a hard crust of bread for themselves and their families, fighting for a right to live like human beings. It is a war of cruelly exploited workingmen against a predatory band of business barons who still think they can rule over labor like the feudal lords ruled over the serfs—barons of commerce and finance who are set up on bringing to their knees the slaves who are determined to stand up like men.

In this war of poverty against wealth, of labor against capital, there is no room for a "No Man's Land" of neutrality. You are either on the side of the men and their families who refuse any longer to live on fourteen, or twelve, or ten dollars a week, or you are on the side of the men who refuse to grant them a higher wage. You are either on the side of the men who strike, or you are on the side of those who want to smash the strike. You are either for the right to peaceful picketing, or you are for the "right" of the police to massacre the pickets. You are either for the right of the workers to organize their own Union to defend themselves, or you are for the "right" of the employers to crush the Union.

Whom and what will they protect? We never asked for protection from the Guard. We have no "property" to protect. The employers have. It is their properties and their profits extorted from our labor that they want protected. It is their scabs, and their scab trucks, sent out to rob us of our bread, that they want protected. We never called for the troops. The employers did. We call for their withdrawal.

The employers are desperate. And whatever noise you hear from them is whistling in the dark to keep up courage. We have sowed them up and they know it. Their proudest boast is that they have been able to make 22 trips in one day, under the heaviest police convoys. That means less than one-fourth of one per cent of the number of trips made per normal day in Minneapolis, based on the conservative figure of 3,000 trucks involved in the strike, which usually make a minimum of 3 trips a day! We don't need the Guard to stop scab trucks. But the employers need it to convoy them through.

Is it "riots" that the Guard will prevent? Scabs and scab truck movements—these cause riots. Police shooting down unarmed workers—this causes riots. Where there is no scab or police interference—there is quiet. Look at the imposing demonstration of 40,000 workers at Henry Ness' funeral yesterday where, without a policeman in sight, the workers themselves maintained perfect order during the ceremony and all along the line of march.

Another illusion that prevails among employers is that if the Guard is sent into action, that means the defeat of the strike. Fighting 574 has no such idea! The only ones who can defeat this strike are the strikers themselves. Their cause is lost if they weaken, if they break ranks, if they lose their fighting spirit. And this is just what they will not do.

We know from rich experience: Clumsy, cowardly scabs cannot move trucks. Policemen's clubs cannot move trucks. Deputies' badges cannot move trucks. Guardsmen's bayonets, tear-gas guns or trench helmets cannot move trucks. Yes, not even field artillery has even been known to move trucks.

You need truck drivers and helpers and platform men and inside men to move trucks.

And they are all in the ranks of 574. And that's where they are going to stay. And under its banner they are going to win. No force has yet been produced that can rob them of their victory unless they voluntarily submit to the tyranny of the employers, unless they surrender.

Only cowards surrender—but Union men fight! And the men of 574 are Union men!

Farm Workers Strike in Ohio Shows Militancy

Bryan, Ohio, July 19.—Workers in the world's largest onion fields, in southern Ohio, have been fighting a tenacious and unyielding struggle for over a month.

The strike has been met with the most savage brutality by the bosses. An army of strike-breakers and deputies with guns, gas bombs, and clubs have been mobilized against the strikers. Two pickets have been shot and a great many gassed and clubbed. The jails are filled with strikers. In a recent flare-up in militancy, fifteen more pickets were arrested after a courageous fight against deputies and strike-breakers who fired on them from trucks.

The workers who formerly worked for eight to twelve cents an hour, are demanding \$2.80 for an eight-hour day.

Drivers Ranks Solid Despite Provocation

(By Wire)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 26.—With the declaration of martial law, Minneapolis police began a howling red-scare and arrested Comrade James P. Cannon, editor of the Militant and Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of the New International today.

The arrest of these leaders of the Communist League of America, in Minneapolis covering the strike situation for the Militant and the New International, took on a sinister aspect when it became known that they were held by authorities without charges.

All the earmarks of a frame-up were present in the case in the announcement by police that "they had seized a large quantity of radical literature in a room occupied by one of the men."

The New York branch of the Communist League of America has arranged a mass meeting to protest the arrest of comrades Cannon and Shachtman. Large numbers of revolutionary workers will jam Irving Plaza hall, where the meeting will be held on Sunday, July 29th at 8 P.M. Reports have arrived here that similar protest meetings are to be held in several other cities.

(By Wire)

Minneapolis, July 26.—Martial law was proclaimed here today by Farmer-Labor Governor, Floyd B. Olson, in an effort to break the general strike of drivers and helpers which is now rounding out its second week, undaunted by police murders and bosses' provocations.

4,000 National Guardsmen were placed in the streets, which means that Governor Olson considers this battle of workingmen for better conditions and recognition of their union to be a "State of insurrection."

"Bottles of men," said Governor Olson, "together by force have attempted to break and resist the laws of this state, imperiling the lives, health and property and general welfare of the citizens of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, and the civil authorities thereof, are wholly unable to preserve and maintain law and order."

Protect Whose Lives?

While the meaning of this motivation for the declaration of martial law remains unclear for the moment, interpretation was widespread here that the statement regarding the imperiling of the health and property of Minneapolis could be construed to mean the moving of trucks with troop convoys to protect them against the strikers. There is likewise some uncertainty here as to whether the remark on the protection of lives is a bit of demagoguery, at which Olson is so adept, in order to deceive the drivers that the troops have been called out to protect them, or whether it is a sly hint to the employers that scab trucks will move without the casualties caused by the "indiscreet" police force.

Olson did not say what he meant by "law and order" but strikers and large sections of the population here have come to understand this term in the light of the premeditated attack on defenseless workers by murderous thugs in blue coats last Friday.

Martial law was declared here after the bosses had turned down the proposals of Federal mediators to arbitrate the strike. These proposals, including an election to determine whether the union shall be entitled to represent the men in collective bargaining, that the strike be called off and all workers on the payroll as of July 17 be re-

(Continued on Page 3)

PROTEST MEETING

Against the Murder of Minneapolis Strikers and the Arrest of James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman

IRVING PLAZA HALL,
15th St. and Irving Place
Sunday July 29, 1934 at 8 p.m.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Democratic" Law and Order

From the Pacific Coast the capitalist press reported armed vigilantes (Boss term for strikebreakers) smashing up workers' homes and homes, beating up men and women, destroying property with the full approval and armed support of the capitalist state. From Seattle comes the story of 3,400 National Guards armed with machine guns, rifles, tear-gas, vomit-gas and light howitzers moving on to attack picketing strikers. After listing the strength of the armed forces of the bosses the report concludes: "a striking seaman was arrested and found to be carrying a knife." Here is the content of capitalist democracy. Howitzers, gas and machine guns to defend the profits of the boss—arrest for the striking worker who carried a knife.

"And the Ass Spoke"

Since the time when "God opened the mouth of Balaam's ass and the ass spoke" other asses with collars turned backward have had their mouths opened or shut as the occasion required by their God and master, Big Business. Despite the general moronic qualities of "gentlemen of the cloth" I really believe that the Rev. James J. Henry, discussing the general strike, has reached a depth of assinity that it will be hard to beat. This particular servant of Christ is doing his "soul-saving" at the Park Ave. Episcopal Methodist Church. Listen to the Times report of the Reverend "driving the money changers from the temple." Radicals who attack the government while enjoying its protection were condemned. "We even give people permission to stand on our streets, besmirch our laws and pour contempt upon our institutions while our own officers of the law protect them." (I'd like to give the Reverend Parasite a little of that protection.) Mr. Henry related a story of an American manufacturer who, finding his plant picketed by strikers, invited them to go fishing with him. Many did so and the next day the men returned to work. "But," says the Reverend Longears, "you can't treat radicals and reds that way. They have no loyalty to our institutions. Their boast is that they are citizens of the world." After this brawling he went on to show that the world was an economic unity with each nation depending on others for food, raw materials and manufactured goods. In other words he showed the economic basis for being "citizens of the world." His final word was to advise listeners who were leaving New York to attend some other "hop joint" even if it didn't belong to the Methodist syndicate. What strange, crawling creatures fatten under decaying capitalism!

"It is Reported"

"Hitler a prisoner," screamed the Daily Worker. The source of their news, according to themselves, is from General Motors in Berlin by cable to J. P. Morgan, and from Morgan by "authentic word" to the Daily Worker. I suppose that as soon as Morgan got the cable he said: "By George! I must call up Hathaway about this." However, as the Freiheit says, "if it wasn't true yesterday it will be tomorrow." And so like the American correspondent in the movie "Viva Villa," the Daily Worker scored a scoop even if the action is somewhat delayed.

War and Oil

Some years ago when American marines were killed at Socony Hill in China some American liberals asked why should United States soldiers die defending the robber wealth of Standard Oil Co. of New York. Standard Oil Co. doesn't insist on using only U. S. soldiers to do its dirty work. Paraguay has placed a memorial before the League of Nations charging that the Standard Oil Co. is paying the Bolivian army to hold its Chaco oil fields. The memorial states that the Bolivian oil concessions to Standard Oil have increased from 380,000 to 2,703,000 square miles since the war began. We don't know what oil company is financing the Paraguayan army but we do know that the "patriots" and "heroes" who are dying in the Chaco swamps are tools of the same or similar interests to those who sent the National Guards to shoot down striking workers in America.

Roosevelt? No, Lovestone

"In addition to our economic interest we have a very vital political interest in Cuba. . . . We snatched Cuba from Spain because it fitted into our dream of empire." (My emphasis—B) Workers Age, July 15. "As an American speaking to Americans, I do not feel it appropriate to make suggestions to those South of the Rio Grande. I want rather to say a few words about what we Americans should do as a people, if we wish to promote better relations with our neighbors to the south." Bert Wolfe, Workers Age, July 15.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Civil Liberties Under The New Deal

Liberty Under the New Deal—The Record for 1933-34. Published by the Civil Liberties Union. This pamphlet, issued by the Civil Liberties Union in June, 1934, suffers obviously from the fact that it could not include in its report the red-baiting and labor hating terror that is now going on in San Francisco and other cities of the West Coast. A very definite shortcoming, however, of the pamphlet—Liberty Under the New Deal—is that overbearing evidence is adduced from cases in which the C. L. U. was directly involved. Matters being so, the review, of necessity, suffers from an all too one-sided approach to the general question of liberty or repression under the New Deal.

Militant Tone

All in all the pamphlet strikes a fairly militant tone. Despite section 7a of the NRA and despite all the blabbering of the various shades of pink in the labor movement as to labor, at last, coming into its own, it is clearly pointed out that the government in so far as it has interfered in recent strike struggles, has done so exclusively on the side of the bosses.

The pamphlet is summarized under various headings such as: Courts, Laws, Strikes, Labor Injunctions, Aliens, etc. The findings under some of these headings is that a larger share of liberal opinion has prevailed in this last year than heretofore. The Civil Liberties Union is particularly happy over the Administration's activity with regard to the American Indians. The bill restoring Indian tribal lands and tribal autonomy, etc., is described in the report as a "milestone on the road to the Indians' recovering their lost independence." Also, the report comments favorably on the Administration's attitude towards the American colonies.

Roosevelt's Terror

Lynchings in the past year have jumped from ten the previous year to twenty-eight. Troops have been called out in 5 states against strikers. Over forty injunctions have been issued by state courts restricting or suspending the right to organize, strike or picket. More than 15 strikers have been killed and over 200 wounded on picket lines or in demonstrations. Several hundred have been arrested. (It must again be borne in mind that the publication date of the report is June, 1934). Strikes or threatened strikes have marked all the great unorganized industries. The

police, it is found, have been the most active agents of interference with the rights to meet, speak, distribute literature and to picket in strikes. A bill intended to permit political refugees asylum in the United States was so changed as to confine its provisions solely to reactionary Russians—Czarists and enemies of the Soviet Union. The C. L. U. fought for the veto of the bill but it was signed.

A significant item under the heading, Aliens, is that where the report points out that the Labor Department's policy has been "somewhat modified by the disaffiliation of the Trade Union Unity League from the Red International of Labor Unions." The price paid for American recognition of Soviet Russia has, at least, "helped" Frank Borah, secretary of the National Miners Union who had deportation proceedings cancelled as a direct result of the disaffiliation.

Why the Omissions?

And here permit us a few criticisms of the Civil Liberties Union which proclaims to be non-partisan but goes out of its way in its efforts to achieve a rapprochement with the Stalinists. Under that same heading, Aliens, one expected to find a review—nay—a mere mention of the Beissel case with which the C. L. U. was involved. Not a word. In Los Angeles A. L. Wirin, Beardsley and other lawyers connected with the Union were instrumental in getting a reverse decision on appeal in an anti-picketing case where one of our comrades, Elsie Meyers, was involved—no mention. In San Francisco where our comrades were arrested and defended by Austin Lewis—no mention. But if some paper victory—by now entirely in the limbo of memory only—by the National Miners Union in Gallup, N. M., it is hailed as "notable among the gains of unionism." The winning of a fighting union by the Minneapolis truck drivers, the heroic battles of the Toledo workers—no mention! There were no Stalinists there.

The shus of the pamphlet are in the main shus of omission. It would serve little purpose here to debate with the C. L. U. its "ideal" conception of government, its fighting for the rights of all—Nazis included. One can, however, hope that in the future such reviews, as the present, will begin to picture events in the United States through their own reflection and not from the distorted reflections of the crazy mirrors of Stalinism.

—GLEE.

Militant Builders

Second Drive Ends

Local New York in the Lead. The second Club Plan Sub drive which ends August 1st has brought in a total of 453 new subscribers up to the present writing. A few more are expected before the final date, if George Truhar's letter is an indication. He writes, asking, "Can I send in another 20 subs by midnight of July 31st?"

New Subs Last Week

Bronx Spartacus Youth Club	4
Bob Green (Bronx Br.)	15
Cleveland Br. (Truhar)	28
Chicago Branch	8
M. V. Stone, Phila.	4
O. P., Mich.	4

Complete Record

Local New York	95
Cleveland Branch	66
Chicago Branch	52
Minneapolis Branch	40
Los Angeles Branch	36
Philadelphia Branch	16
Davenport Branch	12
Pittsburgh Branch	12
Youngstown Branch	8
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Branch	8
Constance N.	8
New Haven Branch	8
Toronto	4
M. N. Stone, Phila.	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
A. S., N. Y. C.	4
O. P., Ludington, Mich.	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Castle Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
A. L. Rumble	4
Jefferson Hall	4

Second Drive Total	453
First Drive Total	1014
Total for both drives	1467

new subs.

Org-Press Campaign

That the capitalists are determined to break the restlessness of the workers in the present strike wave was clearly evidenced during the past week in California and in Minneapolis.

Wholesale arrests, unwarranted attacks on workers' halls, meeting places and offices; surprise raids on the homes of individuals active in the struggle. This is the record of California "democracy" during the past few days.

The workers' only response in this situation is Organization. Organization is no abstraction. A living matter, its importance is in the ideas it fosters and sponsors. In the Communist League of America these ideas are the ideas of Marxism and when you build the Communist League you strike a blow for the present and the future of the revolutionary movement. Our Organization-Press campaign has been conceived of as the weapon for this task. When you support us in this drive you strike a blow at the white terror of the bosses.

Receipts

Total reported thus far	\$360.58
Total since last report	53.60
as follows:	
R. Hermann, Chicago	\$1.00
Podell, Brooklyn	1.00
M. Meisel	1.00
Manhattan Branch, N. Y.	1.55
M. M., N.Y.C.	5.00
(from B. Bass \$1.50)	
Stylus, Bronx Br.	1.00
Local New York	31.25
Sterling	\$5.00
Manne	10.00
E. R.	5.00
J. W. party	11.25
Collin, Brooklyn	1.00
Anonymous, N.Y.C.	1.00
Cleveland (Abrams)	.80
Boston Branch (Bolton)	1.00
Anonymous, N.Y.C.	1.00
Cleveland Branch	4.00
M. R. Los A.	1.00
Boston Branch (Bolton)	1.50
A. Friend, N.Y.C.	.50

Special Note:

All those who have received coupon books and have not yet responded or returned the book, will kindly do so and so avoid the necessity of sending them a follow up. In the last issue, an error was made in reporting the returns from New York Local. The total was \$57.25 for all the branches. Not as it appeared, \$57.25 in addition to what the branches turned in. Another error was the contribution from A. Konikow of Boston. It should have been \$5, not \$15.

QUESTION BOX

COMRADE B-D, Newark.—The proletariat in this country is made up as follows: (1929 figures, wage and salary earners—in thousands) Agriculture 2,027 Electric light and power, gas . . . 336 Mining 1,054 Manufacturing 9,890 Construction 1,360 Transportation 2,905 Communication 533 Trade 5,562 Finance 1,422 Government 3,093 Service 4,858 Miscellaneous 2,255

Total 35,295 There are about 6 million owners and tenant farmers, and 1,050,000 owners of retail stores. This latter figure having been 1,510,000 in 1929.

SARA W., N. Y.—Where did you hear that the Stalinists had three positions on the Saar plebiscite? You must have reference to the Appeal to the Saar Workers by the I. S. where it states: "At first they (the Stalinists—ed.) stood unconditionally for return to Germany, then they spouted hollow phrases about a Soviet Germany and finally in the last hour came out for the status quo."

Apparently, the first two are but two faces of the same coin. If (Resolution of the Presidium of the Communist International, adopted April 1, 1933) "the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship . . . accelerates the rate of Germany's development towards proletarian revolution," then the best thing for the Saar workers would be a return to "revolutionary" Germany. This is the logic of the first position held by the Stalinists, and talk of a Soviet Germany is merely a part of it.

It is, of course, impossible for us to give you any official reason for the change because the Stalinists simply don't give any. In an article entitled "The Communist Position in the Saar Question" (Daily Worker, July 19, 1934) a certain W. Mueller condemns the "Back to Germany" slogans as follows: "To advocate union with Hitler Germany would mean to betray the workers, would mean to advocate their being placed under the heel of Hitler fascism"; and then he fails to explain the change in position as follows: "They (the C. P.—ed.) declare most emphatically . . . that the Communists are making a 'volte face', that the tactics pursued by the Communists in the Saar were and are correct. They could not make the tactical decision they are now making six months or a year ago, because the development of the class forces and the sudden or unexpected turns in events before the holding of the plebiscite might have rendered it necessary to adopt another attitude in the Saar question." (Can you make head or tail of this bodge-podge?)

Why the change, still remains unanswered. The turn cannot be attributed to a change in the Stalinist position concerning the present situation in Germany. The same W. Mueller states: "With the tactics they are adopting, the Communists deliberately turn the attention of the proletarians in the Saar District and of all countries to the revolutionary upsurge which is taking place under the leadership of the C.P.G."

Can the change be attributed to pressure from the workers. This may be a factor.

However, the most likely of reasons, in harmony with the entire Stalinist nationalistic approach, is the fact that the Soviet Union stands ready to join the League of Nations which now nominally rules the Saar.

Goethals—Strikebreaker

An elaborate military plan for breaking the proposed general strike of the railroad unions thirteen years ago was revealed to the press this week by Major Elihu Church, who assisted Major Gen. George W. Goethals, engineer in charge of Panama Canal, in preparing the plan.

Had the strike taken place, it was planned to institute martial law in all strategic areas, requisition all trucks, and set aside roads for the sole use of the strikebreaking military.

Goethals and Church were then members of the Port of New York Authority. Among the steps carried out was a census, worked out with motor vehicle authorities in New York and New Jersey, "of every motor truck in the city and their capacities in terms of ton-miles on a twenty-four hour basis." "Military authorities of both states, as well as of the regular army," said Church, "were consulted and a plan worked out for the strategic use of available troops to act as convoys for the food trucks."

Like the San Francisco and Minneapolis authorities, General Goethals planned to break the strike under the guise of transporting food.

New Castle Unemployed Organize

New Castle, Pa., July 23.—Originality and versatility are two of the many qualities which the progressive workers of New Castle possess, if one is to judge by their record over many years. This town years ago had what was known as one of the Reddest locals of the Socialist Party in the country. It elected a Socialist administration in 1903. In the early days, a local workers' press was published here, the name of which is still well remembered by the old timers. During the World War, a large local of the Industrial Workers of the World flourished here and defied police repression in their anti-war activity. The local workers have likewise distinguished themselves by the great battles which they waged against the Steel Trust, especially in 1909 and 1919. They took an awful beating in both strikes; the unions were successively broken up by a combination of the strategy employed by the Trust and the traitorous maneuvers of the A. F. of L. skates in the Amalgamated Association. In educational activity, the vanguard workers here have sponsored many forums and lectures which may well have become models for the workingclass everywhere. And now, as if to crown their forty-year labor record, they have organized their own unemployed organization, the Co-Operative Workers of America.

Movement Under Way

The C. W. of A. organized at a mass meeting held early in the spring of this year. The workers' committees picked Easter Sunday as

Stalin Keeps His Promises

No one who has read the N. Y. Times for July 20, will say that Stalin does not live up to the commitments which his right hand man Litvinoff made to President Roosevelt in return for recognition of Soviet Russia. In an article by the New York Times, July 21, correspondent for Russia, Harold Denny, discussing the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, which it is stated will be held in the Fall, the following comments are made:

"An interesting feature is that most of the data on the coming meeting published in Soviet press are translations from Communist publications in other countries. This is probably motivated by a desire to make Moscow appear less the center of the world revolution."

We had always been given to understand that the Communist party of the U.S.S.R. was the leading party of the Communist International and that its voice was most influential in shaping world policies. This fact quoted in the Times does not lead us to change our position to the effect that some other party of the Comintern has taken the place of the C.P.S.U.—it wouldn't make much difference to exchange one corpse for another—but that the World Congress, postponed for five years will merely be a rubber-stamp for all the crimes of Stalinism.

Further down the correspondent says "it is interesting and perhaps significant to note that not only the Soviet publications, but Communist party utterances, including statements in behalf of the Comintern do not mention the United States."

The interests of the national policy of the ruling clique in the Soviet Union have developed to such a point where it has become possible for the theoreticians of the Stalin regime to "analyze" the world situation and omit the United States the economic and political pivot of international events today, from their calculations.

But it is not always that the United States is left out of consideration sometimes says Denny, "Since recognition of the tone of the government and party has been extremely friendly (!) towards us. . . . News of strikes in San Francisco and other American cities is being published in the press here, but without comment."

Communists are arrested, jailed and beaten, headquarters are smashed, a general strike such as America has not seen for years shocks the bourgeoisie of the country and then is betrayed. And the Soviet press has nothing to say but publish the news. What a let-down since the days of Lenin.

an appropriate time, showing their contempt for "days and seasons." Since that date, the C. W. of A. has been representing the interests of the C.W.A. and the R.W.D. workers. Now that the Trust's Tin Plate mills here have shut down to one-half capacity, the C. W. of A. shall represent the interests of every unemployed worker in New Castle. This developed at a mass meeting held Monday, July 23, at Dean Park. After hearing a fine report from their chairman, and a stirring address from one of their militant organizers, the meeting got down to the business of organizing every ward in the city and the county districts as well. Ward and township committees were named by the workers volunteering their services.

It is now in order to estimate this organization's prospects and to prescribe or describe certain conditions under which it can become outstanding in the labor movement. Provided that the C. W. of A. can fulfill certain conditions, its future is bright, as it appears that the United States is entering a new epoch of class struggles. The Government is daily revealing the actual content of the new deal. The public debt grows at the expense of the workingclass. The economic index falls. And the workingclass is becoming organization-conscious; all these and more form a background against which the C. W. of A. may stand out. There are at least two conditions with which the C. W. of A. must comply if it would play its role well: First, it must recognize the Federal, State, County and Municipal governments and all their agencies (especially the relief agencies), as parts of a machine all under the control of the capitalists; second, it must logically conduct all its activity in consonance with the recognition of point one.

Forward to New Positions

So far the leadership of the C. W. of A. has been characterized by much dependence on the Federal and State relief agencies, the R.W.D. administration, etc. Now with the personal record of the leaders of the C. W. of A. we have no quarrel; they are conscientious in the performance of their duties as they understand them, but this is insufficient. To lead the unemployed effectively, they must recognize the role of the New Deal and its agencies. This, we grant, comes by experience in the case of the wide masses. In the case of the leaders, it means that if they cannot aid the unemployed to understand the experiences through which they pass, the leaders must give way to others who can by their policies and leadership, give expression to the successive stages of mass conscious development and also aid its evolution. The tendency so far of the present leadership has been to repose faith in the New Deal. They must expose it, while exhausting all possible agencies of relief. The leaders of the C. W. of A. do have a militant policy against evictions. This is good. Apply this militant attitude in its dealings with the New Deal agencies and great victories shall result. Take up the cases of workers refused relief, who have recently lost work. Rely only on mass pressure. Forward to new positions!

—A. L. L.

Jean Tomasini Dead

Comrade Jean Tomasini, a young, promising member of the Bronx Branch of the Communist League of America, died Thursday, July 19 after a protracted illness. All the comrades who knew and worked with her are deeply grieved by her passing from our midst when her work in the Communist movement had but begun.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

Towards a Western European Congress of Workers

At present, beginnings of broad united front movements have already been commenced in France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, and England, and while the whole movement is still only in its initial stage, it is already evident that this offers not only the best but the only way of checking the development of Fascism and turning the tide in favor of the working class.

In Spain where the first permanent united front organization, the Workers Alliance against Reaction and Fascism was formed, the movement continues to make great headway. In spite of the sabotage of the socialist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders, the most important sectors of the labor movement are adhering to the Workers Alliance under pressure of the evolutionary minorities within their ranks. The Stalinists and the Anarchists continue to betray the general interests of the working class for those of their own particular group. Fortunately both sectarian tendencies are becoming ever more isolated from the proletarian masses. The experiences thus far in Spain demonstrates the possibility of developing broad united front movements in the present period, in spite of all the sabotage and betrayals of reformists and sectarians. It demonstrates the inherent ability of the proletariat to overcome the divisions existing within its ranks.

The western European Workers Alliances have before them the task of smashing Fascism and laying the basis for the Soviet United States of Europe.

The last number of the International Bulletin of the Internationalist-Communists, poses the question of an international conference of the Workers Alliances of France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, England.

Towards the New Party in Chile

Recently, the Communist Left of Chile, Section of the League of Internationalist Communists and, which has broad influence among the workers, signed a pact with the Communist Youth Opposition, agreeing for joint action in building the Fourth International. The Communist Youth Opposition is an autonomous organization, spontaneously revolting against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which split away from the official Y.C.L. several months ago.

Of all the South American countries, it is in Chile that the movement for the new party is most advanced. The steady, consistent work of the Bolshevik Leninists in the industries and in the unions is laying the basis for a real Communist Party. Although lacking relatively great resources that the Stalinists have at their disposal, our comrades are making themselves felt in every field. A new fortnightly newspaper has been launched under the name "Izquierda" (Left) which is a great improvement over the bulletin published previously.

One indication of the fear of the ruling classes for the Communist Left, is indicated by the recent attack on our parliamentary representative, Comrade Emilio Zapata by the carabinieri. Comrade Zapata was shot in the head and seriously injured in what appears to have been an attempt to assassinate him.

Regional Conference of the Catalonian Workers Alliance

The Workers Alliance of Catalonia united front organization of the workers of all the main political tendencies of that region, held its First Regional Conference on June 17th. This was during the height of the agitation over the Catalanian land law, when the relations between the central and regional governments were very strained. The Conference adopted a resolution stating that in the event of the establishment of an independent Catalanian Republic, the Workers Alliance would defend Catalonia against any attack of the central government and would rally the proletariat of all Spain to its defense. At the same time an effort should be made to transform the Catalanian Republic into a Socialist republic.

The following immediate demands were formulated by the Regional Conference in which delegates from Syndicalist, Socialist, trade union and independent Communist organizations represented the majority of the proletariat of Catalonia: The arming of the workers, complete liberty of organization and propaganda for all workers' organization, expropriation of the estates of the most active leaders of the Regionalist "Lliga", the closing of all Fascist centers, arrest of the Fascist leaders, and the forty-four hour week in all branches of industry.

Steps were also taken at the Conference for the coordination of the activities of the Workers Alliances throughout the country.

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ROBBER BARONS RAVE AT CRIME

I. Capitalism Breeds Crime

There is practically not a large industrial city where some kidnapping has not occurred during the last few months. All along the newspapers have been carrying sensational reports of the kidnapping of this or that scion of wealth. The paid press, which remains curiously indifferent to the poverty and degradation of ten million American working men and women, and which always retains a sober "impartiality" when it reports the beating or even the shooting of a striking dock worker, miner, etc., managed to work itself up into a veritable frenzy against this danger to the life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (of the millionaires) and hysterically demanded the death penalty for all offenders. The corrupt legislatures—these mighty, these just, these disinterested "public servants" forgot about the gas trust and power corporations for a whole day and passed still more vicious laws to combat the "crime wave".

Catching Suckers

What was disgusting about the "crime wave", from our point of view, was the pitch of indignation to which the press succeeded in arousing many working men against the criminals. (We mean those that were caught, as distinguished from the catchers.) The press, the radio and the news services put on the high pressure valve and hysterical letters poured into the offices of the city editors demanding that something be done about it, while armed posses were reported to have been organized around Arizona and California.

Doesn't that really sound preposterous?

Here we are in the year of our lord 1934, where thousands, literally thousands of young men are being butchered off every day in South America and China and right here in the U.S.A.—four workers shot to death at the San Francisco Embarcadero, fifty-five wounded and one killed in Minneapolis, another worker electrocuted to death the other week in Milwaukee during the car strike, unemployed workers committing suicide every day; still nobody seems to get excited. But have one hair torn of the head of a millionaire, or any other parasite and then the press begins to carry reports of loud voiced young attorneys who tell us of the sanctity of the law and the fire-works begin in real earnest!

Who Pays the Press?

That shows just about as clearly as anything else what interests our press serves and what is very important, with what infinite ease they can stir up millions of people to a hysterical pitch, and divert their thoughts from their own misery. (Remember 1914?) Such events give us again a sharp warning that we must reexamine with a fine toothed comb everything we read in their press.

About this thing of kidnappings and crime in general, we workers have no reason to become indignant at this or that sensational murder which the press reports, or join in with the Chambers of Commerce and the lawyers of the American Bar Association in demanding more brutal punishments against offenders. What judges and lawyers call "crime" is nothing but an outgrowth of the system in which we live, with its exploitation and discrimination and poverty and hunger. And as long as this system of exploitation is allowed to remain, so long will crime exist no matter how vicious the laws that are passed.

Only One Way Out

The only way that crime can be abolished is to give people a decent chance to live; is to abolish all private property, all monopoly and exploitation and then no man will go out to commit burglary when his house is well stocked with food and necessary clothing and no woman will walk the streets when she has a comfortable home of her own. Learned professors may write books about the criminal mind and how some people are naturally bad just as the rest of us are naturally good—law-abiding citizens—but that is all nonsense! There is no such thing as a natural criminal. You can examine any set of statistics, of any of our larger cities and you will find that invariably 99% of all crimes committed are crimes against property and are due solely to unemployment, to poverty and to want.

Why is it that so many of our young men must embark upon a career of "crime"? Why must so many of young working boys violate the "law"?

The Biggest Grab of All

Simply because 90% of all our wealth lies in the hands of 10% of the people. Solely because a pack of robber barons have monopolized the earth to themselves, have stolen all the forests, the oil lands, the coal, the copper and iron ore and have passed laws to compel the rest of us to pay tribute to them.

When you go out and try to find a plot of land to cultivate you find that everything has been fenced off long before you came, and a large sign planted in front, "Private Property—Keep Out."

When you go into a city and want to ride on the subway or the street

cars, you find that you are compelled to pay five or ten cents for something that is not worth more than 2¢, simply because the bankers who own the transportation companies have bribed the state legislatures and have passed laws compelling all of us to pay tribute to them.

When you go home and want to cook something on your stove, you find that you are being held up by the great Consolidated, who can generally furnish enough light so that the state legislature can see it, as was revealed at the recent investigation at Albany.

And when you go out and want to find some work, there is no job to be gotten, simply because of the greed and the grasping of a small clique of bankers, industrialists and landowners who have stolen so much of our wealth, that the rest of us can hardly buy back anything of what we have produced.

When you do find work, three-quarters of what you produce is stolen by the owner and the boss. And so we workers find wherever we may turn, we are surrounded by a hungry pack of wolves, who have fenced everything off for themselves, robbed everything, and then turned around and passed laws compelling us to keep our hands off.

Under conditions of that sort, facing the choice of slow extinction or "crime", of course, many of the more daring young boys take the latter choice and when they strike out and attempt to grab a morsel of all that has been stolen by the Astors and Vanderbilts and Morgans and Mellons they are clapped into jail for violating "law" while the jackals of the yellow press cry for their blood.

DAILY WORKER TELLS ALL

Many have been and are the boasts of the Stalinists; of their numbers and influence over greater numbers; of the organizations they have built—trade unions, unemployed councils, fraternal societies, a whole catalogue of them; of the strikes and demonstrations they have led; of the gains they have won for the workers. For the most part their vauntings were like the wind. The small gains they won, now here, now there, have been lost or eclipsed in the greater offensive of the second strike wave of the "recovery era". The organizations they built have crumbled to dust or are paper shells. Over the Stalinists, history has marked the cross of death.

The *Daily Worker* itself offers continuous evidence of the isolation of the Stalinists from the American working class. In its columns there is a continuous bleating and whining about the failure of the party membership to carry out the always-correct line and root itself in the trade unions; become a factor in the great strike struggles; get subs; all those activities for which a revolutionary party is created.

Circulation Figures

Perhaps most damning of all are the figures of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* published on June 19 in connection with the drive for twenty thousand new readers, itself part of the drive to double the *Daily's* circulation by January 1, 1935. Fifteen years after the launching of the Communist Party, in the fifth year of an unprecedented crisis, with more than ten million unemployed, in the midst of a great offensive by labor, with no daily working class papers with which to compete, the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, the main organizer of the Stalinist Communist party is only thirty-one thousand a day! Is this not a confession of failure and isolation?

The *Daily's* figures apply nationally to twenty-six districts. In only five—New York exclusive of the Buffalo area, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago has the daily a circulation of more than one thousand! More than forty percent of the total circulation comes from New York, presumably New York City and vicinity. In Detroit, center of the great automobile industry, the Stalinists admit their failure with a circulation of only 1,595. In Pittsburgh, center of the steel industry, it is even worse with 481. In Birmingham where their work in the Scottsboro case gave them a base for work and influence they have a circulation of only 301. In the important cities of St. Louis and Buffalo they have respectively 226 and 529. So it is with other cities and districts—nothing to bear out their boasting.

Readers and Members

Let us take another look at the figures. They will tell us more. The circulation of the revolutionary press has always been considerably larger than the party membership. The reasons are obvious. The Stalinists generally exaggerate the difference. Thus in Germany today where the Lovestones accord them twenty thousand members in the underground they claim a weekly circulation for the illegal *Rote Fahne* of a million and a half! But here in the U. S. where they claim twenty-four thousand members they admit to only thirty-one thousand readers of their daily press. So little is their influence. And what of the hundred and twenty-five thousand members they say they

The big criminals, who have stolen more than all the petty thieves in the county jails put together never violate the law.

They are the respectable citizens, who make speeches and build churches and jails.

They have made the laws and therefore have no need of breaking them.

And the more these robber barons steal and plunder, the more many of the poor sons of the working class must go out and commit "crime" in order to live.

Some of us may not realize it at the time, but it is always hard economic need which drives them towards it. When young women prostitute their bodies, we know it is not because they don't go to church often enough, but because the lawyers and giant corporations have appropriated all the wealth and have deprived some girls of a chance of life and we know that the Morgans and the Rockefellers are responsible and not the girl who walks the streets.

Here and there, some person with a peculiar formation of the brain, may commit some senseless, weird crime, for no apparent reason, and receive great notoriety in our press, but these crimes are so rare as to be practically insignificant. By and large it is the poor who are forced to crime and it is they who fill our prisons and jails and who furnish the victims of the law. Such crimes can never be abolished by revengeful laws. They will only disappear when workers get a chance to live and get in on some of the good things of life. Only when all monopoly and exploitation is abolished and when the workers will receive

back in some form the wealth that they have produced, only when the bankers and capitalists and landlords are overthrown and the workers will become partners in production under a collective Socialist Society.

How Capitalism Reforms Itself.

Last summer, at about this time, all the liberals were walking around with broad, contented smiles on their faces, saying "I told you so." That was the time, as we remember, Ferdinand Pecora, as counsel for the Senate Banking Committee, was investigating the bankers and stock market brokers, and even though important phases of the investigation were suppressed, enough dirt and filth was revealed to satisfy the most blood-thirsty snickerer. We all remember the juicy details: the "interesting" inside list, the strange workings of the income tax law so that J. P. Morgan did not have to pay a cent in income taxes for five years, etc., etc.

Now this is just what we've been talking about: the liberals explained to us. "Public Opinion" voices an investigation, the scandalmongers and wrong doers are punished, a law is passed preventing such abuses in the future.

"Status Quo Ante Bellum"

It is months now that the investigation has ended. Congress has adjourned. It is fitting that we sum up the results gained, if any, have we gained anything? Have the workers gained anything, as a result of the protracted investigations? Have Morgan or his pals been deprived of their wealth? No one in Congress even dared suggest as much! (John J. Astor, brother-in-law of Roosevelt's pal, can still spend two million dollars on his bribe and have it smeared arrogantly across the headlines for the unemployed to read.) Is there any less cheating or larceny now than last year? Is the stock market perhaps run more honestly? (Trying to run a stock market honestly is something like fighting a war without hurting anybody.)

Way, just a few months ago, Arthur Cullen, the grain speculator, raised the price of wheat and kept it up, while thousands of workers did not have the price of a loaf of bread etc., etc.

Our liberal friends reply to us, "True, the results of the Pecora investigation have been disappointing, but at least now we will have the stock exchange regulated." "The Right Man for the Right Job" Yes, out of that whole investigation, nothing has remained but a bill to "regulate" the stock exchange. (Just as our gas and electric companies are "regulated") and even that is nothing but a cheap farce to throw dust into the eyes of the gullible. After months of haggling and bargaining at Washington a stock-exchange bill was passed by Congress which was so meaningless that even the million dollar Corporation lawyer, Samuel Untermyer, raised his voice in protest! But the corporations were not satisfied even with that. These shrewd men realized that about 99% of the importance of a law depends upon the people who are enforcing it, and so they saw to it that the President appointed Jos. P. Kennedy to the chairmanship of the Stock Exchange Commission. "The Right Man for the Right Job", as the business men say. Had the President combed the country from New York to Frisco he could not have found a more fitting candidate to regulate the exchanges.

Less than 4,000 for Steel

It is true that not more than all of the four hundred thousand steel workers are in and around Pittsburgh. There are some in Buffalo; the quota there is 320. Birmingham—200; Cleveland—900; Chicago—2,000; total less than four thousand.

The Pittsburgh figures must also apply to the thousands of miners in the district as well as the steel workers. Similar "perspectives" obtain for the other industries. In the figures, not the "news" and "editorials" are to be found the real perspectives of the Stalinists. It is a confession of bankruptcy.

We were to take the Stalinists at their word and accept them and their party as the representatives of the Bolshevik October and the bearers of the traditions of Marx and Lenin, as the Lovestones did, we should have to conclude that there is no hope for Marxism in the United States. But we need not accept the Stalinists at their word. They are no longer the representatives of the Bolshevik October. It is true they try to cloak themselves with its glorious traditions, but they have betrayed it. No longer a revolutionary party, they are a reactionary force. Their blatant claims makes an even less serious impression on the working class which turns from them with repugnance and bitterness.

There is a great future for Marxism in the United States as all over the world. That future lies with the Fourth International and its American section. Encouraged by the self-confessed bankruptcy of the Stalinists, let us put new energy into the work of rooting the Fourth International in the U. S. Let us build the new revolutionary Communist Party! —T. STAMM.

The turn of the Communist party and the pressure from the left in the Socialist party has finally led to the organization of unity of action between these two parties. Thus the theory of social-fascism crumbles to dust, thus it becomes clear that by our intransigent struggle for the united front from organization to organization we have correctly interpreted the undeniable will of the toiling masses.

We must say very clearly. A new stage is opened before us now. We have not before us a chance zig-zag, or a maneuver for a day. It is a question of a whole policy, whose development will be replete in results. For the present we will limit ourselves to the principal features of this policy.

Firstly, what we have here is a victory of the workers themselves. Since February 6, unity of action has been the fundamental demand of the workers who see in it the first prerequisite for the success of their struggle. In every form and in the various centrist and democratic parties and organizations a pressure in this direction has been exercised from the very heart of the popular masses. The German experience has not been in vain.

The movement towards the left grew in the Socialist party drawing its main force in the Seine and in a number of provincial federations. The struggle of Doriot in the Communist party reflected the same state of things. Similarly in the trade unions a movement towards organic unity grew and deepened. On the other hand numerous Vigilance Committees and Workers Alliance dotted the country. In thousands of localities they maintained the connection between diverse organizations which found themselves literally thrown upon

each other on February 12th. Even the Amsterdam movement was forced to consider a change in its form.

For weeks and months (particularly in April and May) the action of the leading bureaucrats was exercised against the realization of the united front of organizations, that is against the masses. But action from below continued to bring the fighters of different tendencies and social groups together against Fascism. In June, these demonstrations were more extensive, more solid, more frequent. The hour was approaching when the bureaucrats would have to surrender.

From this point of view and in the degree that it reflects a pressure, a rising of the proletarian masses, vast perspectives are opened for a united front movement.

As we said months ago and repeated hundreds of times in the struggle against Hitler in Germany, the constitution of a massed proletarian group can develop courage, hope and militancy, can push the struggle to a higher stage, in a word can create pre-revolutionary conditions.

In this sense we hopefully greet the realization of an action which embodies the profound correctness of our previous proposals and prepares a broader arena of struggle for the working class.

But it is essential to have complete clarity on the new situation facing us and therefore to develop our analysis further.

Consideration should be given to the form of exclusiveness the entente between the S. P. and the C. P. has taken. While at the present time it includes the most important sections of the working class, the apparatuses of these parties appear to have consorted not

only to organize common action but to mutually guarantee themselves against any intrusion of any current outside their control. The fact that Populaire (organ of the S. P. F.) has ceased to make any reference to Doriot, while l'Humanité refrains from supporting Just (leader of the left wing in the S. P. F.) against Blum, is very indicative. The fact that neither the C. P. nor the S. P. have even dreamed of enlarging the first manifestations of the united front to other political and trade union organizations of the proletariat, and do not speak of realizing it in the local committees suffices to dispel all doubts.

We place our finger on this danger because it is serious. The S. P. F. (Socialist Party of France) and the Stalinist leaderships represent two varieties of centrism; there is no principle difference between them. It is therefore necessary that the real Marxist-Leninist vanguard cuts out its own path at the expense of these two centrist currents. Consequently it will be no surprise if after consummating their fusion these two centrist bureaucracies function together against the incipient new party. History has seen similar examples as in 1917 at the time when the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries monopolized almost the totality of the working masses in the united front of the Soviets.

Great events and unparalleled audacity were necessary in order for the Bolsheviks to win the leadership, thanks to the experience acquired by the masses.

On the other hand the turn of the C. P. has an international scope which must be emphasized. It is not only a question of the adaptation of centrism to the will of the workers for united struggle. For the apparatus it is a question of a policy which makes the agreement of the U.S.S.R. with "democratic" France the pivot of the international evolution of the C. I.

The struggle of the Stalinist policy in the Saar bears evidence to this fact. Several months ago the C. P. abandoned its initial slogan and declared itself ready to vote for the status quo in 1935. In the meantime Cachin denounced Doriot for proposing an agreement with Max Braun, social democratic leader in the Saar and was received with loud applause. But on July 3rd it was announced that the C. P. and the S. P. had arrived at an agreement to constitute a common front "against any link with Hitlerite Germany!" We are also informed that the same proposals are to be made in other European countries.

The C. P. has tacitly liquidated its theory of "social-fascism". Its national conference adopted a new policy although it carried no resolution on this subject. Thorez (leader of the French C. P.) uncovered the very bottom of this policy.

Firstly, at one blow, Thorez declared for the defense of democratic rights. That is a step forward. But at the same time he makes two steps backward. He limits democracy to the freedom of assembly and press, and to proportional elections in the Chamber of Deputies, that is, he conceives of it in the most opportunist manner.

Secondly, he makes a profession of patriotic faith. A typographical error had made Thorez say "notre aïeux notre patrie" (we love our fatherland) whereas he had wanted to say "notre pays" (our country). Hem! These subtleties will not serve to hide the basic fact. Thorez and Cachin has contrived to give a chauvinist tone to their new position in defense of democracy. It is necessary to call that danger by its right name for it constitutes the first link in a well-known chain; the one that ties the hands of the proletariat the moment war breaks out!

No one can doubt that the socialist center and left leadership have found a guarantee in this new orientation. There is no wonder that they feel a kinship with Thorez. They can say that this slipping in the position of the C. P. constitutes the most important element in the constitution of the united front.

Finally it is necessary to emphasize this extraordinary phenomenon: the bureaucracy of the C. P. accomplishes a 180 degrees turn without even thinking of opening a discussion or of informing the party! In the black of night with all lights extinguished the turn is accomplished. It is not in this manner that Communist cadres are educated.

And what will be the program of the united front? Up till now it has limited itself to the defense against Fascism. That is an important task, but it can only serve as the arena for a more direct struggle to overthrow Doumergue. We will not insist on this essential question today. For our part we consider that ideas announced in our program of action in the last issue of *Verite* (we will publish a resume of this program of action in the next issue of the *Militant*—Ed.), constitutes the only program by means of which the united proletariat will be able to fulfill its historic tasks.

—P. NAVILLE, writing in La Verite, July 8, 1934

The Significance of the United Front Between the C.P. and S.P. in France

The turn of the Communist party and the pressure from the left in the Socialist party has finally led to the organization of unity of action between these two parties. Thus the theory of social-fascism crumbles to dust, thus it becomes clear that by our intransigent struggle for the united front from organization to organization we have correctly interpreted the undeniable will of the toiling masses.

We must say very clearly. A new stage is opened before us now. We have not before us a chance zig-zag, or a maneuver for a day. It is a question of a whole policy, whose development will be replete in results. For the present we will limit ourselves to the principal features of this policy.

Firstly, what we have here is a victory of the workers themselves. Since February 6, unity of action has been the fundamental demand of the workers who see in it the first prerequisite for the success of their struggle. In every form and in the various centrist and democratic parties and organizations a pressure in this direction has been exercised from the very heart of the popular masses. The German experience has not been in vain.

The movement towards the left grew in the Socialist party drawing its main force in the Seine and in a number of provincial federations. The struggle of Doriot in the Communist party reflected the same state of things. Similarly in the trade unions a movement towards organic unity grew and deepened. On the other hand numerous Vigilance Committees and Workers Alliance dotted the country. In thousands of localities they maintained the connection between diverse organizations which found themselves literally thrown upon

each other on February 12th. Even the Amsterdam movement was forced to consider a change in its form.

For weeks and months (particularly in April and May) the action of the leading bureaucrats was exercised against the realization of the united front of organizations, that is against the masses. But action from below continued to bring the fighters of different tendencies and social groups together against Fascism. In June, these demonstrations were more extensive, more solid, more frequent. The hour was approaching when the bureaucrats would have to surrender.

From this point of view and in the degree that it reflects a pressure, a rising of the proletarian masses, vast perspectives are opened for a united front movement.

As we said months ago and repeated hundreds of times in the struggle against Hitler in Germany, the constitution of a massed proletarian group can develop courage, hope and militancy, can push the struggle to a higher stage, in a word can create pre-revolutionary conditions.

In this sense we hopefully greet the realization of an action which embodies the profound correctness of our previous proposals and prepares a broader arena of struggle for the working class.

But it is essential to have complete clarity on the new situation facing us and therefore to develop our analysis further.

Consideration should be given to the form of exclusiveness the entente between the S. P. and the C. P. has taken. While at the present time it includes the most important sections of the working class, the apparatuses of these parties appear to have consorted not

only to organize common action but to mutually guarantee themselves against any intrusion of any current outside their control. The fact that Populaire (organ of the S. P. F.) has ceased to make any reference to Doriot, while l'Humanité refrains from supporting Just (leader of the left wing in the S. P. F.) against Blum, is very indicative. The fact that neither the C. P. nor the S. P. have even dreamed of enlarging the first manifestations of the united front to other political and trade union organizations of the proletariat, and do not speak of realizing it in the local committees suffices to dispel all doubts.

We place our finger on this danger because it is serious. The S. P. F. (Socialist Party of France) and the Stalinist leaderships represent two varieties of centrism; there is no principle difference between them. It is therefore necessary that the real Marxist-Leninist vanguard cuts out its own path at the expense of these two centrist currents. Consequently it will be no surprise if after consummating their fusion these two centrist bureaucracies function together against the incipient new party. History has seen similar examples as in 1917 at the time when the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries monopolized almost the totality of the working masses in the united front of the Soviets.

Great events and unparalleled audacity were necessary in order for the Bolsheviks to win the leadership, thanks to the experience acquired by the masses.

On the other hand the turn of the C. P. has an international scope which must be emphasized. It is not only a question of the adaptation of centrism to the will of the workers for united struggle. For the apparatus it is a question of a policy which makes the agreement of the U.S.S.R. with "democratic" France the pivot of the international evolution of the C. I.

The struggle of the Stalinist policy in the Saar bears evidence to this fact. Several months ago the C. P. abandoned its initial slogan and declared itself ready to vote for the status quo in 1935. In the meantime Cachin denounced Doriot for proposing an agreement with Max Braun, social democratic leader in the Saar and was received with loud applause. But on July 3rd it was announced that the C. P. and the S. P. had arrived at an agreement to constitute a common front "against any link with Hitlerite Germany!" We are also informed that the same proposals are to be made in other European countries.

The C. P. has tacitly liquidated its theory of "social-fascism". Its national conference adopted a new policy although it carried no resolution on this subject. Thorez (leader of the French C. P.) uncovered the very bottom of this policy.

Firstly, at one blow, Thorez declared for the defense of democratic rights. That is a step forward. But at the same time he makes two steps backward. He limits democracy to the freedom of assembly and press, and to proportional elections in the Chamber of Deputies, that is, he conceives of it in the most opportunist manner.

Secondly, he makes a profession of patriotic faith. A typographical error had made Thorez say "notre aïeux notre patrie" (we love our fatherland) whereas he had wanted to say "notre pays" (our country). Hem! These subtleties will not serve to hide the basic fact. Thorez and Cachin has contrived to give a chauvinist tone to their new position in defense of democracy. It is necessary to call that danger by its right name for it constitutes the first link in a well-known chain; the one that ties the hands of the proletariat the moment war breaks out!

No one can doubt that the socialist center and left leadership have found a guarantee in this new orientation. There is no wonder that they feel a kinship with Thorez. They can say that this slipping in the position of the C. P. constitutes the most important element in the constitution of the united front.

Finally it is necessary to emphasize this extraordinary phenomenon: the bureaucracy of the C. P. accomplishes a 180 degrees turn without even thinking of opening a discussion or of informing the party! In the black of night with all lights extinguished the turn is accomplished. It is not in this manner that Communist cadres are educated.

And what will be the program of the united front? Up till now it has limited itself to the defense against Fascism. That is an important task, but it can only serve as the arena for a more direct struggle to overthrow Doumergue. We will not insist on this essential question today. For our part we consider that ideas announced in our program of action in the last issue of *Verite* (we will publish a resume of this program of action in the next issue of the *Militant*—Ed.), constitutes the only program by means of which the united proletariat will be able to fulfill its historic tasks.

—P. NAVILLE, writing in La Verite, July 8, 1934

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EDITORIAL

Democracy—American Style

DOUBLE murder was committed in Minneapolis when the sawed-off shot guns of police barked death at striking drivers. Firstly the workers who lost their lives so that their union might live and secondly the myth of democratic America that has become so current of recent times.

Liberal politicians and capitalist sycophants of every shade and hire have inundated the press of the country with their vauntings that America was the one remaining outpost of democracy. They shuddered with horror at the ghastly terror that rules Germany in the grip of Hitler. They boasted with pride that dictatorship and the rule of the mailed fist were not indigenous to the American soil. They rallied at radicals and Communists for their dissatisfaction and discontent. "Look at Austria, at Germany, at Italy they shouted, and contrast conditions there with this land of liberty where the right of free speech and free press are inviolable, are guaranteed by the Constitution. Why Roosevelt has even incorporated the right to organize into the nation's statutes." The gunfire in Minneapolis delivered a withering blast at this thin shell of hypocrisy.

Local 574 is a trade union. Through its sincerity and devotion it has won the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the truck drivers and the inside men. The battle it is so heroically waging is for better conditions and for the recognition of all the workers they represent.

From the boasts of the representatives of capitalism one would assume that these elementary rights are taken for granted. Yet for organizing the Minneapolis drivers are called Communists, for striking they are accused of sedition, and for endeavoring to make their strike effective they are shot down like dogs in the worst provocation American labor has seen for years.

There seems to be a contradiction here.

From all signs and comparisons this is a democratic country. We have no Hitlers or Mussolinis here. The right to franchise is widely given and a legislature ostensibly elected and serving the people rules the country. How does it happen then that such wanton slaughter can take place on the streets of America?

The truth of the matter is that democracy here is but a sham. The curtain that hides the bayonets and tear gas, the bullets and the clubs hangs loose over an idyllic scene that pictures the United States a nation free for all, workingman and capitalist, rich and poor. Democracy is but the holiday dress worn by capitalism to dupe the workers into believing that under its rule they are free to improve their conditions of life and to keep them contented that they have those rights enabling them to alter any laws or strictures that stand in the way.

Democratic capitalism has for its background a violent class struggle which rages with varying intensity. Wealth and the means of production rest in the hands of the minority. So long as the workers do not infringe on their property rights, so long as they may harvest their profits unchallenged by the producers, so long as class war remains hidden under the apathy and passivity of the proletariat, just that long do the hypocrites have their field-day, contending that America is the land of equality and opportunity.

Let the struggle break through the dead-weight of indifference, let the workers organize for a few more coins and for the very democratic rights they hear so much about on the Fourth of July, and the Minneapolis and the Toledo and the Frisco rise up to give the lie to the "unimpeachable" rights that the workers are supposed to enjoy.

Power and wealth rest in the same hands. To challenge wealth is to challenge power. Democracy is but the holster for the gun which is drawn when trickery is no longer effective against the workers. That is the power of capitalism, that is why they can afford the leisure of democracy.

The power of the workers is not yet in guns and tear gas. It is in organization and in militancy. When organization can shut a metropolis like Frisco as tight as a clam by means of a general strike, when the workers can have a fighting leadership as in Minneapolis then it will not be long when even the real democracy of capitalism—guns and tear gas—will be brushed aside. Forward to that day!

Red-Baiting on the Coast

THE San Francisco general strike uncovered with one stroke the whole depth and width of the class struggle boiling and seething underneath the surface of the American industrial scene. Starting out with a strike to bring about the abolition of the abominable hiring methods of the shipping trust, the workers of the Golden Gate area became involved in a struggle which necessitated their taking a few things in their own hands: They tied up industry and made a serious effort to keep it so until the longshoremen and sailors were in a position to get a square deal from the bosses through hiring halls of their own.

Immediately the bosses took up the cry of revolution. Immediately the civil authorities howled about the usurpation of constitutional rights. Immediately the "labor loving" N.R.A.—which in ever so many wordy statements declared itself for the inviolability of the right to strike—joined the chorus with General Johnson's miserable shout of: Insurrection.

The bosses did not stop with the cry of revolution. They declared their intention to go ahead with a drive to wipe out the power of organized labor in this mighty union town of the West Coast. They proceeded with the organization of "Vigilantes" and started the drive against the radical element in the strike, the Communists.

Howling about the incursion into rights of the property monopolists which for two days impeded the march of profit extortion on the backs of enslaved and exploited toilers, the "Vigilantes" have gone ahead with the barbarous destruction of property accumulated from the hard earned pennies of militant workmen by radical labor organizations. The vandals wrecked meeting halls, threw typewriters and mimeographs into the streets from second story windows, burned down printing plants. The police and the national guard—the defenders of law and order, the guardians of the "people's life and property"—did they interfere in this holocaust of the bosses' men?

—They "mopped up" after them, the papers tell us. They followed in the trail of the wrecking crews and they arrested—not the wreckers, but the "Reds".

In arresting the victims and not the attackers, the police and the National Guard proved that they were indeed defenders of "life and property", but that all depends upon whose "life and property" is involved. Certainly not when it is the "people's".

The police and the National Guard were mobilized to break the strike. The strike was called by all of organized labor. In starting out with a "clean up" of the "Reds" in the strike, the state forces are merely making a beginning in conformity with the bosses' threat to crush the entire labor movement.

In this wave of terror on the coast, every worker must realize that a blow against one section of the labor movement means a blow against all of labor. It is a matter of self-preservation for a class-conscious militant, for every good union man to rally to the defense of the West Coast Communists and to protest through his organization against the terror which the bosses have unleashed.

NOTICE!

All letters, subscriptions, bundle orders, donations and any inquiries concerning or intended for the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine, are to be addressed to:

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
STATION D, P.O. BOX 119
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Militant mailing department is badly in need of an addressograph. The lists are too large for the method used at present. Anyone who knows how to procure such a machine cheaply or wants to give

a donation for this special purpose will please write to the Militant.

—City Organizer.

We have just received from the binders a number of Bound Volumes of the MILITANT, Series No. 3, which includes all issues of the MILITANT from January 7, 1933 to December 30, 1933 inclusive. Copies can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th Street, at the phenomenally low price of \$1.50 plus twenty-five cents for postage. Regular price is \$2.50. Order your copy immediately before our supply is exhausted.

Leon Trotsky in Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

civil war. "What is the ministry of interior waiting for? Why doesn't it carry out the expulsion order?"

"Or do we have to call on the war veterans to conduct Trotsky to the border?"

Needless to say, this note is not published in *Gringoire* without a definite purpose in view, but because of certain circumstances to which we shall return later. Evidently we are faced again with the unleashing of the chauvinist, counter-revolutionary campaign let loose against Trotsky in May.

Our comrades, our readers must be informed that the position of comrade Trotsky is far from being settled. The expulsion order remains in force. If Trotsky was not expelled it is simply because no other country would have him, because it was actually impossible to "conduct him to the border". He is still facing a planet without a visa.

The government has placed Trotsky under surveillance as a real prisoner, in an assigned place, under constant watch from the police. He is actually considered a prisoner and is not in a position "normal" to a foreigner.

But will this situation last? Obviously not. And the *Gringoire* indicates as much.

The French government and the reactionary circles acting as agents of world reaction are preparing a more drastic solution. THE Y. W. WANT TO INCARCERATE TROTSKY IN A DISTANT COLONY ON ONE OF THE AFRICAN ISLANDS. There Trotsky, on some Saint Helene, will be a prisoner of world reaction. By grace of Doumergue, Stalin and Hitler will be satisfied.

This solution was already under consideration after the "discovery" at Barbizon. But they did not execute this plan because public opinion was not prepared for it. That is why they are now preparing a new campaign.

We have positive information at hand proving that several newspapers are ready to support this campaign. By means of intimidation, threat of physical attack—see *Gringoire*—by means of terror they are trying to force the government to carry out its plan immediately, in July, before the Chamber of Deputies reconvenes.

Despite slanders and lies the name of Trotsky, towering over those of his defamers, remains that of the comrade of Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, the real continuator of Marx. His name is bound up with the struggles of the proletarian vanguard for the building of the Fourth International.

That is why the infuriated French reaction is preparing to provoke an attack upon him. Fascism and military and police reaction wants to sidetrack attention from the new conspiracy they are concocting against the toiling masses. The kept press hasn't changed its aims. It is a campaign of the same press, in similar circumstances which led to the assassination of Jaurès in 1914.

This is a warning to ourselves and our friends. The campaign for the defense of Trotsky must be immediately broadened. We have received testimonials of solidarity from all over the globe. The task now is to make this solidarity effective.

Goldman's Funeral Oration

(Continued From Page 1)

Friday and killed Henry B. Ness and wounded about fifty other workers. . . .

When a dumb cop shoots unarmed pickets, the pickets have a right to defend themselves, but the ones to blame are those who instructed the police: Johannes, Mayor Bainbridge, and the bosses behind them. All are equally guilty of murdering Henry B. Ness. . . .

When the police are instructed to shoot workers they are not told to make distinctions between races, nationalities, colors, creeds or political persuasions. They are told to shoot militant workers of any nationality, workers whether Democrats, Farmer-Laborites, Socialists or Communists. Thus the bosses, who try to create division in the ranks of the workers, make no distinctions when they want their police to shoot workers. . . .

The life of our murdered brother typifies the lives of all workers. The social system gave him no chance. At an early age he was forced to work to earn a living and to make profits for his employer. Together with other workers, he was sent to kill and to be killed in the world war. What for? For freedom? No. For the sake of profits and imperialist markets for the bosses. Mark these words! There is only one war, one struggle in which a worker has a real interest. That is the struggle of Labor against Capital. . . .

In 1923 came the terrible depression and Henry B. Ness learned what freedom the War had won. For him and millions of others, the freedom to starve and to be shot down while exercising the right of peaceful picketing. . . .

How long will the working masses

Drivers Ranks Solid Despite Provocation

(Continued from Page 1)

instated, that no arbitration award in wages shall be less than 42½ cents an hour for inside men and 52½ cents an hour for drivers, were unanimously accepted by a meeting of the drivers, thus placing the onus for the continuance of the strike directly upon the shoulders of the bosses.

Now that the troops are out on the streets, the employers want them used to smash the picket lines and the Employers Committee demands to know of Governor Olson "whether you will support the local authorities with military aid in the discharge of their duties, or support the efforts of the few to lawlessly obstruct the flow of normal traffic in this city."

Union Gains Daily

Despite all provocations, murders, red baiting and martial law, the strike of drivers still remains as solid as granite, gaining new strength with every new day.

In a smashing reply to the criminals who thought that the lead they emptied into the backs of the drivers would dampen the fervor of the men, 15,000 workers met here last Friday and vowed to hold their ranks unbroken. And then, far surpassing the Friday demonstration, 40,000 workers attended the mass funeral the next day of Harry Ness, shot in the back by order of Chief of Police Johannes.

A delegate conference of Emergency Relief Administration workers, called by the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, representing the unemployed, met here and voted enthusiastically to support the strike, to volunteer for picket duty, and to set up committees effectively to aid the strike of Local 574. More than 800 new members have been signed up by the M.C.C.W. in the last few days. A Stalinist came to the conference with no credentials at all. His claim to represent workers from districts was immediately belied by workers who were employed there, and after several delegates expressed dissatisfaction with lying and misleading articles and editorials in the *Daily Worker*, a motion was unanimously adopted that the Stalinist should not be seated. The editorials in the *Daily Worker* that this was splitting the unity of the workers was met with rounds of laughter by unemployed workers here.

The Ladies Auxiliary, which rendered such signal services during the strike of last May, is continuing its good work. More than 50 new members have been admitted to the Auxiliary. Many applications for membership had to be turned down because they came from good friends who were not eligible for membership because they are not strikers' wives or relatives. They maintain a commissary which serves 5,000 meals a day and a hospital. They have played a leading role in distributing the *Organizer* throughout the city, making collections for it that run into hundreds of dollars.

Portland, Ore., July 21.—The red raids here have gotten to the point where twenty men, including Dirk de Jonge one-time Communist candidate for Mayor here, are being held on charges of criminal syndicalism.

Frisco League Is Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

beaten by mobs. In one case the "vigilantes" even stopped a meeting in a church and warned the speaker to be careful what he said!

To date more than three hundred radicals are in jail in San Francisco. Steps toward deportation are being taken towards non-citizens. An are held on vagrancy charges. No members of the League have yet been arrested, all are moving cautiously, but still meeting and carrying on work. Five members of the District Committee of the C. P. are in jail, as well as Caroline Becker and Pat Chambers, organizers of the Agricultural workers. Under the present hysteria the criminal syndicalism law may be enforced and some convictions gained.

C.P. Taken Completely Off Guard

The C. P. apparatus is completely unprepared to meet the change in situation. Terrorized, its membership is dropping out fast, its many workers clubs, the real backbone of the Stalinist movement here have all dissolved. The I.L.W. is not functioning, and George Anderson, the I.L.W. lawyer, refuses to defend the members in jail due to "threats". Neither the District Committee of the C. P. or the Y. C. L. has met since the attack. Although the attack had been expected for several weeks it seems that no adequate preparations had been made to meet the situation.

The attack came on the second day of the general strike, and was organized by the police department and the Citizens Committee. As the strike began to weaken and more concessions were made by the general strike committee, the authorities became more confident, the attack against reds began under the slogan that the real "American elements in the unions did not want a general strike and that it was all due to the 'reds' and that if the 'reds' were run out everything would be peaceful again. The slogan was helped by the dishonest and indiscreet statement of Browder that "1200 Communists in San Francisco were directing the General Strike"—it gave them "proof" to back their attack. Hearst and the American Legion played up the statement and aroused a tremendous amount of hysteria in favor of an attack on the "reds". The Stalinists locally further provoked the hysteria by claiming credit for the strike while it was still on.

Mayor Rossi Leads the Vigilantes

Mayor Rossi of S. F. has announced that "this (the anti-red campaign) will be the continuing policy of the administration." Captain O'Meara, head of the newly created red squad, announced "any one found in the wrecked red headquarters will be arrested. Communism is through in San Francisco. We have wrecked every red nest in San Francisco, and we intend to keep them wrecked!"

—S. F. LEAGUE MEMBER.

LOS ANGELES BR. ACTIVITIES OPEN FORUMS

"The San Francisco Strike" An Eye-Witness Report
Speaker: BILL MONROE
"Lessons of the General Strike"
Speaker: SAM MEYERS
Wednesday, August 1st, 8 P.M.
"Doctrinairism, Reformism and the Struggle for Immediate Demands"
Speaker: EVERETT BERGSTROM
Wednesday, August 8th, 8 P.M.
These forums will be held at MUSIC HALL
232 South Hall Street
Admission Free — Questions and Discussion

Law and Order.

The workers have numbers and the fighting spirit of Henry B. Ness. Labor is on the march, a new militant spirit in its breast. If we have to die, it shall not be with heads bowed and knees bent, but fighting for freedom and a new world. We shall die, if we must, as did our beloved brother, Henry B. Ness.

If the workers will be filled with such a spirit, they will not have to die. They will live and conquer the forces of exploitation, of reaction, of murder.

Brothers, Sisters, as we leave this demonstration we must bear in our hearts a fierce resolve to carry on Brother Ness's struggle. We must not fail him! We must avenge his murder. This we shall do if we struggle to win this strike, if we struggle to throw the exploiters from off our backs and to establish a new social order in which the worker may enjoy the fruits of his toil.

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WORKERS' BLOOD IS SHED!

(Reprinted from The Organizer, July 21, 1934)

The blood of workers ran freely in the streets of Minneapolis yesterday.

They were shot down and wounded by the uniformed thugs commanded by Police Chief Michael Johannes, by Johannes the Murderer, in the name of the city administration and at the behest of its master, the Citizens Alliance.

Forty-eight sons of the working class were mowed down by shot guns in the hands of police.

They were shot down though they were defenseless and unarmed, like animals in a trap.

They were shot in the back by base cowards who dared not look them in the face.

It was no battle that took place on Third Street North yesterday. It was a massacre. A cunningly conceived, diabolically planned and cold-bloodedly executed massacre.

A COLD BLOODED PROVOCATION

On Thursday, the Citizens Alliance met at the Radisson Hotel. The thorough manner in which the striking members of Local 574 had closed down the market, had driven the employers desperate. It was decided to lay a trap and provoke a blood-bath. It was from that source that Johannes received his orders.

On the same day, at 2 P. M., Johannes ordered a turnout of his police. That day's *Tribune* reported him as saying:

"We're going to start moving goods. Don't take a beating. You have shotguns and you know how to use them. When we are finished with this convoy there will be other goods to move."

Twenty-four hours later the wholesale district echoed the clatter of shotguns, rifles and automatic pistols fired by dozens of police who had caught a group of workers in a trap.

A trap—that's what it was! Look at the photographs reproduced in this morning's edition of the Minneapolis *Tribune*. In the scab truck which was being escorted by the heavy police convoy, can be seen only a half-dozen small cartons. There was no serious effort being made to move large loads of goods. The truck was only a decoy to draw picketing workers into a murderers' trap.

Look again at the photographs. In one of them, a handful of pickets is to be seen in their cruising truck. From all sides, the police are rushing down upon them. Police car doors are opening up to emit a devil's spawn armed with shotguns. Their murderous weapons are aimed at the strikers from every angle, and the next moment the muzzles belch a fusillade of shot.

The workers are completely unarmed and helpless. They do not have a rifle among them; not a gun; not a club; not a stick.

But oh, these lions of men, these heroes of the working class! They do not falter for an instant. Not for a second do they hesitate, even in face of the overwhelmingly superior force that confronts them, that shoots into their ranks without a word of warning. Their stout hearts beating with a magnificent courage, they face the enemy unflinchingly and seek to stop the scab truck sent out to rob them, to rob their wives and children, of the miserable crusts of bread which are their lot.

They never had a chance.

But these are men! These are lion-hearted! The first detachment quivers and falls under the withering fire of the police. Then, to the aid of their fallen brothers, from the ranks of other strikers and workers sympathetic with their cause, comes a second wave rolling right into the jaws of the shotguns. But they too must give way before the murderous fire.

How proud the police must be of their triumph! And haven't they cause to be? Was it not with ease that they mowed down the strikers—these dozens of police, armed with dozens of shotguns and pistols? Didn't they do a better job than ever before in the history of Minneapolis? Haven't they made the name of their chief ring throughout the land? Didn't they crush the criminals who were armed only with bare fists?

THE CRIME OF THE STRIKERS

For criminals they are, these strikers. They have committed the greatest crime known to our modern society. They have stood up, these impudent slaves, and demanded wages that will enable them to live like human beings. They have demanded hours of labor that will permit them a little rest and recreation, a few more years of life. They have demanded recognition of their elementary organizations of defense against cruel exploitation: the workingman's Union.

Is this not a crime? And for this crime, which has already produced thousands of heroes and martyrs throughout the world, many famous and many nameless, the workers must be punished. They must be taught their lesson. The vipers' nest of the Citizens Alliance, of the Law and Order League, has commanded it. The command has been obeyed with powder and shot.

Yes, butchers and assassins, the workers have learned a lesson, but not the one you thought to teach them. They have learned only to tighten their ranks, to link their powerful arms together more firmly, to clench their teeth and march more resolutely towards their goal.

The shot you fired into their defenseless bodies has not broken them, as you thought it would. It has only toughened them, steeled them—not for tomorrow's massacres, but for tomorrow's battles. They will not permit themselves to be massacred.

You thought you would shoot Local 574 into oblivion. But you only succeeded in making 574 a battlecry on the lips of every self-respecting workingman and workingwoman in Minneapolis.

You thought you would separate the rank and file from their leaders. You only succeeded in cementing the bond that holds them together in an efficient fighting army.

You thought you would alienate the labor movement from 574. You only succeeded in rallying every section of the labor movement to our cause, in bringing one Union endorsement of our fight after another, in having one Union after another put its men and resources at our disposal.

You thought you would create an antagonism between 574 and the rest of the workingmen of Minneapolis, that you would frighten them away with your despicable "red scare." But last night 15,000 men and women roared their condemnation of your dastardly attack, roared their endorsement of 574's militant fight. Their voices will echo and re-echo throughout the city.

You thought you would cut us to pieces with your shotguns. But you only succeeded in having the whole labor movement forge an iron shield of protection around us.

You thought to intimidate us with your bullets. But you only aroused the anger and indignation of every honest workingman, you showed him more clearly than ever that this is not merely the fight of 574, but the fight of the whole labor movement.

WORKERS! SPEAK OUT IN PROTEST

And now the stalwart battalions of Minneapolis labor will speak out as they have never spoken before.

Every unorganized worker will immediately join the Union of his craft, trade or industry, because—

Now is the time to make Minneapolis a 100 per cent Union town!

The workers will not let the Citizens Alliance smash 574. Instead, they will smash the reactionary, open-shop conspiracy of the Alliance. Bowing their heads in admiration for the bravery of the dozens who now lie on hospital cots, they will be inspired by the words of one hero who, fully aware that his death is at hand, has said: "Tell the boys not to give up, to stick it out till they've won."

Local 574 has received its baptism in fire and blood. It emerges from it firmer and more resolute. And now—

It will man the picket lines with workers from every trade in Minneapolis.

It will permit no trucks to be moved—by nobody!

It will not capitulate and surrender. It will fight doggedly till it wins.

It will help make Minneapolis a Union town, a fitter place for workmen to live in.

The blood of its heroes will only nourish the roots of 574 and make it a mighty oak.

Woe to him who tries to cut it down! Woe to the murderers and assassins! For the oak will grow and flourish and triumph over all obstacles!

Union men, fight on!

STRIKERS DEFY OLSON MILITIA

Drivers Force Release of 4 Leaders

Minneapolis, Aug. 2.—Defying martial law and the bayonets of Governor Olson's National Guard, the striking truckmen are back on the picket line.

They have stopped scab trucks operating under military permit. They have defied Governor Olson's bawling order: "There will be no picketing by automobiles or otherwise."

Major General Ellard Walsh, military dictator of Minneapolis, tried to break the drivers' strike by raiding headquarters of Local 574, and putting William S. Brown, president of the union, Vincent and Miles Dunne, and 90 other pickets and leaders behind a military stockade.

He failed! The supposedly leaderless strikers continued their militant anti-sab activities with utmost precision and perfect efficiency.

A report from military headquarters here admits that the strikers have stopped 60 trucks during the three hours between 6 and 9 a.m. and that the picket activities continue unabated despite the military reign of terror.

Here is a sample of the radio reports sent out from military headquarters to the radio patrol cars enlisting the city:

"Pickets unloading trucks on Tenth ave. bridge. . . Pickets chasing a meat truck in south Minneapolis. . . Pickets captured a truck near Bryant ave. police station. . . Soldiers too late: pickets gone."

The military patrols rushed to the scene, to find damaged trucks, and bruised and beaten scabs, according to reports from their headquarters. But no pickets.

With unparalleled affrontery, it is admitted that among the trucks overturned by the strikers were a number of pie trucks, supposedly banned by Governor Olson's "non-partisan" permit order.

Minneapolis, Aug. 2.—William S. Brown, president of the drivers' union, Vincent and Miles Dunne, active leaders in striking Local 574, were ordered unconditionally released from the military stockade in which they have been imprisoned.

Meanwhile, from the employers, backed by the police, the Citizens' Union, the capitalist press, the State militia, Governor Olson, and other strike-breaking agencies, comes the first "peace proposal" to federal mediators today.

The bosses suggest scrapping the May 31 agreement, the terms of which they shamelessly violated, and the drawing up of a new agreement.

Their proposal offers a minimum wage scale of 50 cents per hour for drivers and 40 cents per hour for all other workers, as compared with the federal proposal of a 42½ and 52½ minimum, which the workers accepted.

They demand the prior calling off of the strike, and offer "the reinstatement of employees except those convicted of violence."

Convicted of violence by the boss courts, which were silent when the police thugs shot down unarmed workers, killing four and wounding scores seriously. Convicted of violence by the courts that have accepted military rule, the raiding of workers' headquarters, destroying of records, violation of the rights of free speech and assembly.

This is the peace proposal Governor Olson has been waiting for; for which he mustered military forces, to "bring both sides to terms."

Law and order must be preserved at all costs, in particular at the cost of the striking workers.

"Impartial" Military Rule

An illustration of Olson's impartial military rule was afforded when the Guardsmen swooped down upon strike headquarters, dispersing the pickets in front of the building, and arresting nearly one hundred leaders, among them Brown, and the Dunne brothers.

The wounded strikers, being cared for at headquarters, were removed to a military hospital, un-

(Continued on Page 4)



Olsen "Protects" the Strikers

Local 574 Makes Frame-up Against Labor History in Great Struggle

Minneapolis, July 31.—The great trucking strike of Local 574—the third strike conducted by this militant organization within six months—begins its third week today, and it is clear to all that a critical stage in the struggle is at hand. Having smashed every attempt of the bosses to break through the iron ring of 574's pickets by the aid of police, even when the latter cruise the streets with loaded shotguns, the strikers now stand face to face with a determined campaign to break the strike by military force. The National Guard, called out by the Farmer-Labor Governor, "to protect the citizens of Minneapolis," is issuing permits on a wholesale scale for the operation of scab trucks under military protection. Martial law, ostensibly invoked to compel the employers to accept the compromise settlement proposed by the federal mediators, is tightening like a noose around the strike and threatens to strangle it.

Martial law has been in effect now for five days. An ordinary trade union would have been smashed to bits already. Never in recent times has such an imposing display of military force been brought into play against a strike. Four thousand National Guardsmen—almost one for every striker—patrol the city, armed to the teeth and menacing the pickets, curbing free assemblage and carrying out a right of way for the scab trucks. But Local 574 is not an ordinary union and it cannot be broken without a real fight. Local 574 has a firm core of militants tested in three battles within six months. It has a staff of determined leaders who know no policy but the policy of struggle. This union cannot be broken without a fight that will set new standards of militancy for the American working class.

This was manifested in the ultimatum given to Governor Olson by the Strike Committee last night. The union demanded the revocation of all permits for a period of 48 hours. It demanded that no permits be issued henceforth to employers who do not comply with the terms of the compromise settlement and get their workers from the union. For the first time in recent labor history a union is meeting the challenge of military force and asserting its right to strike and picket in the face of it. It is needless to try to predict the outcome. But this can be said with assurance: If Local 574 goes down, it will go down fighting and will leave a record and a tradition of heroic struggle that will inspire the development of the militant labor movement everywhere.

Minneapolis.—Symbolic of the whole "Red Scare" strategy of the Citizens Alliance for the purpose of smashing the strike and the union of the truckers, and of the aid rendered them in this job by the administration and the military regime of Governor Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota, was the fact that the first prisoners to be taken by the National Guard after the establishment last Thursday of martial law, were the two Communist League leaders, James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, representing respectively the Militant and the New International.

Even before the strike broke out, and every day since it took effect, the three local daily newspapers carried on a systematic anti-Red drive inspired by the Citizens Alliance. If the Minneapolis Journal is the staunchest spokesman for the latter, the Tribune and the once pro-labor Star are not to be found far behind in servility. Half-page scarecrow ads paid for by the "Employers Advisory Committee", a thin cover for the Citizens Alliance, kept hammering away at the bogeyman theme—day in, day out. The International Communists, were everywhere. The infernal "Trotskyists" had captured control of Local 574 of the Truck Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers. Their real purpose was the revolution, and the first step was to pull a strike which apparently was to be a springboard for the insurrection. These Communists, moreover wanted to form a new revolutionary party and a Fourth International—and numerous extracts from various issues of the Militant were reproduced to indicate these sinister aims.

Union Leaders Stand Up The whole purpose of this drive, as is the case with every "Red Scare" thrown up under such circumstances, was all too obvious, particularly to the men of Local 574, and the employers did not make an inch of headway with it. The leaders of the union, at whom the drive was aimed for the simple reason that they were not the kind of labor officials—all too common in the trade union movement—who could either be intimidated or bought, met the campaign in the only way worthy of militant union men. They made no denials or apologies. They did not leap into print with whining assurances of their "respectability". They did not shout from the housetops that they too were against the Reds. Just the contrary. Without deviating for an instant from their principal task of consolidating all the labor forces for the struggle to gain the wage demands of the

(Continued on Page 4)

A.F.L. Heads Check Strike In Stockyards

Workers of Chicago entered the long line of strike battles that are raging from coast to coast as 800 stock handlers marched out on a strike that has had the huge Chicago Stockyards tied up for more than a week. Violation of an arbitration award by the Chicago Live Stock Exchange was the final straw which broke the patience of the stock handlers. The most important point involved being the guarantee of a minimum wage of \$20 a week to the men engaged in this strenuous and hazardous occupation.

Showing the same class solidarity that has characterized the great mass of trade unionists in all other strikes throughout the country, the other unions covering stock yard workers are voting to come out in solidarity with the stockhandlers. William Collins, organizer of the local, announced that other locals were coming out but the International officers interfered and ordered the men to stay at work.

Press reports tell of the strenuous efforts put in by the misleaders of various A. F. of L. unions to keep the workers from joining the strike. Members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers of America are demanding that they be called out, but as their "leaders" are as fine a bunch of grafters as any that disgrace the American labor movement, they will leave no stone unturned to defeat strike action.

General Johnson, fresh from his strike-breaking role in San Francisco, is quoted as saying "I don't intend to get mixed up in this strike if I can help it." Evidently, he is relying on the labor fakers to defeat the strike. If they fail, action by the Knights of the Blue Buzzer can be expected. The bosses are issuing heart-rending appeals about the suffering of the poor cattle whose executions have been delayed.

A general strike of the Chicago stockyard workers would, under present conditions, have excellent chances of success, and could be used to force organization of the entire yards. Such action is the last thing that the A. F. of L. fakers want. They know that such a union could not be kept in the leading strings of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. The workers in Chicago as in Toledo, the Pacific Coast, Minneapolis, etc., are attempting to fight their way through the barriers set by the "Leaders of Labor". Will they be successful in the Chicago Stockyards? That is impossible to say from here. But one thing is sure, throughout the United States today, the workers are seeking militant leadership with ever greater insistence.

Protest the Military Terror in Minneapolis

State Troops in Minneapolis raided the headquarters of Local 574 of the striking truck drivers, arrested strike leaders and imprisoned them in military stockades, took possession of all union records and files, and forbade strikers entrance to their own hall.

Not content with this outrageous strike-breaking act, they invaded the headquarters of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, drove its officers into the street, and took complete control.

The strike-breaking martial law in Minneapolis is a threat to labor throughout the country. When it so pleases the bosses, all constitutional rights may be violated, strike meetings forbidden, leaders placed in internment camps.

We call upon all workers to forward protests to Governor Olson. We call upon the trade unions as organizations to likewise forward protests, in defense of their own rights. Organize protest meetings! Support the heroic struggle of the Minneapolis workers for the rights of all workers! Build the united front of labor against government strike-breaking!

Local 574 Issues Call for A Protest General Strike

(We publish below the appeal of Local 574 for a general strike in protest against the military tyranny of Governor Olson as published in the Organizer, the union's daily strike bulletin. The proposition for a general strike has been laid before the Central Labor Union. As we go to press we have not yet received news of their answer.—Ed.)

TO THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MINNEAPOLIS:

Military tyranny has reached its peak in Minneapolis. For the first time in decades, a trade union headquarters has been occupied by military forces and trade union leaders have been arrested and imprisoned in a military stockade. Picket cars are ordered off the street while every scab truck gets a free permit. Not even in Toledo, where troops were called out by a Democratic Governor, nor in San Francisco, where they were called out by a Republican Governor, has such a monstrous violation of the rights of workingmen been perpetrated. Never before in our time has such a direct and outright act of strike-breaking by military force been witnessed. A dastardly blow has been struck at the very heart of the labor movement by military forces under the command of Floyd B. Olson, Governor of the State of Minnesota.

The Citizens Alliance is out to break Local Union 574, and with it the entire labor movement in Minneapolis. They want to make Minneapolis an "open shop" town in order to beat us all down to the level of slaves and coolies.

They have already shed the blood of two Union men. Henry Ness was torn from the bosom of his family a few days ago, a martyr to the sacred cause of labor and a victim of this murderous gang of brigands. John Belor died in the hospital early today, his back riddled with slugs from the shotguns of Johannes' murderers, the second victim of the Union-smashing campaign, the second immortal martyr of labor's cause.

But the Citizens Alliance and the infamous band of assassins commanded by Bloody Johannes sought in vain to break the strike. Our ranks stood like a wall of steel. No scab trucks, loaded for the purpose of taking bread and milk out of the mouths of our men and their families, were allowed to move. And now, what the Alliance and its police force were unable to do, is being undertaken by Governor Olson and his National Guard. They have set out to break the strike with armed force.

Union men of Minneapolis, what are you going to do about it?

Is there one fool who still thinks that Olson's National Guard is here to help the strikers?

Is there one scoundrel who will dare to say that the suppression of picketing, the raiding of our headquarters and the imprisonment of our leaders in a military stockade—is a favor to the workers?

Is there one man so blind as not to see that if 574 is allowed to go down in defeat, under the brutal hammering of military despotism, the whole labor movement of this city will have been dealt a mortal blow?

Union men, brothers, sisters, fellow workers! What are you going to do about it?

We appeal to you for help, for solidarity! We solemnly call upon every trade union in the city, upon every trade union leader, upon every trade union member, upon every workingman and woman, to meet this challenge of military tyranny with a GENERAL STRIKE OF PROTEST!

Up to now, Local 574 has borne the brunt of the battle. We are still fighting. And as far as we are concerned, our answer to the attempt to suppress our strike and our Union by the military force of the National Guard, is the same reply we made to Bloody Mike Johannes when he shot our pickets in the back: We shall fight for our rights to the bitter end!

We have been dealt heavy blows—first by the bosses of the Citizens Alliance, then by their murderous tools in the Police Department.

Now Floyd Olson's National Guard points bayonets and machine guns at us and tells us to give up our fight and go back to work as beaten slaves. They ordered us to quit picketing. Our answer is,

and sub-machine guns for fighting at close quarters.

Anticipating a winter of violent labor struggles and strikes, the New York Police Commissioner has announced his plans of coping with the situation. The police rifle regiment, which was to have begun training during the fall, was called into being immediately following the San Francisco and Minneapolis strikes, and the threat of a complete tie-up of all P.W.A. heavy construction work in the N. Y. C. region.

The new "rifle regiment" which has already begun training in the armories of the city is to consist of 1,200 men. This is double the size of the old riot squad which has up to now been the major squad of the police in dealing with strike and unemployment demonstrations. In addition to the increase in number the men are being trained in the use of rifles, tear gas, machine guns

the right to picket has been conquered and defended by the labor movement for a hundred years. We shall never give it up.

They raided our headquarters with a thousand National Guardsmen, equipped with field machine guns, the latest model tear gas bombs, bayonets and pistols, and commanded by the "friend of labor," Floyd B. Olson.

They didn't raid the headquarters of the Citizens Alliance. They didn't interfere with the sinister clique which meets in the dark of the moon to conspire against the lives and the working conditions of labor. The officers of the "Employers Advisory Board" are inviolate. The men against whom Governor Olson directs his words, are not touched.

No! Only the headquarters of workingmen fighting for the right to live, is raided by Olson's militia-men. And Olson, remember, is the Farmer-Labor Governor, the friend of the workingman and the farmer, the friend of labor. Let him run for office now on the platform: "I raided the headquarters of Local 574. I flung their leaders into the military stockade. I broke a strike which Johannes couldn't break. Therefore, workers and farmers, vote for me!"

Let him come before the workingmen who put him into office and defend his actions. He will hear the roar of protest that will make the indignant shouts of the 25,000 workingmen who gathered last night at the Parade Grounds, sound like a whisper.

It was the Citizens Alliance and the employers whom he criticized in words—in his statements and over the radio. But the ringleaders of the Alliance walk the streets scot free, with satisfied smiles wreathing their fat jaws, unhampered and untouched by Governor Olson and his militia.

Our leaders, whose only crime is their unswerving allegiance to the just cause of the truck drivers, helpers and inside men, are taken prisoner at the point of machine guns and bayonets and incarcerated in the stockade. And what a magnificent tribute Olson is thereby paying to Bill Brown and Vincent Dunne and Miles Dunne and the other fearless leaders of our Union who are even now being hunted and tracked like wild beasts! The bosses couldn't buy them off. The bosses couldn't kid them out of the fight for the men. The bosses couldn't scare them or bulldoze them. The riot guns of Johannes the Murderer couldn't make them quit. So it was left to the Labor Governor, Floyd B. Olson, to arrest them out of our ranks and fling them into prison.

But if he thinks that that will break our ranks, he is mistaken. We have learned from our leaders how to hold out, how to fight, how to keep together, how to meet all bluffs and threats and shows of force. Their imprisonment only inspires us to fight all the more resolutely and uncompromisingly in the spirit of those incorruptible and fearless militants whom we are proud of having chosen as our leaders.

We are confident that we shall not fight alone. From the very outset, we declared repeatedly that our cause is the cause of the whole labor movement, of every working man. Our defeat will be YOUR defeat. Our victory will be YOUR victory. We know that you all understand this. You have endorsed our struggle on many occasions. You have manifested your sympathy and solidarity in various ways. We know for sure that the heart of every honest worker in Minneapolis beats with ours. They are aiming their murderous, strike-breaking blows at you as well as against us. Now you must understand the necessity of striking back with the whole force of the organized labor movement of Minneapolis.

We shall not be slaves! Every trade union in Minneapolis must call an emergency meeting immediately!

A Council of Action representing the entire labor movement of the city must be set up to organize and direct the general strike of protest!

The working class of Minneapolis must form an iron ring of solidarity around Local 574!

Every union man and every union leader must show his colors now!

Resistance to tyranny is the beginning of freedom—Answer Olson's military tyranny with the General Strike of Protest!

More Strikebreakers

Anticipating a winter of violent labor struggles and strikes, the New York Police Commissioner has announced his plans of coping with the situation. The police rifle regiment, which was to have begun training during the fall, was called into being immediately following the San Francisco and Minneapolis strikes, and the threat of a complete tie-up of all P.W.A. heavy construction work in the N. Y. C. region.

The new "rifle regiment" which has already begun training in the armories of the city is to consist of 1,200 men. This is double the size of the old riot squad which has up to now been the major squad of the police in dealing with strike and unemployment demonstrations. In addition to the increase in number the men are being trained in the use of rifles, tear gas, machine guns

Police Commissioner O'Ryan now admit that the function of the present unit will be the same as that of the old riot squad, to beat down workers striking for higher wages or demonstrating for higher relief allotments. The latter announced "The regiment which is double the size of the old riot squad, which is succeeds, will be used in any kind of emergency."

The class conscious workers understand the new move for what it is. The increasing unemployment, reduced relief, and the strike wave sweeping the country is not leaving America's largest city untouched. The present move of the city administration will help to lay bare the sham character of the liberal La Guardia. Whether under the reactionary Rossi of San Francisco or the liberal La Guardia of New York, we observe that decreased relief appropriations go hand in hand with greater efficiency of the Police department in shooting down workers.

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of The New International, Twice Arrested by Police and National Guard. He is Coming to New York for this Meeting.

The Minneapolis Strike

- An Eyewitness Account -

Sunday Aug. 5, 8 P. M.
Irving Plaza 15st. & Irving Pl.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Minneapolis "Organizer"

The *Organizer*, issued by the striking truck drivers of Minneapolis, is the best strike paper that I have ever read. A militant, well-written sheet, brimful of life brings the very spirit of Local 574 to its readers. Many a striker is gaining clearer insight into the class struggle from the clever and humorous letters "to dere emily" from Mike.

A Tough Break for 200,000 Natives

The New York Times reports a promised land of grassy, fertile country inhabited by 200,000 natives was discovered by Australian government officers. "Physically they are fine healthy blacks, not unlike those found on other parts of the island but much stouter and sturdier." Gold has been discovered and "law and order" is being set up under the British flag. "It is a pretty big responsibility," says Mr. Chinnery who reports the discovery. "To add 200,000 natives to the British Empire and make sure they won't be exploited." We'll say it's bloody well impossible. And if one can conceive of British "law and order" lasting it won't take long before the new "stouter and sturdier blacks" will be down to the same physical level which Christianity and capitalism has brought their fellows in the rest of the far-flung Empire.

Laughs from the News

Mussolini, the murderer of Matteotti, becoming righteously indignant over the happy ending of Dollfuss.

Friends of the Vienna socialists, weeping at the funeral of the bloody gnome.

German Nazi writers raving over the "outrageous tortures" inflicted on the Austrian Nazis in the Heimbach prison.

And last but not least, the American bourgeoisie who burned the lives out of Sacco and Vanzetti affecting horror over Fascist degeneracy and torture.

The "Cardinal's Mistress" Goes to Mass

Mussolini attended holy mass for Dollfuss in Rome. We wonder if a copy of his book of other days, the "Cardinal's Mistress" (blacklisted by the Vatican) accompanied him.

Building Up Socialism and Tearing Down Capitalism

While Trotsky teaches the American plutes to drink vodka, Bullitt teaches the Red Army Polo. A good exchange. Polo sharpens the wits. Vodka drenches them.

Smile! Damn You, Smile!

N. Y. Sun, July 5th: "A new policy at Boston's Girls High School requires that every graduate must smile when receiving her diploma." Well, that's a step forward. If the government follows the advice of the *Daily News* and drives out all "Reds" it can as a further development pass a law that all unemployed American citizens shall gasp out "My Country 'tis of Thee" as they starve to death in the midst of plenty.

Capone Declines

It is reported that in their desire to have a representative in Berlin who understands the Hitler mentality the Washington Administration proposed to release Al Capone from his present position in Atlanta and send him as Ambassador to Nazi-land. It is also claimed that Scarface indignantly declined the "honor," preferring to be the Bigshot in America to a third-rate piker among the experts of Berlin.

A Reminder

"As a series of irreconcilable antagonisms exist among the Allies, the League of Nations—should it ever be realized, even on paper—will be a kind of Holy Alliance of Capitalists against the workers' revolution. Propagating the League of Nations is the best means of confounding the revolutionary feelings of the working class. An international association of sham democracies—to be achieved by a coalition of the laboring and middle classes—is to be substituted for the international alliance of revolutionary proletarian republics. The League of Nations is the shibboleth to split, in the interests of international capital, the forces of the proletariat and advance the cause of international counter-revolution. The revolutionary proletarians of all countries must wage relentless war against the Wilsonian League, a league of spoliation, exploitation and imperialist counter-revolution." —C. I. These on International Situation from Communist International. —BILL.

If the number on your wrapper is **235** or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

Green Strikes at Labor in Blow at Sympathy Strike

Like a culture who waits till the last breath of life has oozed out of a dying body, William Green has seized upon the corpse of the Frisco General Strike to issue a statement to the press which read in substance: "They should not have fought."

First an ominous silence, then a treacherous interview to the capitalist press when the strike was under attack from all sides and now a miserable, cringing "I told you so" has marked the role of the staunchest defender of capitalism within the ranks of labor.

"A Grave Mistake"
"The sound and sober judgment of the organized workers in Frisco has finally asserted itself. They made a grave mistake when they engaged in a sympathetic strike, but they acted wisely when they ordered it officially terminated. They are to be heartily commended for the action taken."

So it was a "grave mistake" for the workers of Frisco to rise up in indignation at the murder of two of their fellow workers. It was a "grave mistake" to have united their forces against the united forces of the union-busting Frisco capitalists, to deal a blow for the striking longshoremen who were victims of murderous raids of police and national guardsmen. So you think, Mr. Green. And so do the bosses and their friends the country over.

No Solidarity Green
Further on, in his one big white issued to the press on July 20th, Green takes occasion to castigate sympathetic strikes for all times: "It is a dangerous experimentation fraught with grave consequences." Grave consequences for the employers? No, such a thought never entered the mind of this lackey. "The economic losses which workers sustain when they are compelled to return to work, demoralized and disheartened as a result of a sympathetic strike, cannot be adequately appraised."

If it is the Frisco strike to which Mr. Green refers then we are tempted to ask why it had to be a defeat? The workers responded to a man to the general strike call, the city was held firm in the grip of the unanimous walkout, the capitalists were shouting their panic to the heavens—victory was in sight. It was the Judas kiss of the Greens, the Vandeburgs and the Caseys that turned a possible victory into a certain defeat and "compelled" the workers to return to work... sustaining losses which cannot adequately be appraised.

Bosses Unite—O. K. for Green
That the bosses are constantly resorting to sympathetic actions, supporting each other with finances and moral assistance of every description, that their network of Chambers of Commerce are ready to unite against labor and its unions at a moment's notice—that troubles Mr. Green not at all. And why should it? This is a free country, isn't it? What frightens this Baptist president most is that sympathetic strikes may come into conflict with the government.

"When a sympathetic strike occurs, the issues primarily responsible for a strike become subordinated and a new conflict arises between those engaged in the strike and the governmental authorities... It is compelled to bring all its resources into action... the fight is between the city, state and Federal authorities on the one side and the strikers on the other... every one must know and understand that in such a conflict the government must win; it cannot surrender." Profoundly correct, Mr. Green! That is the first part of your statement which says that the government lines up with the bosses. The workers are fast learning this lesson, but they are learning too that the bosses and their government will never surrender so long as they can call upon slimy traitors like Green, who decries a sympathetic strike as an insurrection.

New Headquarters of LOS ANGELES BRANCH
Communist League of America.
HOUSE WARMING PARTY
SATURDAY, AUG. 18, at 8 P.M.
Music Hall, 232 So. Hill St.
Los Angeles

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Sharper Struggles in Strike Wave

In the gigantic strikes, rolling on like an avalanche from coast to coast some trends are apparent which will be of the greatest importance in future developments of these labor struggles. The main issue is union organization. That stands out clearly and unequivocally and it is pursued consciously. But by the very nature of these struggles there is already implied in them the trends toward a new type of union, new in character and broader in scope than heretofore. Simultaneously with this there is expressed also, although still unconsciously as far as the mass of the workers are concerned, the efforts toward bringing forward a new type of union leadership.

Throughout the country the effects of the crisis upon the workers drives them forward. Their grievances multiply and come to a head. A seething discontent is manifest. The need for union organization grows as it meets the open ruthless attacks of the master class. All along the line there is a sharpening of the class struggle. The powerful strikes for union organization become ever broader in scope. Ever more political in character, and they will tend to advance the American working class rapidly to higher levels—toward class consciousness.

Deeper Meaning in Struggles
On this general background the fight for union organization begins to assume a deeper significance than before. The unions that are emerging represent something new in the sense that they are distinct from the traditional type of craft unions going along with such concessions as it could wrest from capitalism through the means of collaboration and obtained at the cost of keeping the large masses unorganized and subsisting on a lower standard of living. In the minds of the many new trade union recruits their organization is conceived of from the outset as an instrument of struggle for better conditions and this is immediately translated into practical action. To this extent it is a new kind of unionism which stands on the order of the day. Equally as important, however, in the present situation is

Militant Builders

Forward to a Daily!

The second Club Plan sub drive ended on August first with a total of 574 new subs.

During the past week 86 new subs came in as follows:

Minneapolis (Amigo)	20
Chicago Branch	20
Los Angeles Branch	14
New Haven Branch	8
Buffalo (Reid)	4
Bronx Sp. Youth Cl.	4
Davenport Branch	4
Local N. Y. (A. S.)	4
Philadelphia Branch	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Complete Record	
Local New York	103
Chicago Branch	72
Cleveland Branch	66
Minneapolis Branch	40
Minneapolis (Amigo)	20
Los Angeles Branch	30
Philadelphia Branch	20
Davenport Branch	16
New Haven Branch	16
Pittsburgh Branch	12
San Francisco Branch	12
(Osborn 4)	
Toronto	12
Youngstown Branch	8
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the	
Militant Club	8
San Francisco Branch	8
Helen Mason	8
M. N. Stone, Phila.	4
Kogan, Berkeley	4
A. S., N. Y. C.	4
O. P., Ludington, Mich.	4
Ben L.	4
Leuser	4
New Castle Branch	4
Buffalo (Reid)	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
A. L. Rumble	4
Jefferson Hall	4
Total in Second Drive	539
Total in First Drive	1014
Grand Total	1553

Our next job is to get every one of these new subs to renew their subscription as their terms expire. The Militant herewith expresses its deep appreciation to all those hustlers who made it possible to add the 1553 new subs to our mailing list. The securing of subscriptions, as well as the selling of the paper and its general distribution may appear as an ordinary "rank and file" job, but looked at properly it is political work of the most important kind.

The Militant Builders have not only helped to raise \$888 for the Militant through this drive, but they have also enabled 1553 people to read our message. Many of these new subscribers, we are confident, will remain with us.

Together we will continue to build the Militant and march forward to a bi-weekly, then—
On to a Daily Militant!

the beginning of the struggle for a new type of union leadership. While it is not yet a conscious object, nevertheless, it grows directly out of the needs of the working class and the conditions under which it exists. The old time reactionary trade union leadership now stands out more clearly as an obstacle in the path. By its whole outlook, its actions as agents of capitalism, this leadership serves as an instrument not only to prevent further working class advance but also to betray the struggle for the aims of today.

The issue of union organization and union recognition cannot be arbitrated. That will mean only a postponement of the struggle. In the automobile industry an arbitration procedure was accepted. It became a blow to the unions which were emerging and the grievances of the workers remained. In the steel industry the acceptance of Wm. Green's proposal means that the struggle for union recognition is given up for the time being. In Minneapolis and Toledo, in the strikes of last May, the issue was fought out. Union recognition was gained, though only partly in Toledo, and in Minneapolis the recognition in order to also include the inside men, organized by the truck drivers union, has to be fought out again.

The Bosses' Offensive
On a nation-wide scale the employers are now determined to put a stop to the union organization developments. The forces of the state power stands at their disposal because they are the forces of the capitalist state. The employers had their own idea of section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act. But they never accepted the working class interpretation and they immediately sensed the danger to their special privilege of exploitation when the workers began to struggle for unions of a mass character to perform a new role distinct from that of the craft unions as they existed heretofore. By their terrific onslaught they now hope to head this off before it is too late.

On the other hand the splendid spontaneous actions by the working class throughout the country testify to the fact that it senses the great opportunity for organization and for making new gains which are at hand whenever it avails itself of this opportunity. The working class is set into motion and proceeds to break down the barriers which stand in the way. The rising curve of struggles give new inspiration and creates new and favorable opportunities for further progress. The grievances and the discontent of the workers is connected directly with the fight for organization and it is militant from the start. In this process the unions have of necessity taken on a broader scope and are becoming more industrial in character.

Breaking the Craft Lines
There is involved in this not merely the pedantic question of form, but rather the question of substance. The Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union, for example, found it necessary to organize also the inside men who are directly connected with their line of commercial transportation. It is reported now that the longshoremen's union in the cities along the Gulf is similarly beginning to organize within its ranks the inside men connected with the handling of ships' cargo. We already know that the unions developing in the automobile and the steel industry among others, could proceed to organize only on an industrial basis, taking in all workers to make common cause in the fight. This to a considerable degree also accounts for the fact of the militancy which has been displayed by the workers and it accounts much more directly for the violent opposition and head-on attacks by the bosses.

In San Francisco the strike involved almost from the outset, not only the longshoremen, but all the maritime unions. From the point of view of the bosses that progressive combination had to be broken up and the state forces, the police and the troops, were brought out to the scene, not to maintain "law and order" but to protect scabs and break the strike. All the union men of San Francisco sensed in this a menace to their organization. The general strike resulted. It became a contest with the state powers because of the use of the armed forces to attempt to break the maritime strike and to attempt to crush the unions.

In Minneapolis at the very beginning of the present strike, police were armed, not to maintain "law and order," as is the usual plea

made for public consumption, but to convey the moving of trucks manned by scabs and moving in defiance of the strike. Following this brazen provocation, the farmer-labor governor brought the national guard to the city as a further threat to the strike and to the truck drivers union. On a whole it is the terrific attacks made by the employers and their government which will give the exceptionally intense political character to the present strikes. But this is also the point at which the capitalist lieutenants, the reactionary labor leaders, swept on by the force of the movement, head it in order to behead it as they did in San Francisco.

That is the contradiction today—a general strike, challenging the government strike-breaking, but headed by leaders who are the agents of capitalism. These leaders do not want a conflict with the system of exploitation no matter how much the life of the unions are threatened. They play at all times the role of a brake upon the movement, even when appearing to lead it forward, and their purpose is to keep the working class in subjection.

Unions—A Life and Death Issue
Union organization is today the main working class issue. By the head-on attack it meets from the employers and their government the struggle for its realization intensifies. Bigger battles can therefore be expected to follow Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco. Bearing in mind the general background already created, it is safe to say that these coming battles will bring forward much more distinctly a working class objective the new type and new methods of unionism and the new type of union leadership which these new conditions require. This new type of leadership is developing in the fire of the class struggle and it stands out already today in Minneapolis as a tower of strength. It is bound to emerge elsewhere.

But this course, however clearly indicated in the present situation, depends upon the attention and guidance from the conscious revolutionary forces.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Ossip Wolinsky "Resigns"

New York, July 31.—Ossip Wolinsky's resignation from the post of "legal advisor" to the Pocketbook Makers Union remained "unaccepted" here tonight when the meeting called to consider this question at the Stuyvesant High School ended in unprecedented commotion.

Pressure from the membership caused Wolinsky to hand in his resignation to the Joint Council which accepted it. The meeting held tonight was for the purpose of securing the endorsement of the membership to the Joint Council decision. The membership has been angered to the extreme by Wolinsky's collusion with the bosses. Since the expiration of the last agreement with the bosses, last May, there has been no new settlement although the membership outlined some 18 demands as points of bargaining. Wolinsky who was in charge of this matter did nothing but rely upon a fact-finding commission in Washington, which in turn did nothing, to the great satisfaction of the bosses.

The meeting was packed. Turmoil set in at the very outset. More than an hour was consumed electing a chairman. Kleiman, a former lieutenant of Wolinsky who deserted him when he saw his ship was sinking, took the chair and gave the floor to a Wolinsky supporter who urged the non-acceptance of the resignation. The indignant workers rose and voiced their indignation, whereupon the Wolinsky supporters, led by the aforementioned Stein, began a Billy Sunday Holy Roller demonstration. This bedlam all to the chairman's liking continued for some time until order was finally restored only for the chairman to make the astounding announcement that Wolinsky was to report on his "activities" in Washington. Then for the first time in years this gangster-actor in the labor movement could not be heard above the angry shouts of the workers: "We want his resignation." Unable to steamroller a majority for Wolinsky, even in this meeting jammed with administration supporters, many of whom had never attended a meeting before, the chairman adjourned the gathering with Wolinsky's resignation still hanging in the air.

Just Off the Press!

War and the 4th International

Draft Theses Adopted by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League

TEN CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street New York City

Statement of the New Group For Workers Rights

July 21, 1934

Not since the days of the post war hysteria against liberals, radicals and workers alike has there been so flagrant a trampling upon workers' constitutional and civil rights as has followed in the wake of San Francisco's general strike. Fifteen years ago, liberals and friends of labor unqualifiedly condemned official lawlessness in the days of A. Mitchell Palmer. Liberals and workers throughout the land must now protest with equal unanimity San Francisco's persecution of workers for their opinions brought about by the reign of vigilante terror, and denials of fundamental American rights to the workers of San Francisco by public officials.

With the propriety of the general strike and with the merits of the issues in the strike we are not here concerned. We deal solely with infringement of constitutional and civil rights.

We make these charges:

1. The program of the ship-owners to break the strike by engineering anti-red hysteria was joined in by the Governor of the state of California, by the Mayor of the city of San Francisco and by the federal government.
2. The reign of vigilante terror and vandalism resulting in raids upon and destruction of Communist and I.W.W. headquarters apparently were with the knowledge, approval and cooperation of both the employers, the police of San Francisco, and the National Guard.
3. The searching of headquarters of workers' organizations without warrants, by police and National Guard, and the seizure of literature, were not only entirely lawless, but in violation of both the federal and California constitutions prohibiting such searches.
4. The wholesale arrests by police and military authorities of workers were without justification in law and was an abuse of California's vagrancy law. It constitutes another example of the use of the criminal law as a strike breaking weapon against workers.
5. The whole program was designed to persecute strike leaders and militant workers for their activity in the strike; and to punish them for their political opinions. As such it was a denial of freedom of thought guaranteed to us both by the Constitution of the U. S. and of California.

We unqualifiedly condemn the entire program.

Public officials who have sworn to support the Constitution, have violated their oaths of office. What is even more ominous, mob violence has recurred in California. Gov. Rolph's public approval of lynch law encouraged mob violence against strikers in Imperial Valley. Gov. Merriam's toleration of mob law will serve as a direct encouragement to the vigilante terror against workers that is sweeping agricultural and urban California.

The state of California continues to take first place among the lawless states of the Union. Once again California justice is on trial before the bar of public opinion of the entire world.

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANCES PERKINS
Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

Your recent telegram to the Governor of California came as a shock to the great liberal section of the American people who had begun to hope that the Department of Labor in this administration was not to be an instrument of hysterical red-baiting, union-destroying activities.

The effect of your telegram, whether intended or not, was to encourage anti-union employers and local and state officials everywhere to continue the drive on labor organizations. The facts of workers' struggle are too well known to you for us to stress them in this connection. We ask you to make clear to state and local authorities that your department is not available to them as a strike-breaking agency and that you will not be a party to the persecution of militant workers for their opinions or strike activities.

We ask you further to declare forcefully against official mob rule in California by ordering the immediate release of these workers held for your department for strike activities, and to announce and vigorously carry out a policy to prevent immigration of officials in your department from being used by employers against workers, as vigilantes and local officials have been used.

American Civil Liberties Union
General Defense Com., I.W.W.
International Labor Defense
League for Industrial Democracy
National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners
The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

MARCH OF EVENTS

A Turn In the Business Trend

The overbearing confidence experienced by the American capitalists with the upturn in business of recent months is rapidly evaporating as the index takes a new and serious turn downwards. The New Dealers relied upon the vast stream of government funds pumped into the pockets of finance capital to tide over the worst stages of the crisis and they hoped that business would then show such increasing signs of real demand for commodities and capital goods that the government would be able to stop further outlays and return to normal functioning. That hope has now given way to acute anxiety. The international crisis has brought new and deepening problems that cannot be solved by capitalism. Foreign trade has not recovered to any appreciable extent in terms of gold prices and values and in fact the debt situation and the currency difficulties keep the world market in a state of unremitting uncertainty.

Slump More Than Seasonal

The hired optimists of capitalist economy try to present the turn of business downwards as merely a seasonal manifestation, but statistics belie their hollow emissions. Stocks are taking a slow but steady slump. Steel ingot production for the week ending July 21st was at the rate of 28% of capacity as compared with 56% a year ago. Iron and steel production generally has fallen off sharply and far more than "seasonally." The weekly business index has dropped to such an extent that the New York Post finds it necessary to comment on this editorially, showing how its own business index dropped ten points in the past week and that of "Business Week" showed a decline of seven points under its index of a week ago and a drop of 20 points under the average for the years 1929-1933. Economists have been predicting this more than seasonal slump for some time, for a large variety of reasons. The drought, hitting the entire West so severely, has contributed to the situation although its effects have been additive rather than determining.

The Workers and the New Slump

The working class will experience the full effects of this new downturn in increased unemployment, in increased drives on the frightfully low standards of living. The problem of relief is becoming more acute every day. The government is being forced to expand far more than it intended in the 1934 budget. The threat of worse inflation looms nearer. Meantime prices are beginning to rise faster. Cattle are being slaughtered at an unheard of rate and yet the prices of meat keep going up in expectation of serious shortages later. Wholesale prices are the highest in three years, led of course by those of foods. Not that these prices have reached anywhere near the pre-crisis level but that they are rising sharply when purchasing power is declining. The working class faces a more desperate struggle for its very existence this fall and winter and it becomes more than ever urgent that they combine forces, that a united struggle be conducted for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, for a shorter work week of thirty hours in all industries at higher wages than the present miserable ones. The employed and the unemployed must close the ranks!

The French Parliamentary Crisis

The Doumergue government is pursuing its task of preparing the road for fascism. Under the guise of a "truce," a "non-party" government, the bourgeois republican parties, the radical socialists in particular as the largest single one, are betraying the workers and the middle class in their ranks to violent fascist reaction in precisely the same manner as these parties and the socialists betrayed them to the bourgeoisie in the "sacred union" that inaugurated the lost imperialist war. Tardieu, whose task it is to precipitate crisis after crisis in order to bring about the coup d'etat, the rule by force and the end of all democracy, for which he, Doumergue, Chippaux, Weygand and the others have prepared for years. Tardieu knows that he can act with impunity so far as the Herriots, the Chantemps and the rest of the betraying crew of radical socialists are concerned. The very fact that they found it possible to enter into "concentration," with its attacks on parliamentary government, shows that they are mere pawns in the game of reaction. It was a foregone conclusion that Doumergue would not accept the resignation of Tardieu for his violent attack on Chantemps in the attempt to dislodge these dubious allies so as to concentrate the power completely in the hands of the extreme right. It was also a foregone conclusion that the radical socialists would swallow the "insult" since they fear an open break with the right that might precipitate a struggle on the streets between the united workers and sections of the impoverished middle class against the fascists.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

MILTON AURBACH, Brooklyn.—Well! Well! So you are going to give up hope in the radical movement if, through this column, you find the *Militant* wanting, particularly if you don't get satisfactory answers as to why it is only comrades Cannon, Shachtman, and Swaback whom you hear speak at meetings, and as to why the Communist League has not developed new speakers. Your facts are not quite correct as you would have found, had you attended the League's open forums.

If you will take the trouble to attend any of the seven or eight street meetings which we conduct every week in greater New York, you will see our other speakers. You will generally find them, weather permitting, at the following locations: Boro Park, 13th Ave. and 43rd St.; Williamsburgh, Graham Ave. and Burrell St.; Brownsville, Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St.; Manhattan, 9th St. and 2nd Ave., and 9th St. and Ave. B; Harlem, 125th St. and 5th Ave.; and Bronx, 170th St. and Walton Ave.

Does the League of Communist Internationalists still have your adherence?

BRONX PAINTER.—Here, briefly, is (or was?) the official Stalinist position towards the A. F. of L. and T. U. U. L. (Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the C. P. U. S. A., 1930, published by Workers Library Publishers): "... the reformist organizations and elements, some of which (A. F. of L.) are outright fascist, while others (Socialist Party, Music group) cover their fascist activities with pseudo-radical phrases." (p. 11, notes in brackets in original).

"The party can win the working masses for its political leadership only by leading them in their economic struggles; and ONLY on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the party be able to assume the leadership of these economic struggles. ... All communists must belong to the T. U. U. L." (p. 20, emphatic ours).

Your other question should be addressed to your Stalinist friends who claim that we distort their viewpoint, since the burden of explaining what is meant by "rank and file leadership" falls upon the inventors of the expression.

However that may be, the first thing is that the term itself is a contradiction. The "rank and file" and the "leadership," at the same time that they supplement each other, mutually exclude one another. The existence of a rank and file implies the existence of a leadership as distinct from it and vice versa, so that the term "rank and file leadership" has as much sense as an expression like "proletarian capitalist".

Because it is such a contradictory and confusing phrase it serves the Stalinists in any and all circumstances. Instead of trying to explain what is meant by this nonsensical combination of words, it would be best, in the interest of clarity, to eliminate it entirely from working class vocabulary.

SPARTACIST, Boro Park.—The armed state forces in this country are made up as follows: Federal army, 133,038; Navy, 141,814; Police, 110,541; National Guard, 187,386; and Reserve Corps Officers, 128,003, making a total of 700,782. To this must be added state troopers and sheriffs, who are small numerically. In addition 114,542 men were trained at colleges etc. in the R.O.T.C. and 38,588 attended the C.M.T.C.

YIPSEL, Boston.—What basis can there be for assuming that in the United States the capitalists may be an exception and yield to a Socialist controlled government which aims at expropriating capitalist private property? In the American Civil war the southern Bourbons resorted to armed force because their material interests were jeopardized by the northern industrialists' LEGAL control of the government. In strikes, where only part of their profits are at stake, the American capitalists break their own laws, where the "legal" use of force and terror do not suffice. (Note San Francisco.)

You might also remind your friends that a party which really stood for the expropriation of capitalist property probably could never get governmental control through legal channels because the American constitution was, at its inception, framed to prevent such an eventuality. Let us quote from a "liberal" historian on the reasons for which the various departments of the government were set up: "Madison foresaw a time, not far distant, when the great mass of the people would be without landed or any other kind of property, when in spite of all precautions a triumphant majority might get possession of the political machine and make it an engine of their purposes to the detriment of the public good, that is, in the main to the detriment of private property."

"Frightened by this specter of democracy, some of the members of the convention proposed to restrain the masses by putting property qualifications on the suffrage and on high federal officers. ... After tossing about restlessly for several days, the delegates gave up the idea of entrenching property in the Constitution by specific restrictions on voting and office holding."

"Finding that course barred, the delegates chose another way of dissolving the energy of the democratic majority. ... The Fathers created a system of 'checks and balances', dividing the power of government among legislative, executive, and judicial branches with confused and uncertain boundaries."

"The legislature as they devised it was of intricate structure. Members of the House of Representatives were to be distributed among the states roughly on the basis of population and they were to be elected biennially. ... But the chamber so directly affiliated with the community was by no means to have a clear track in the making of laws. A strong Senate was thrown across its way. Senators were to be chosen by the state legislatures, one degree removed from the multitude; they were to serve for six years instead of two; and only one-third of them were to go out at any time, so that after each free election, no matter how tempestuous, a safe majority of the old members were to remain undisturbed in their places. The conservative effect of age was brought into play: Senators were to be at least thirty years old, five years above the minimum set for the lower house."

"Opposite the legislature thus divided against itself was set the President elected by yet another process—by a special body of electors chosen as the state legislatures might determine—perhaps two or three degrees removed from the passions of the populace. Thus firmly planted on his own base, the President was to enjoy, in addition to his executive functions, the power of vetoing acts of Congress. To increase the friction of the machine, his term was fixed at four years, not two or six, and it was provided that he could be removed only by a difficult method of impeachment."

"Over against the executive and the legislature was placed the Supreme Court composed of judges appointed, not for two, four, or six years, but for life—judges chosen by the President and the Senate, the two federal agencies removed from direct contact with the populace—and in fact, as time proved, endowed with the power of declaring acts of the other departments null and void." (Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization.")

Pay us a visit while you're in New York.

A COMMUNIST RADIO SPEECH

In the last several months, labor history has been enriched by a series of magnificent strike struggles which match up well with the greatest of America's working class tradition—Detroit, Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Alabama. Examples of courageous determination and working class solidarity, they stand out as an inspiration to the toiling masses everywhere.

The anti-labor forces of the country are determined to suppress this rebellious spirit, if possible to prevent the accomplishment of the move toward unionization, and even to crush whatever labor organizations already exist. They are playing the ancient trick of dragging the old worn-out "red-scare" herding across the trail of today's struggles for an improvement in living and working conditions. It is claimed that the strikes of today have been "fomented" by Reds, radicals, or revolutionaries for the purpose of overthrowing the government, and an attempt is made on this basis to arouse all of those timid souls who believe that every radical has a tail tucked into his pants, cloven hoofs and his shoes and horns under his hair into active struggle against workers who are fighting for nothing more than a decent living wage.

The "Red Scare" Farce
The fact that revolutionaries—those who believe in the establishment of a new economic order on the basis of the abolition of capitalism—are active in the organization of these struggles does not make the "red-scare" propaganda less ridiculous. It is as sensible to blame "Reds" for these strikes as it would be to blame the weather-forecaster for our present heat or a geologist for a volcanic eruption because these men know what forces are at work and can predict what is about to happen.

The strikes of today have their ultimate cause in the decay of our economic system. On the one hand, the processes of production have developed at a tremendous rate so that we not only have a huge bulk of commodities produced but new social relationships in production involving the organized participation of large masses of workers in highly mechanized plants; on the other hand, we have the old private profit relationships in the field of distribution; and the gulf between the two becomes ever wider as industrial development goes on. The amounts of wages paid to the mass of workers becomes constantly less and less adequate in the buying of products for consumption. Hence the fight for increased wages is as inevitable in the course of capitalist development as the shedding of the skin of a snake is in that animal's growth.

Labor's Weapon—the Strike
Strikes are by no means a new phenomenon in capitalist society. Even the period of capitalist economic infancy is characterized by the most violent labor battles. Not a single improvement in the standard of working class life, not a single betterment of labor conditions but has been purchased at the price of bitter and bloody battle on the part of organized workers. Even the slightest of government reforms in the nature of so-called labor protection laws have been wrenched from the capitalist class only as the result of violent and unavoidable struggle by the working class.

Strikes are today necessary to enforce two working class demands, which will not be granted by capital without a struggle: first, the right to collective bargaining, that is trade union organization; second, increased wages with decreased hours of work (or at least without increased hours). The winning of these two objectives, even through the instrumentality of a general strike, does not at present necessarily involve the overthrow of the political rule of capitalism; it is a step in that direction, but the demands are at this moment economic and only remotely political.

The Role of Communists
Generally, the number of Communist workers (and by this I mean conscious revolutionaries) involved in any action must necessarily be relatively small, since they are the most intellectually advanced and politically acute; they will always be in the forefront of every economic struggle because they understand the basic importance of mass economic action in historical evolution. But to say that these workers can create a strike or any other mass activity simply out of their own revolutionary desire is to talk without making sense. Workers are forced by capitalism itself to strike for betterment of their conditions and unless the whole mass of workers involved consciously and willingly takes part in the action—whether it be general or confined to one industry—no strike can even be called, let alone carried forward with any success. The charge that masses of workers are "intimidated" into striking is the product of a bankrupt mind that does not want to look at facts and makes up excuses for violence against strikers.

Since strikes are inevitable in the struggle of workers against unemployment and for economic security, it would stand to reason that the better a strike is organized and the greater the clarity with which its demands are formulated and militantly pursued the better for society as a whole, since the issue will

Hammond, Ind., July 26.—On Thursday evening, July 26, comrade Lydia Beidel of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League, broadcast the following statement over station WVAE at Hammond, Indiana. The radio station, located in the heart of the steel area of the middle west, has a registered audience of 80,000 listeners distributed throughout the most important manufacturing towns in the neighborhood of Gary and Chicago. Arrangement to the broadcast was effected by one of the League's most valuable sympathizers, Salome Howard. A period of 12 minutes was allowed our speaker.

An interesting coincidence occurred when it was found that Municipal Judge John H. Lyle, who has been vigorously conducting a private red-baiting campaign, immediately preceded our speaker on the program. He chose the stockyards strike of Chicago for his theme. He denounced the workers for tying up normal business in the yards, but used as his main demagogic appeal the "poor, dumb brutes who are suffering in the yards over a misunderstanding over wages and labor conditions." "That cattle are being shot for want of water and food will not meet with the approval of the citizens," he declared, and praised the action of the California state government and President Green of the A. F. of L. for their work in smashing the general strike in San Francisco.

Five years ago, this same Judge Lyle held comrade Beidel and 26 other prisoners (who had been arrested in a demonstration) without bail for five days. With his knowledge, in the dead heat of summer, eleven women were kept penned up in a cell built for the poor accommodation of two. There was constant nightly harassing of the prisoners by sadistic detectives. Court was called at any hour of the day or night that the judge cared. When another judge issued a writ of habeas corpus, Lyle immediately caused a re-arrest on a capias. Matrons were encouraged not to give the prisoners blankets and pillows to sleep on. Bail was raised to nearly a quarter of a million dollars for the 27 defendants, and finally the prisoners were rescued from the hands of this friend of the "poor, dumb brutes" only by the intervention of another judge who feared for the reputation of the whole municipality if this thing went on.

Comrade Beidel's speech was prepared before the broadcast went on, but it seemed to fit the circumstances pretty well.

have to be settled much more

speedily if the tie-up of industry is

complete. And right here is the

origin of the "red" bugaboo. For

it is precisely the "Reds" or revolutionaries within a labor organization who are the most competent

organizers of such a struggle, for

it is they who understand the

forces at work and have profited by

years of accumulated world-wide

experience in the technique of strike

strategy. It is they whom the anti-

labor forces fear and it is by mis-

representing their role and objec-

tives that capitalist agencies hope

to break down the instinctive soli-

darity of the working class.

The Minneapolis Battle

One of the most beautifully or-

ganized strike maneuvers of this

period was the series of truck drivers' strikes in Minneapolis which

began early this year and still oc-

cupies the center of attention in

working class circles. Members of

the Communist League of America

active in the strike, like all of the

workers of Minneapolis, are victims

of the same oppressive economic

conditions, but they can see more clearly

than the rest what to do about it.

It is regrettable that it is the pe-

culiar fortune of the anti-labor

forces that they can usually depend

for reinforcement upon the highly-

paid officials of labor unions, who

do their questionable service by of-

ficially disowning and denouncing

the courageous fight of workers

struggling for organization.

Anti-labor organizations are be-

coming daily more prominent in the

country—the Vigilantes on the west

coast and the chambers of com-

mence with their gangster and col-

lege-boy hirings. They too are an

inevitable outcome of capitalist de-

cay—maggots fattening off a putrid

body. There is only one antidote

to them—stronger labor organiza-

tions.

The Purpose of the Strike

A strike is not a revolution and

no body knows that better than a

Communist. The purpose of a strike

is to enforce demands under the

capitalist system of production and

distribution. But the revolutionary

knows that it is through these

strikes that the working class will

learn two things: first, that nothing

can be won without strong and mili-

tant organization; and, second, that

the state apparatus, the political or-

ganization of capitalist society, will

always be used on the side of the

master class, the capitalists. It is

not the revolutionaries who teach

these truths to the working class;

they simply put the lessons into

words and weave these experiences

into a theory of action; it is capi-

talist society itself which provides

the object lessons.

There is one more truism which

is in the process of being taught:

wherever you have capitalism you

have labor struggles and wherever

you have labor struggles you have

revolutionaries. The only differ-

ence between the revolutionaries

and other strikers is that the revo-

lutionary is a conscious part of the

social evolutionary process; the

others are unconscious tools of

history.

The Great Teachers Speak

As far as the general program of

the Communist movement is con-

cerned, I can do no better in sum-

marizing it than to quote from the

Communist Manifesto, written in

1847 by the greatest theoreticians

of Communism, Karl Marx and

Frederick Engels:

"In what relation do the Com-

munist stand to the proletarians

as a whole? The Communists do

not form a separate party opposed

to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate

and apart from those of the prole-

tariat as a whole. They do not set

up any sectarian principles of their

own, by which to shape and mould

the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distin-

guished from the other working

class parties by this only: 1. In

the national struggles of the prole-

tarians of the different countries,

they point out and bring to the

front the common interests of the

entire proletariat independently of

all nationality. 2. In the various

stages of development which the

struggle of the working class

against the bourgeoisie has to pass

through, they always and every-

where represent the interests of the

movement as a whole.

"The Communists, therefore, are

on the one hand, practically, the

most advanced and resolute section

of the working class parties of

every country, that section which

pushes forward all others; on the

other hand, they have over the

great mass of the proletariat the

advantage of clearly understanding

the line of march, the conditions,

and the ultimate general results of

the proletarian movement.

"The immediate aim of the Com-

munist is the same as that of all

the other proletarian parties: form-

ation of the proletariat into a class,

overthrow of the bourgeois supre-

macy, conquest of political power

by the proletariat. The theoretical

conclusions of the Communists are

in no way based on ideas or prin-

ciples that have been invented, or

discovered, by this or that would-be

universal reformer. They merely

express, in general terms, actual

relations springing from an exist-

ing class struggle, from a historical

movement going on under our very

eyes."

And I close with the principal

slogan of Communists everywhere:

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUN-

TRIES, UNITE! YOU HAVE

NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR

CHAINS. YOU HAVE A WORLD

TO WIN."

Minneapolis Sidelights -- by an Eye-Witness

On Thursday, July 19, the Minneapolis bosses started their first major offensive against Local 574 with a cunning stratagem.

Word reached strike headquarters shortly after noon that the bosses were planning to move trucks. Immediately picket couriers sped to all parts of the city calling all pickets back to strike headquarters. The enthusiastic and speedy response was yet another testimonial to the militancy and solidarity of the strikers.

A short wait and they were off amid deafening cheers from sympathizers in the vicinity.

Upon approaching the designated trouble center, the picket captains were quick to recognize that the heavily armed police convoy surrounded a hospital supply truck. Without hesitation they turned around and returned to headquarters.

Now, it is well known throughout the city that the union permits hospital trucks to operate unmolested. The bosses with the able cooperation of the police had hoped that the convergence of pickets on the scene, would give them the opportunity to play up the incident as an attempt on the part of the union to interfere with the delivery of needed medical supplies. The picket captains' intelligent appraisal of the situation had frustrated this plot. Undeterred by this, the Minneapolis papers carried a paid advertisement of the Employers Advisory Committee the next day. The substance of the ad was an appeal to the citizenry of Minneapolis to chase from their midst these diabolical Communists who made it necessary to furnish heavy police guard to move medical supplies to mothers and babies in dire need.

Second Offensive
The second major offensive took place 24 hours later in the wholesale grocery district. Here a police convoy of 150, all fully armed, stood ready while a truck with license plates removed picked up three or four boxes at the loading platform of the Slocum-Berger Co. The truck then took off with its large police escort. As it moved a half block down the street and attempt-

ed to turn the corner a picket truck containing about ten pickets pulled up in an attempt to force the truck to the curb. As it did so, the police without warning let loose a terrific barrage of lead. Dozens of bullets pierced the truck and bodies of the pickets abroad. The

driver of the picket truck, a powerfully built man, attempted to get out of the range of fire, but not without some attempt at vengeance. As his truck neared the corner his powerful left arm reached out and lifted from his feet a police sergeant who was gleefully firing lead into the backs of workers heroically attempting to carry wounded strikers out of reach of the murderous barrage. Holding the sergeant in a paralyzing grip, he drove him a block away, where he stopped his truck, removed gun from cop and then cop from consciousness.

Words are inadequate to describe the bravery of these workers. Unarmed, weaponless they rushed into the merciless fire to help the injured. It is reported that 50 cops returned to police headquarters where they turned in their badges.

Ten minutes after the massacre, strike headquarters was covered with dozens of severely wounded workers, remarkably unanimous in minimizing their injuries and urged the harassed medical corps to look after some of the other boys. What magnificent bravery—many of them lying with upward of 15 lead slugs in their bodies insisting that others be attended to first.

A Cop Vanishes

When the powerful truck driver who had walloped the cop returned to headquarters, the blood flowing from a bullet wound in his forehead did not prevent him from seeing a cop innocently swinging his club a block distant from headquarters. With a few powerful steps he reached the cop and told him in well chosen words that he would give him two seconds to get out of sight. That cop didn't need two seconds, he just vanished.

The bosses had thought that wholesale murder would break the strike and send the strikers scurrying back to their jobs. The thousands at the mass meeting gave a powerful denial to this. They cheered deafeningly the militant speeches of their leaders and shouted in unison that they were going to fight until victory was theirs. When a union official told them that

EDITORIAL

A 'Farmer-Labor' Strikebreaker

THE mask is off. The "friend of the worker," the Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota has revealed himself to be the bitterest foe of organized labor, the shrewdest supporter of the bosses. Olson has played out his bag of tricks. And every trick has been a boon to the Citizens Alliance, a blow at the embattled drivers.

Workers, opening their eyes to the perfidious deeds of Olson, will marvel at his skill in hiding his real intentions. Step by step he ploughed into the solid ranks of the strikers, sowing confusion and winning their confidence at the same time. The job could not have been better executed had it all been premeditated.

Elected on the platform of the Farmer-Labor party, which has even been so radical as to call for the "abolition of the profit system," Olson did everything to solicit the backing of the drivers. In the May strike he acted as a go-between in the arbitration of issues after 574 had already won the battle. He called out the National Guards, but kept them in the barracks. At the conclusion of the conflict he is reputed to have made a personal donation of \$500 to the truckers' union.

Then came the second strike. Here the issue was joined. The union-busting Citizens Alliance was determined to smash the drivers. 574 accepted the challenge and prepared to fight to the last ditch to make Minneapolis a union town. No hedging now! Governor Olson had to take a stand—for or against the workers. And he did! But not before he had delivered himself of more honeyed words to convince the strikers that the man in the St. Paul capitol was their friend. The occasion was the fusillade at unarmed pickets by Bloody Johannes' murderers. Olson denounced Johannes not so much for the murder but for breaking his promise in violating the truce, that no trucks would move. Then Olson made his grand gesture. He summoned the National Guards on the streets and proclaimed martial law "to protect the strikers!"

Under the pretext of protecting the strikers Olson's troops have protected scabs and scab trucks. Where cops, thugs, preachers and red scabs failed to move trucks in Minneapolis, Olson brought the troops in to do the dirty work. Rivaling only his red-baiting colleague in California, the St. Paul demagogue called out his army to keep the city in essentials, but in reality moving commercial vehicles of every description. When the strikers saw trucks moving they saw through Olson at the same time. They would battle and beat the troops even as they had the police. Before the drivers could make their threat effective the troops raided the strike headquarters, drove the workers out and arrested the union leaders, William Brown, Vincent and Miles Dunne. 200 drivers were thrown into military barracks and then the Central Labor Union, set up as a second headquarters, was invaded by soldiers.

Under the pretense of helping the strike, Olson has done his level best to crush it. An avowed partisan of civil liberties and democratic rights for workers, Olson has gone further in destroying them than even reactionary Governor Merriam. Where they deployed troops hesitantly in the Frisco general strike, Olson declared martial law in a struggle with only 7,000 involved. Taking a leaf from Hitler's book this "wolf in sheep's clothing" committed the most despotic action American labor has seen in years when he crashed into strike headquarters and jailed strike leaders. His cunning words of support were only slightly more successful than the raw propaganda of the Citizens Alliance and Dan Tobin. This agent of capitalism, like all the rest, needed the mailed fist to get results for the employers.

If Olson thinks his troops will defeat the strike and drive the workers back in submission then he is sadly mistaken. The drivers in Minneapolis are fighting mad. Reports in the capitalist press tell us that in face of war-time artillery more than fifty trucks were overturned by pickets and scabs given the drubbing of their lives.

Every stratagem of the bosses has collapsed. Their rump revolt was turned into a victory for the union. The red-scab was flung back into the teeth of its originators. Tobin was told to keep his filthy hands off the strike. The shooting solidified the ranks and the drivers set their jaws for renewed battle. Olson will fare no better.

Victory or defeat, the curse of the entire labor movement is on Olson. He is forever discredited in the eyes of every worker and honest progressive. The career of Olson as a liberal is over. The curtains that are rung over Olson are rung over the whole gamut of liberalism and Farmer-Laborism.

Away with it! Clear the road for a revolutionary party of the working class and the overthrow of the rotten system that Olson represents!

Strike at Martial Law!

As we go to press, the latest news from Minneapolis is that Governor Olson is showing his true colors so that even the Farmer-Labor workers on strike can see them clearly. His militia has marched into their headquarters, arrested the strike leaders, then marched on the Central Labor Union headquarters and raided that too!

In such a situation, of course, our main concern is the safety of our comrades in Minneapolis who have worked devotedly in the interest of the striking truck men, and the rights of the Minneapolis workers to union organization and a leadership of their own choosing.

At the same time we must remember that without a voice which speaks out in unqualified words and reaches the strikers, our duty to the Minneapolis workers is not fulfilled. In this situation we must remember the Militant more than ever.

We must make it possible for our comrades in Minneapolis who are not connected with the strike to get bundles of our Militant for general distribution.

The Militant is the only working class paper which devotes its columns mainly to the Minneapolis situation.

For that reason it is important that the Militant reach every striker.

But the Militant cannot do this effectively without funds. In our eagerness to help the Minneapolis workers we must bear this fact in mind all the time, and continue our support of our agitator, the Militant.

Our financial situation is very critical just at present. The Organization-Press Campaign has not brought sufficient returns to make it possible to print extra thousands of the paper weekly, in Minneapolis and in every other city in the country.

We must help to arouse the workers everywhere to a full realization of the grave dangers confronting the Minneapolis workers. We must spread the Militant everywhere. We must send large quantities to every city where we have connections.

The capitalist press gives only meager information about what is happening to the workers of Minneapolis. Only the Militant tells the full story.

With a proper nation-wide distribution of our paper we can work up sufficient sentiment for the Minneapolis workers to get a nation-wide protest against the fascist tactics used by Governor Olson.

Our duty is clear: PRINT 10,000 copies of the Militant each week and have them distributed throughout the country.

HELP US ACCOMPLISH THIS!

SEND US \$1 TO-DAY!

The Minneapolis strikers are fighting courageously in spite of the presence of the militia. They are giving their all. Two of them have already paid with their lives. A number of others are seriously sick at the hospital.

OF YOU WE ASK ONLY \$1.00 TO-DAY.

Help us spread the true facts of the Minneapolis heroic battle to every part of the country.

DON'T FAIL THE WORKERS IN MINNEAPOLIS!

HELP US PRINT 10,000 copies weekly as long as the battle rages.

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An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism

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Arrest of Cannon and Shachtman

(Continued from Page 1)

workers. They did not miss an opportunity to explain to the membership that the Red Scare was a barrage being laid down by the employers behind which the union was to be crushed and the men driven back to the outrageous conditions of work and wages against which they were rebelling. Instead of falling into the cunningly laid trap of the Citizens Alliance and starting an anti-Communist hunt in their own ranks, the union leaders stood like rocks and insisted that every worker—be he Communist or Democrat, Republican or Farmer-Labor, whatever might be his political, economic, religious opinions or affiliations—was a soldier in the union with full rights and duties, and that no discrimination would be practiced against anyone. It is this attitude which made it possible to hold the union together instead of letting it fall prey to artificially injected dissension inspired by the employers.

Having no other arguments, however, the desperate bosses were compelled to harp on the same string throughout the whole struggle. Being unable to defend a position which says that 42½ cents an hour for a family man is too much, they simply did not bother to defend it at all, and concentrated instead upon baiting of Communists. They needed a sensation, and on Wednesday evening, the papers finally burst out with it.

At about 10 p.m. of that evening, a trio of Minneapolis detectives, flanked by a cop in uniform, placed James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman under arrest. Both of them had apparently been under surveillance for days.

Finger Prints Taken

Transported to the police headquarters, they were immediately taken to the jail, their finger prints taken, and despite unanswered demands that they be told why they had been arrested, or what the charges against them were, or that they be permitted to communicate with their attorney they were lodged in a city cell.

Meanwhile, a squad of detectives broke into the hotel rooms of the two prisoners, and without even the formality of a search warrant, proceeded to ransack the personal effects and papers which they found there. Copies of the Militant, of the daily strike paper, the Organizer, personal letters, and Shachtman's whole suitcase, were brought down to police headquarters with the hope that evidence might be found to show that the two Communists had been on the verge of blowing up the city, at the very least, so that they might be held long enough by the police to incapacitate them for the duration of the strike, in any case.

What the police and their masters, the Citizens Alliance, were after, was proof that Shachtman and Cannon were directing the truck drivers strike. And although they pored over every single scrap of paper they found and examined the notebooks of the prisoners with microscopic care, all they were able to find was a number of routine letters and telegrams received by Cannon and Shachtman from New York, addressed to them in care of Vincent R. Dunne, one of the influential strike leaders of Local 574. The whole thing was a flop, and didn't even have the ground-work material for a good-sized frame-up.

Questioning by the captain of detectives, Ohman, failed to elicit any more information from the prisoners than was available to the man in the street. Here again, the two men demanded the right to have their attorney, Albert Goldman of Chicago, present during the cross-examination. Ohman, assisted in his questioning by Police Chief Johannes, who has earned himself the opprobrious nickname of Bloody Mike, told Cannon and Shachtman that their demand for a lawyer was not being denied (!) but at the same time the lawyer was not forthcoming, nor were they permitted to telephone him about their case.

A Real "Scoop"

The next morning, the local capitalist press boomed with the news. Copies of purloined letters and telegrams, skillfully provided with terrifying headlines that had little or nothing to do with the contents which hopeful editors expected their readers not to bother reading, had been generously supplied to the Alliance press and were spread all over the columns.

But if they counted upon a reaction in the ranks of the workers, and above all in the ranks of 574, they were miserably disappointed. Instead, the union and its newspaper took up the issue and demanded the release of the prisoners, not only when they were held by the police, but also later, when they were placed under military arrest by the National Guard. So far as the employers were concerned the arrest proved a dud.

Under Military Arrest

Friday morning, thirty-six hours after their arrest, and with a vagrancy charge actually booked against them, the prisoners were brought into court. Attorneys Goldman and Mendow of Minneapolis were on hand with a writ of habeas corpus. But before the vagrancy charge could be heard, the men were transferred to Judge Guildford's court. There the city

attorney declared that he had no objections to the release of the men on the writ. It immediately became clear why no prosecution was to take place. Having found it impossible to hold the men any longer even on a trumped-up charge, Johannes had arranged with the officers of the National Guard, who had taken over the city under martial law the day before, to put Cannon and Shachtman under military arrest.

Just as the release in civil court was effected, a sergeant of the Guard entered the courtroom—the first time such a procedure has ever been witnessed in the history of Minnesota—and demanded the custody of the prisoners. The sensation was heightened by the fact that he was armed with a sub-machine gun and that a dozen Guardsmen, automatics strapped to their sides and rifles in their hands, stood outside the courtroom as an escort for the dangerous leads. Completely surrounded, Cannon and Shachtman were marched down the corridors, out of the municipal building to the street, where another score of Guardsmen awaited them with another score of automatics and rifles. They were bundled into an open military truck, still as heavily and nervously guarded as if they were either some invaluable treasure or an automatic time bomb which might explode at any moment.

Flanked front and rear by other cars, the truck drove the prisoners to the Army—where the first military prisoners to be taken after the declaration of martial law—although they could not conceivably have violated any martial law regulation "Shoot to Kill!"

In the National Guard Armory they were seated on a bench prior to being brought to the guardhouse, with explicit orders given the armed sentinels to "shoot to kill" in the event of an escape. In the guardhouse, with no explanation given of the reason for the arrest, the two were held for another six hours.

At the expiration of this period of time, Provost Marshal Colonel Elmer McDevitt entered the detention room and informed the prisoners that they were to be released and ordered to leave the city immediately. Cannon and Shachtman demanded to know what charges had been made against them, what law they were supposed to have violated. No reply was made, and the deportation order was merely

Drivers Force the Release of Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

der pretense that there they would be better cared for. Meanwhile, the painstaking arrangements of the strikers to take care of their own were destroyed in the clean-up.

The pretext under which the raid was undertaken was that the strikers had held a mass meeting on a public playground in violation of military orders. Later, when Brown and the Dunne brothers were released, it was admitted that they had obtained the necessary permit.

By that time the damage had been done, the strikers had been driven out of their headquarters, and their leaders locked up in the military stockade, on the hope that this drastic action would bring the strikers to their knees. The answer of the strikers was renewed picket activities, swift and resourceful, against which the military were powerless.

In desperation, the military next raided the offices of the Central Labor Union body, seizing files and documents.

Since the National Guard arrived, the order issuing permits to "essential" trucks has been more and more generously interpreted—for the bosses.

Until now the Guardsmen are playing an open scab role, guarding—as well as they can—scab trucks of all kinds and descriptions. Affidavits from workers report that pie-trucks, trucks bearing electric signs, toys, and other non-essential materials passed the National Guardsmen unchallenged, while the pickets were prohibited by steel bayonets from interference.

It was the hope of Governor Olson obviously that his order should gradually be extended until all truck service was restored to normal under scab operation, while the workers stood by paralyzed and helpless.

Governor Olson's order read: "Trucks will move only on military permits and picketing by automobiles or otherwise will be completely stopped."

The permits were issued at first under false signs and pretenses of Interstate Commerce, meat and bread, etc. Until even this pretense has been abandoned.

But picketing by automobiles or otherwise, has not been stopped! It is the greatest tribute to the militancy of the workers that they were able to defy first the police bullets and now the bayonets of the National Guard.

The "Red Issue" could not stop the strike. The police thugs, the brutal killing of Ness and Belor, who died yesterday from his wounds, could not stop the strike.

Martial law could not stop the strike.

They then declared that they would refuse to leave the city of Minneapolis of their own volition, that they would depart only if forced to do so by a squad of Guardsmen. They had violated no law, they had not violated, nor could they have, any of the military regulations which were put into effect during their stay in city jail, and they would insist upon their rights to carry on as correspondents for their periodicals to exactly the same degree as the representatives of out-of-town capitalist papers who had, of course, not been molested.

Colonel McDevitt made no attempt to reply to the arguments and demands of the two men and contented himself with a repetition of his order. Immediately upon quitting the Armory, Cannon and Shachtman dispatched a telegram to the commander-in-chief of the Minnesota National Guard, Governor Olson, which we quote here in full:

Telegram to Olson

"Under tyrannical military order delivered to us at the National Guard Armory by Colonel McDevitt, after being held illegally under military arrest for six hours, we are being compelled by force to leave Minneapolis. We have been here as correspondents for the papers which we represent and at no time violated any law, civil or martial, nor have we even been charged with any such violation. We were released from city prison after thirty-six hours illegal detention on writ of habeas corpus. We were then illegally arrested in the courtroom by a large squad of heavily armed National Guardsmen and confined in the Armory without explanation or charges, nor have any yet been made against us. It was obviously impossible for us to violate any provisions of martial law since we were confined to city prison from the time of its promulgation until the moment of our military arrest. We know of no such outrageous violation of constitutional rights in any city in recent times. Even in California, under the rule of the most reactionary Governor, who is an open agent of employers, such dastardly deportations had to be executed by paid thugs disguised as Vigilantes and in no case bore the stamp of civil or military authority. It remained for the city of Minneapolis and the state of Minnesota, under a Farmer-Labor Governor, to witness such a procedure which strikes at the very heart of civil liberties for the labor movement, upon whose support you base yourself, have always fought. We wish to inform you that under protest and against our will we are leaving Minneapolis under the force and duress of the National Guard which you command. We demand of you the immediate revocation of this despotic order which is obviously aimed at the undersigned alone, as correspondents of the few papers which have wholeheartedly supported the strike of Local 574 and which is in no way designed to hamper or restrict the activities of correspondents for papers representing the interests of the employers, to say nothing of the Citizens Alliance whom you have publicly branded as a sinister clique conspiring against the people's interests and responsible for the red-handed murder of unarmed men. We intend to make our appeal known to labor and liberal forces of the entire country and will make your direct and personal responsibility known particularly to those who have hitherto regarded you as a progressive and liberal Governor. We await an immediate reply in care of our attorney, Mr. Albert Goldman, Hampshire Arms Hotel, Minneapolis.

James P. Cannon, editor,

The Militant

Max Shachtman, editor,

The New Internationalist.

No reply was ever sent to this message by Governor Olson. But the bluff to get Shachtman and Cannon to leave the city without protest, did not work. Instead, a reaction set in against the outrageous procedure. Officials of 574 entered their protest with the Governor. And the next morning, the press carried a statement by Olson declaring that the correspondents of the "Tory Tribune" as well as those of the "radical Militant" should enjoy equal rights in the city.

And such as they are, we still enjoy them.

—M. S.

Stalinist Zig-Zags

The United Front

Is the united front with the Social-fascists (hitherto the "social-fascists"), for long so vigorously denounced by the Stalinist leaders, here and elsewhere, again to be accepted as a policy of the official Communist parties? Supposedly that appears to be the case. But in reality it is not.

The Stalinist party leadership, over the signature of its general secretary, Browder, submitted a proposition to the Socialist party convention for a united front struggle for certain specific aims. Later that proposition was repeated to the S. P. national committee with several requests already made for an answer. As yet the Socialist party leadership has made no answer and the question might well be posed: Why is it silent?

There is one basic answer to this question and it is well documented by facts from recent history. The Socialist party leadership, like that of international social democracy, of which it is a part, prefers capitalism to a workers republic—to a Soviet Republic. For that we have the best proof in the German Social Democratic party's participation in the Hindenburg "iron front," right up to the fateful hour of Hitler's seizure of power. We have the additional proof of its Austrian brother party clinging to the coat of tails of Dollfuss right up to the day when he trained his howitzers on the homes of the Austrian socialist workers.

From this basic proposition flows the attitude of the Socialist party leaders, of relying on bourgeois democracy and its rules of the game, rather than on the militant struggle of a united working class, of finding more comfortable company and more agreement with the reactionary trade union officials than with the struggles of the left wing workers. Inevitably, and in time, this will tear the workers loose from the Socialist leaders. But that is not yet the case.

There is, however, also another side to this question. The Stalinist party leaders have not at all convinced the Socialist workers that they mean their united front policy seriously, that they propose a genuine united front. On the contrary, they have done everything in their power to divide the working class and prevent its unity of action.

While it now appears that there is a change in orientation and methods of the Stalinist leadership of the party and of the Third International, it is not a real political change. To affect a real change in this respect it would be necessary to throw overboard the ideological baggage of the recent past and to repudiate many of its concepts and methods. First of all it would be necessary to repudiate the spurious theory of "social-fascism."

It would be necessary to repudiate Stalin's axiom that, "social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. They do not negate one another. They are not antipodes, but twins,"—or is this still to be considered correct? If so there could not and there should not be a united front. No, it is necessary to repudiate it because it has nothing in common with the Leninist conception of the working class and its forces.

But it was in following these ridiculously false ideas that Manuilsky reported to the Eleventh Comintern plenum that those "in our own ranks who erroneously act along the line of a belief in the existence of a basic contradiction between bourgeois democracy and fascism, between the social democrats and Hitler's party, are harmful and fatal to the Communist movement." And the American party at its plenum in 1932 defined as "American social-fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, particularly the Muste wing with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades)." Is that still to be considered correct, or was it pure and unadulterated fakery?

And let us ask Willi Muenzenberg, who is now the celebrated visitor here, was he correct when he said in Feb., 1931, "A bloc, or even an alliance, or even a temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Socialist party in Germany against national socialism, would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of the workers, toiling peasants and the middle strata, and draw it into decline."

Is he ready to repudiate that now? Will he disavow the old slogan of the German Young Commu-

nist League—"Drive the social fascists out of the factories, out of the unemployment bureaus, out of the trade schools." Will he disavow the old slogan of the German Young Pioneers—"Beat the smallest Zerkels out of the schools and playgrounds."

Your own statements condemn you as liars. You cannot expect, gentlemen, that workers shall take your united front proposals seriously unless you are ready to declare that all this was false.

Formerly the united front proposal has now been made to the Socialist party and to its national committee. What is its meaning? Does this represent a political change from the course pursued in the past? We recall from very recent date, from the eighth convention of the official Communist party, held in April this year, the thesis declaration: "The Communist party must widen its struggle for the united front with the social democratic workers, over the heads of their treacherous leaders."—Over the heads of the leaders—what hollow rapid phrases. They will not help in the least to fear the workers away from social reformism, and that, after all, is the ultimate objective of the revolutionary party. Today such hollow phrases represent only the most stupid disregard of the organization of the social democratic workers. Unfortunately these social democratic workers still belong to their party and support their leaders because they are socialist workers. Disregard of his fact serves only to provide an excuse for the S. P. leaders to reject the united front offer. It becomes only a bureaucratic maneuver at the expense of the working class unity of action. Nothing could suit the social reformist leaders better than this. They can continue with impunity their treacherous role of support of bourgeois democracy.

It would be illusory to expect that these formal united front proposals represent a political change of policy of the Comintern and its various parties. Essentially it reflects the pressure of the Communist workers facing an ever more menacing enemy to which the Stalinist leaders are attempting to adjust themselves in a tactical way instead of giving actual leadership. It represents the pressure due to the decline of the official Communist parties and an effort of the Stalinist bureaucrats by means of another periodical zig zag to establish an alibi for the past failures when the genuine united front had in reality become a life and death question. Meanwhile the bureaucrats of the Comintern have become so estranged from an actual united front policy that what they propose now is in reality the social democratic "non-aggression pact" which suspends criticism. That, of course, is false to the core. One of the first essentials of a genuine united front is the freedom of mutual criticism of all participants.

In the formal united front proposal made by the C.P.U.S.A., there is listed as one of the aims, "building a revolutionary trade union leadership." Is that possible of achievement jointly with the social democrats? Obviously not. And we might also ask, what role will the T.U.U.L. rival unions play in this? But there are many more questions that the Stalinist leaders are obliged to answer before they can begin to convince a single worker with the seriousness of their united front proposal and even before it can become clear to their own members and supporters what they mean.

Are they ready to repudiate their theory of social-fascism and their declarations of the impermissibility of a bloc with the Socialist parties? Are they ready to repudiate their spurious united front from below policy? Are they ready to repudiate their actions at the Madison Square Garden meeting? Are they ready to liquidate their T.U.U.L. policy of rival unions, which splits the labor movement, and adopt a policy of the militants working within the mass unions?

These are minimum requirements to prove the sincerity of the united front policy, to prove that the formal offer made means a genuine united front. However, mere declarations and mere formal proposals are not sufficient. It is necessary to adopt a policy which in all the practical daily activities of the Stalinist party proves by deeds that its interests are identical with those of the working class, that it has no separate factional motives and that it means the professed united front proposal seriously.

For us this question does not present difficulties. We stand squarely for the Leninist united front policy. We are ready at all times to contribute all in our power towards a genuine united front of Communist and Socialist and also trade union organizations against the attacks upon the workers by the bosses and their government, and against the rise of fascism. In that there must be preserved the right of mutual criticism and independence of organizations. Do not bind your own hands! There must be no common platform, but agreement on practical aims to be respected and to be honored. To keep separate banners, but to strike untidily must be the objective.

—ARNE SWABECK.

MOONLIGHT EXCURSION

Saturday, August 18th, 1934

Dancing
Entertainment
Refreshments

S. S. SEAGATE

Leaving Pier 11, East River, foot Wall St., at 6 P.M.

Ticket \$1.00

Auspicess: International Workers School, 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.



Fight Cripples Strike of New York Painters

What amazes the trade-unionist of average honesty and intelligence, and fills him with disgust, is the ease with which the corrupt Zausner machine is running roughshod over what every painter thought were the natural and legal rights of members inside their own union.

For years the supporters of Zausnerism have proudly boasted that the union men in the Brotherhood are a class apart from the rest of the painters, that they possess skill, courage and brains, and that under no circumstances would they permit themselves to be victimized and enslaved by any group of self-appointed bureaucrats and gangsters. But—as alas and alack—another boast has become a myth and degenerated into a tragedy!

Wide Open Racketeering

Racketeering flourishes most freely at the present time in the Painters union. It is supposed to be un-American in principle, but seems to be really American in practice. The union constitution, the Executive Board and the local leaders have the power to stamp out this pestilence, but it does not, because it has become a racket itself. It is probably impossible to exaggerate the corruption of the union leaders and officials. They impose enormous sums of taxes and assessments on all kinds of pretext and coolly pocket the money as they did during the strike a year ago when more than \$100,000 were collected from painters inside of four months. Now the District Council reports that it is broke again, and what is more, has made a loan of \$25,000 and is negotiating for another loan of the same amount. All of this is expected to be paid out from the forthcoming work tax, which is to be 50 cents a day for every working member.

The Zausner machine makes loans, then doubles and multiplies its debts without creating any improvement for the painters. The painters have informed the officials in the past of their inability to pay dues and taxes. But the union constitution, by-laws and brother-in-laws and outlaws have held him up, walked on him, sat upon him, flattened him out, squeezed and terrorized him until he does not know what, where, who or why he is. These laws compel him to pay per capita tax, work tax, kickbacks and when dead probably also an inheritance tax.

The "Brilliant" Strike

This "brilliant strike" (Daily Worker, August 6) is now in its second week. Nothing has been accomplished so far. The leaders are unwilling to embarrass the bosses with picketing and the rank-and-file has become completely demoralized and disorganized. The former have already signed up with nearly 200 independent bosses in a seven-hour day. In actuality their scale is \$5.00 per day with no limit to working hours. The object is that money should start rolling in immediately, because the strike is a "source of income" for the leaders. The membership, on their part, do

(Continued on Page 4)

General Strike in Knit Goods Trade

Three thousand more knit goods workers walked out yesterday to join the twelve thousand who answered the strike call of their unions on Thursday. Of the eighteen thousand workers who ratified the strike proposal a couple of weeks ago, fifteen thousand have responded while the remainder are expected out within the next few days.

The Knit Goods Workers Union and Locals 155 and 2085, under whose joint leadership the strike is conducted demand a 35-hour week instead of the former 37½-hour schedule, recognition of the union, a guaranteed minimum wage, and abolition of the speed-up.

The walkout has caused complete paralysis of knit goods manufacturing operations in New York and New Jersey. The Metropolitan Knitted Goods Ass'n has shut down all of their 200 plants in the Metropolitan area.

Ben Golden, representative of the Labor Board here, and erstwhile ally of the employers, has called bosses' and strikers' representatives to a meeting at which he will attempt to "mediate" the differences. So far union leaders have stood pat on the demand for a thirty-five hour week.

In New Jersey, where the courts recently tried to legalize picketing, several strikers were arrested while distributing leaflets. Ten strikers were arrested in New York on the trumped up charge of disorderly conduct.

Report Silver Shirts Arming in San Diego

The danger of the rapid growth of the fascist movement in America can be adduced from the startling testimony recently given to a Congressional committee investigating the activities of the Silver Shirts in the San Diego region of California. A direct link was established between the Nazi government of Berlin and purchases of arms by their American emulators for the purpose of training an American Storm Troop section.

The disclosures revealing a connection between the German government and Pelley's organization pointed to Dr. George Gysseling. The latter, Berlin vice-consul in Los Angeles, refused to appear before the committee, claiming diplomatic immunity. The immediate cause for his name being involved was a mysterious check for \$215 coming from the office of the Consul, which it is believed was used as payment for the purchase of arms and ammunition by the San Diego Silver Shirts.

Link Between Nazis and Silver Shirts

A further link was seen between the latter organization and the German National Socialists in the parallelism existing between the two organizations, and in the professed admiration by those leading the American movement of the Hitler movement in Germany.

Aping the German movement, the Pelley organization has carried on a vehement campaign against all Communists, Socialists and Jews. They have demanded the dismissal of the "Jewish advisers" of President Roosevelt, Morgenthau and Baruch. In addition they have carried on a campaign against parliamentary government, calling for an outright dictatorship.

The investigation further revealed that besides having swastikas prominently displayed about their homes, the Silver Shirts have set up Storm Troop groups on the German model. It was for these Storm Troops that the arms and ammunition was purchased with this check coming from the office of the Consul General.

The testimony before the committee revolved about these disclosures. It was pointed out that regular drill was carried on in strict military style, in many cases having army officers leading the groups. Rifles and ammunition of regulation U. S. army and navy stock was being used by the group.

A Marine corporal who had been sent into the Storm Troop group by the intelligence service of the army to investigate the disappearance of these rifles, revealed that some of them had been stolen, while others had been obtained for the Storm Troops by governmentals officials in sympathy with the fascist organization. The corporal claimed that the office of the sheriff of San Diego county as well as the police department of San Diego had direct connections with the Silver Shirts.

He also gave testimony to the effect that elaborate plans had been made by the Storm Troops to break up the May Day demonstration of last spring. The failure of any large demonstrations materializing probably prevented a serious clash from occurring.

The aim and tactic of the Silver Shirts is made sufficiently clear. Their goal is a fascist state in which all labor organizations, political as well as trade union will be wiped out. The only answer that can be given to these embryo fascist organizations is an answer in kind. They must be physically wiped out, today, while they are still weak and insignificant. A campaign for the extermination of the fascist movement is something that the working class will have to undertake sooner or later. The more speedily it is done the more easily will the task be accomplished, and the more quickly completed.

How the workers feel about the NRA has been indicated by the numerous strikes throughout the country. The bosses, however, registered their pleasures in quite another manner,—by the amount of profit they sweat from their wage slaves.

While the N. Y. Times editorially cautions the workers against striking at this time because there is a decline in business activity, the great steel mills which are considered a barometer of business activity generally, announce huge dividends for its stockholders.

The U. S. Steel Corporation announced its highest profit in three years. While last year their profits amounted to a measly \$4,881,554 for the quarter ending June 30th, their profits for the same quarter this year amounted to \$21,082,000.

89,000 Represented as Illinois Jobless Organize

Marking one of the greatest forward steps in the organization of the unemployed in this country, representatives of 89,000 jobless workers gathered in St. Louis, Illinois, and established the Illinois Workers Alliance.

100 delegates from 138 groups in forty-seven counties in Illinois climaxed eight months intense organizational activity in this convention. This new movement no doubt will be one of the great stepping stones towards a national mass movement that will give the unemployed a powerful weapon in the battle against starvation rations of government relief.

Condemn Roosevelt Program

Resolutions were adopted by the first convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance condemning the failure of the Roosevelt administration to supply "even the most meager standards of subsistence relief for our troubles." The convention took a clear stand towards the policy of organized waste as embodied in that ingenious child of the brain trust, the A.A.A., which was attacked for its "program of disguised subsidies to large banks, corporations, loan and mortgage companies, for its large scale destruction of food and crops."

A comprehensive program of immediate demands was accepted by the delegates among which are cash relief, unemployment insurance, work for all at union wages and representation of I.W.A. members on all relief boards.

For Abolition of Capitalism

Pointing out the trends towards Fascism and war, the resolution concluded with a call for the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers republic. In a true non-partisan spirit all members of the I.W.A. were

urged to support the candidates of all working class parties pledged to the overthrow of the profit system.

Holding out a hand of solidarity to the employed workers and the organized labor movement here and internationally, the declaration of principles avows its support of all labor and farmer organizations in the common battle against oppression and exploitation.

Militant Executive Board

An executive board among whom are men and women who have fought not only in the interests of the unemployed but whose names have been distinguished in the struggles of the Illinois coal miners was elected at the convention. Ed Morgan and Otto Sturm, both of St. Louis, were designated respectively chairman and secretary of the Illinois Workers Alliance. Other members of the executive board are Katherine De Torre, Simon Trojar, Paul Rasmussen, Jerry Johnson, Archie Crabtree, Ralph Cox, Glen Bullock, R. M. Hendrickson, Harold Kennedy and Jim Shipley. The majority of these men and women come from the battle-scarred mine communities of Illinois.

The first meeting of the newly elected executive board met soon after the convention and adopted a program of action to put their convention decisions into effect immediately. Six field organizers were appointed to spread the message and build the organization in those territories where it has not as yet penetrated. Mass demonstrations and strikes on relief projects were projected by the committee wherever it was necessary to bring to bear the might of organization to win the demands of the jobless.

The Illinois Workers Alliance has a great future. More power to it!

Detroit Automobile Workers Revolt Against Treacherous A. F. of L. Policy

Revolt is rising in accelerated tempo throughout the automobile centers and in the newly formed Federal Unions in the United Automobile Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor. Press reports have it that 7,000 workers in the Hudson Motor Car Corporation in Detroit have broken with the A. F. of L. and that hundreds of men in the General Motors Truck and the Fisher Body locals in Pontiac have indicated their readiness to support the move. The new organization resulting from this split is called the Associated Automobile Workers of America.

Danger of Craft Unionism

The recent conference held in Detroit on June 23 could do nothing but occasion the greatest suspicion of the automobile workers in the motives of Green and Collins, chairman of the National Council of Automobile Workers and A. F. of L. representative. These reactionaries resisted the formation of an international union and kept the automobile workers in the uncertainty of Federal Unions affiliated to the central body of the A. F. of L. That the suspicion of the workers in Detroit was not unfounded is shown in an article in the American Federationist for August which states that the reason for not organizing the union into an independent union is because "the unions are new; their officers require training and guidance from experienced union men; their financial situation is not strong enough. . . ."

In such a program the danger of craft unionism, ineffective against the mighty General Motors and obsolete in the mass production industries, looms big.

Secondly, although not mentioned in statements by Arthur Greer, leader of the insurgents, there is the huge and growing discontent with the sell-out agreement engineered by Roosevelt and agreed to by Green and Co. on March 25 of this year. Throughout the reports by representatives of automobile workers in various factories appearing in the July issue of the American Federationist—reports which are completely devoid of any fighting spirit—there are complaints that the "president's agreement" is not working out. They state—although in the tone of salesmen making a monthly report to a corporation—that they have not secured recognition from the bosses who everywhere refuse even to meet with the workers' representatives, that the National Labor Board of the NRA has done nothing for the auto workers.

"Patriotic Duty"

"This settlement," says William Collins in the same issue of the Federationist, speaking of the betrayal in March, "was by no means satisfactory to the unions. Nevertheless union representatives looked

upon it as their patriotic duty to accept the settlement, since it was the direct request of President Roosevelt that they should do so; it was accepted on the assurance of the President that it was the best way out of a situation which might very well prove serious not only to the automobile industry but to the country as a whole, and might retard the entire recovery program." Is it any wonder that the gathering storms of indignation at this treachery have finally burst?

There is no doubt that the action of the Detroit workers in the Hudson plant is the expression of a forward movement of the rank and file. As such it is a step that may herald big things in the automobile industry which will have immense repercussions throughout the entire labor movement. The strike of the auto workers for union recognition is long overdue. The accumulated grievances and sufferings of the men on the conveyor line will lead them sooner or later to challenge the power of the Automobile trust in a struggle that will teach lessons in militancy to the workers everywhere.

That the capitalist class recognizes this eventuality is seen in an editorial comment in the N. Y. Herald Tribune. This revolt, it says, "is capable of leading on to radicalism, extremism, even the class struggle—as the reported dissatisfaction of the Hudson workers with the A. F. of L. role in the Pacific Strike may indicate."

Conservative Leadership

Whether the move of the Hudson workers is premature or not cannot very well be judged from here. Time alone will tell that story. The greatest danger to this new union, however, is from the reactionary leadership that has seized control of it. The spokesman, Arthur Greer, is an outspoken conservative and class collaborator. He says in his report to the Federationist: "In meeting with the management we have up to this time shown them various grievances, thus far presented which are not only beneficial to the employees but the management as well. We are building up a mutual confidence that is desired." It is clear that he has placed himself at the head of the new union in order to crush its militancy and steer it into harmless channels.

As yet there have been no signs of a Left wing. Without the insurgent movement is bound to go the way of the Progressive Miners—extinction; with it the auto workers can place an entirely new complexion on the labor movement.

The question for the left wing, in this instance, is not dual unionism but how to remain with the masses of dissatisfied workers so as to lead them on the road of militancy and struggle.

Drivers Ranks Hold Firm As Bosses Committee of 166 Begins to Crack

"Confidence is Returning" Says Artful Dodger Roosevelt

One of the dignities of the presidency is the art of talking much and saying little. Franklin D. Roosevelt once again showed himself to be a master of the dodging profession in his speech at Green Bay, Wisconsin on August 9.

Those who expected an expression of policy will be sadly disappointed in Roosevelt's address. Those who know his role will at once recognize the skillful game of playing for popular support by promising to promote the commonweal and boasting the taps of milk and honey that have been opened during his administration.

Roosevelt returned from his good-will trip to Hawaii aboard a battleship to find the nation he had hoped to reduce to tranquillity stirred up to turmoil. Strikes everywhere. Pickets murdered. Troops on the streets. Martial law declared in Minneapolis. NRA arbitration authorities taking the leadership of the strikebreakers. Bosses openly defying the sham of section 7a. Johnson heading the red-baiters. Business stagnating and unemployment on the increase.

Very Discreet Omissions

All this passed over Roosevelt like water off a duck's back. A naive person would surmise that there were no newspapers in the delightful millionaire's trip made by the president. That is the impression he would like to convey. Roosevelt's silence on these matters is deliberate. It would be incorrect for him to express his open satisfaction with the crushing of the Frisco general strike. It would be unwise for him to expose his hand by an outright endorsement of NRA strikebreaking. It would be bad politics for him to condone the willful lassitude of Labor Board administrators in permitting flagrant violations of Section 7a. No use pouring salt on open wounds, Roosevelt reckons.

But let there be no misunderstanding, the President did say something positive. He reassured the capitalist class that he means no money business. "The government intends no injury to honest business. . . . In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul." In other words: Bankers and bosses! I am your faithful servant. The workers may endure hunger and privation but to separate you from any part of your bloated profits would be robbery.

Far be it from me!

"Confidence is Returning"

Now comes the demagogic par excellence. "Confidence is returning. . . . Yes, confidence to the farmer—for whom the great heart of Franklin bleeds—who was forced by the A.A.A. to destroy his crops only to find himself ruined when the drought swept over the agricultural areas. That would be confidence in capitalist insanity."

Confidence is returning to "the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration rights for which they have fought unsuccessfully for a generation. . . . The steel and the auto workers, deceived, betrayed, a company union rammed down their throats with the help of Washington, have had a rebirth in confidence—not in Roosevelt, but in their own strength. The thousands of other workmen, who have been cheated out of the rights they were about to win for 'the first time in a generation' by the con-ning arbitration set-ups of the NRA, will no doubt find a way to show their 'returning confidence.'"

Credit Where It Is Due

But Roosevelt is right. "Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black list of today with the many years gone by. . . . to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find government co-operating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance. . . . And why shouldn't 'confidence' return to them. Profits have been restored. Huge subsidies have poured into the coffers of the plunderbund. The banks have been saved from collapse. Credit should be given where credit is due."

The New Deal, concludes Roosevelt, "seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual and brain workers (read: parasites) into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen. . . . This rhetoric of a class collaborationist utopia comes only a year and a half too late. It comes when the workers are learning that this 'brotherhood of freemen' has been a Hell of slaves and masters, of vomit gas, bullets and bayonets, of exploiters and exploited. The real 'brotherhood of freemen' which is not the enslaving 'new deal' but socialism, remains to be achieved."

FOR A HOT TIME!

The steamer "Sengate" has been chartered by the New York Local of the Communist League of America and the International Workers School for a moonlight sail up the scenic Hudson River to Bear Mountain and back.

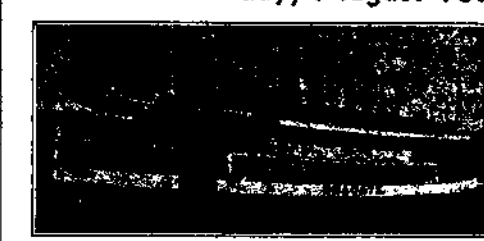
There are three decks to the boat. Those who wish to rest after a week's toil and enjoy the cool breezes of the beautiful Hudson will have the upper deck. The same goes for those who find their pleasure in conversation and discussion. The middle deck is equipped for dancing. The music is furnished by the Rainbow Ramblers Jazz Band. In addition we have arranged for a program of entertainment which will include among others a noted violinist, Mr. Ellis and a singer from the Hippodrome Opera Co., Mr. Farber. On the lower deck of the boat you will find refreshments of the most delectable variety, prepared by skilled food workers.

Tickets for this excursion are available at the City headquarters of the League, 144 Second Ave. The price is \$1.00. The boat will leave Pier 11, East River foot of Wall Street at 6 P.M.

Do not miss this event. You will spend an enjoyable evening and help us financially at the same time. Do not forget the date: Saturday, August 18.

MOONLIGHT EXCURSION

Saturday, August 18th, 1934



Dancing
Entertainment
Refreshments

S. S. SEAGATE

Leaving Pier 11, East River, foot Wall St., at 6 P.M.

Ticket \$1.00

Auspices: International Workers School, 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

574 Backed By Workers In Mass Meet

Minneapolis, August 9. — While the ranks of 574 holds solid in the face of insuperable obstacles as the third week of the truckers strike reached its end deep cracks in the bosses' front are becoming more noticeable every day.

The beginning of a partial victory for the fighting drivers were in sight here when scores of small trucking employers began to operate vehicles after having consented to abide by the Haas-Dunnigan mediation proposal which has been accepted by the union.

On the other hand, the big enterprises, the notorious "108" most closely allied with the Citizens Alliance and instigators of the infamous red-scare, adamantly refuse to deal with 574 which they claim is led by Communists. Yet, the pinch of the strike which is eating away at their profits is making itself felt even among the recalcitrants. Two of the firms associated with the "108" have broken its discipline, signaling the Haas-Dunnigan pact. Twenty others are reported to have wanted to follow their example but were prevented from doing so by the Citizens Alliance.

Meanwhile martial law continues here. The freedom of the three strike leaders imprisoned by the military and the return of the strike headquarters to the union were a direct result of the call for a general protest strike of 574. The fever of indignation at their arrest and the sentiment for a general strike spread like wildfire throughout the Minneapolis labor movement. The conservative labor leaders of the Central Labor Union went scurrying to Olson, pleading with him to free the Dunnes and Brown and return the Sutorious Garage to 574 because of the unpleasant situation which might have been created for them if this was not done.

The role of these leaders has been most timid and cowardly towards martial law and the raids on union headquarters. Every move of theirs in recent days has been to whitewash Olson and hide his strikebreaking acts. They attempt to explain the raid on 574 headquarters as an act to "help" the strikers. Just how is not stated.

Governor Olson is continuing his double-faced maneuvers. On the one hand, forced by the pressure of the truck drivers and the working men of Minneapolis, he issues an order refusing military permits to all concerns not agreeing to the Federal Mediators' plan and on the other he keeps locked up in the military stockade 120 of the most militant picketers and picket captains who are the only ones who can really keep scab trucks from moving. These men are held on no other charge than peaceful picketing, the right for which is supposed to be guaranteed in the laws of the country and protected by the "friend of labor" Olson.

Now that the damage has been done and the blow of martial law already delivered to the strike, Olson is making desperate if not successful efforts to retrieve his reputation as a pro-labor man in the eyes of the strikers. This accounts for his denunciation of the police whom he claimed set "a deliberate trap" for the pickets on Bloody Friday. This statement was made at the Federal Court hearing where the employers applied for an injunction against martial law. The bosses, at the hearing, wanted the troops to be placed under the absolute control of Sheriff Wall of Hennepin County. The Sheriff certainly could not do a better job against the drivers than Olson with his soft-spoken phrases.

Answering the call of the union and testifying to the support it is receiving from the laboring population here, 40,000 workers massed on the knoll of the Parade on Monday night where they listened to addresses by union leaders who explained their attitude towards Governor Olson, martial law and the proposed "settlement" offered by the bosses.

This settlement, which offers no wage increases and would discriminate against outstanding pickets,

(Continued on Page 4)

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Conspiracy Against the Unions

open shop. —JACK WEBB

QUESTION BOX

COMRADE K. T., Waukegan, Ill.—If you will re-examine the "Question Box" of July 14th, you will note that it does not say that the workers in the Soviet Union control the means of production, but that they own them. In modern society, the means of production are either the property of the capitalist class or else the property of the proletariat. Despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, it still belongs to the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Your statement, based upon your own experience, and which is undoubtedly true, that the Russian workers do not have anything to say about the management of industry, etc., does not contradict this. This merely means that workers' democracy has been destroyed; that the proletarian dictatorship is sick. Lack of space does not permit us to print your letter in full, nor to go completely into the questions you raise. We are taking the liberty of sending you Trotsky's "The Soviet Union and the 4th International" which goes fully into the matter.

Y.C.L., Brownsville.—The Stalinist position on the Saar plebiscite before it came out for the "status quo" is indicated by the following quotation, which is the only one handy at present: "We are and remain in the Saar district a part of the German proletariat, and we fight for the abolition of the frontiers and the return of our class brothers. We are not frightened by the fascist terror, we are strengthened by the pledge of millions of German workers for the revolution and the will to fight for a free socialist Soviet Germany." (Quotation from the Saarbrücken Arbeiterzeitung in the International Press Correspondent, April 21, 1933, p. 411) A question on the Saar referendum was answered in the "Question Box" of July 28.

Your other question is covered by the following answer to a neighbor of yours.

BROWNSVILLE WORKER.—What you state is quite correct. There did appear in the Daily Worker of August 8, 1925 an article by comrade Trotsky, directed against Max Eastman and the pamphlet "Since Lenin Died", in which the rumors of a split in the party and the existence of Lenin's will are denied. To the personal knowledge of this editor comrade Trotsky has never directly repudiated this document although many of the articles which he has written since that time, such as the article in the latest New Internationalist are indirect repudiations of it.

Your question, of course, implies doubt as to the existence of the will. However, Stalin himself admitted its existence: "... It has been proved over and over again that nobody has concealed or is concealing anything, that Lenin's Testament was addressed to the 15th Party Congress and that it, this Testament was read at that Party Congress (Cries of 'Quite true!')

"It is said that in the Testament in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. This is perfectly true. Let us read that passage, although it has already been read repeatedly at the Plenary session: 'Stalin is too uncouth and this fault of his, which is tolerable within our intimate group and in view of the connections between us, becomes unbearable from one who holds the post of General Secretary. I therefore suggest that the comrades should discuss the question of dismissing Comrade Stalin from this post and appointing to it another person who, in all other respects, is only distinguished from Stalin by one quality, i.e., that of being more tolerant, loyal, civil and considerate towards the comrades, less moody etc.' (J. Stalin, Speech delivered at the October Plenary Meeting of the C. C. and the C. C. G. of the C.P.S.U., International Press correspondence, November 17, 1927, p. 1428, emphasis ours.)

Now as to the reason for Trotsky's 1925 article. In the same speech is contained the evidence which shows that, under the pressure of party discipline, he was forced to sign the document: "As Eastman had formerly associated with comrade Trotsky, we, comrades Rykov, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Stalin, and Molotov, members of the Polit Bureau, requested (!!) comrade Trotsky to disassociate himself from Eastman. ... Comrade Trotsky actually disassociated himself from Eastman and made a statement to that effect in the Press, which was published. ...

If there is doubt left in your mind as to the nature of Stalin's "request", just bear in mind that, as his speech shows, he knew of the existence of the will at the time he and all the other members of the Polit Bureau "requested" Trotsky to deny its existence.

COMRADE E. F. D., New York.—We certainly "do not disregard the hallo box." The following briefly gives the Communist position on this:

"We are Marxists and not anarchists. We are supporters of the utilization of parliament: it is not an instrument for transforming society, but a means of rallying the workers." (L. Trotsky, "A Talk with the Socialist Workers", Militant, April 1 and 15, 1933.)

"... participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary platform is obligatory for the party of the revolutionary proletariat just for the purpose of educating the backward masses of its own class, first in order to awaken and enlighten the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant mass. Just so long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and other reactionary institutions, you are bound to work inside of them for the very reason that there are still workmen made fools by priests and the remoteness of village life; otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers." (Lenin, "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism," emphasis in original.)

Pioneer Notes

"War and the Fourth International"

You have probably read the ad in another page of the Militant for "War and the Fourth International", the Draft Theses of the International Secretariat of the League of Internationalist Communists. We take this occasion to stress the great importance and timeliness of this pamphlet. With the imperialist powers heading at breakneck speed towards a new imperialist slaughter, in a situation where any "incident" may light the powder keg of a world conflagration, the question of the struggle against war must become uppermost in the mind of every revolutionist. The theses of the International Secretariat is the most comprehensive Marxist analysis on this problem since the first four Congresses of the Comintern. No class conscious worker can afford to be without this pamphlet. It sells for ten cents a copy and seven cents in bundles of five or more.

Bound Volumes of the Militant for 1933 have recently been received from the bindery and can be obtained from us at \$1.50 per copy. We do not need to agitate our readers as to the enormous value of possessing one of these volumes. In them are writings by comrade Trotsky which cannot be found anywhere else in the English language, as well as the great store of revolutionary tactics and strategy which the Militant has offered its readers throughout its existence.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY--IN 1914 AND TODAY

Twenty years ago today the imperialist war ... The World War of 1914-18 was preceded by a series of "Incidents". No more important than many preceding "Incidents" was the final signal at Sarajevo.

A series of "Incidents" are now again taking place. For the second time in a year Austria last week became the likely crucible of the world carnage. Manchuria, the Saar, or a dozen other spots will provide the next occasions for war. As the Balkans burned for two years before the conflagration spread, so, today, conflict rages in Chaco, guerrilla warfare continues in Manchuria, Britain, France and Japan wage warfare against the Chinese peasantry.

Where shall the masses of the world turn for leadership against imperialist war?

August 4th is not only the anniversary of imperialist war. It is, even more significantly for the workers of the world, the anniversary of the betrayal of the masses to the war machine by the Social Democracy. Twenty years ago today the German Socialists in the Reichstag voted war credits to the Kaiser.

How did it happen? Haase, who made the declaration in the Reichstag, was only a week before denouncing the war-mongers from the forum of the International Socialist Bureau. July 29th gigantic mass meetings of Socialists throughout Germany were organized under the slogan: "War Against War." On July 31st, martial law having been declared, came the final message of the Socialist Party Executive: "Up to this last moment the international proletariat has done its duty. ... So we must look at that which lies before us, firmly, unflinchingly. ..."

Meanwhile, the party organ, Vorwarts, was sounding the note of revolt against war, denouncing any war of whatever kind waged by capitalists. Even when mobilization was ordered July 31 Vorwarts continued to denounce its own bourgeoisie. On August 3, Vorwarts denounced German "patriotism" and those who suddenly talked of fighting "for freedom against Czarism". Yet, that very afternoon, it had already been decided, and the next day the Socialists in the Reichstag voted war credits. In the words of their official declaration, "for the protection of our country", "in its hour of danger Germany may rely upon us." How could this happen?

We have on numerous occasions pointed out the unrealistic character of the program of fighting war with a general strike, which

An Appeal for Robins and Gras

The argument of a motion for a certain certificate of reasonable doubt, which if granted would free Harold Robins and Andre Gras from bail, was postponed on Thursday at the instance of the District Attorney.

Victimized for their loyalty to the labor movement in the recent general strike of hotel workers, Robins is serving a term of two to four years, and Gras from one to two years, in Sing Sing.

Robins, an organizer for the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, and Gras, a striker, were sentenced by Judge Corrigan of General Sessions, a judge whom the labor movement knows for many sentences against striking workers. Their accuser in an assault charge was a chief who was not even eligible for union membership. This was the only "eye witness". Despite this chief's contradiction of his own evidence, the lack of any other evidence, and despite a host of witnesses for the defense, the workers were convicted.

The Robins-Gras Defense Committee, a broad united front of political organizations and trade unions, has opened a fight for appealing the case. The appeal will be argued in the Supreme Court on October 9th. The Socialist Lawyers Association is handling the legal work.

Meanwhile the Robins-Gras Defense Committee is attempting to secure the certificate of reasonable doubt, in order to have the two workers released on bail. If the District Attorney does not arrange further postponements, the certificate may be granted next week. The Committee is appealing to all organizations and sympathetic individuals to rush funds for bail and the costs of the appeal to the office of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee, 22 East 17th Street, New York City, Room 731.

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was the pre-war program of Social Democracy. But this was scarcely the reason for the outright chauvinism of the main wing of Social Democracy, and the equally shameful pacifism of the centrists who either voted war credits or while not openly supporting the war, defended the right of socialists to do so. No, social chauvinism and social pacifism was not caused by their unrealistic anti-war program, because they didn't even get to the point of trying to start a general strike, or even raising the slogan.

Causes of Social-Chauvinism

The causes of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism—socialists in words, chauvinist or pacifist in deeds—lie deeper than the specific anti-war program which is violated. The three groupings of socialists during the World War was, as a whole, a direct reflection of the pre-war groupings on fundamental principles. Right wingers became chauvinists, centrists became either chauvinists or pacifists of the Kautsky stripe, which meant to defend the chauvinists and to stick to the bounds of legality in advocating the war. Only the left wing—led by Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—remained adamant on the war question. Turn the imperialist war into civil war, cried the Bolsheviks, and they did. Then to the horrible crime of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the Social Democracy added the horrible crime of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie in the civil war.

As war is the continuation by forcible means of day-by-day politics, so the position on war of groups within the working class is a continuation of their general politics. If the masses' hatred of war led the Social Democratic leader-

ship to talk general strike before war, it was their general politics that prevailed when war did break out. They did not throw aside their general politics, with its worship of legality at any price, their fetishism of peaceful means, their worship of the sacredness of the capitalist state, their practical class-collaboration. The weight of this reformism crushed the specific anti-war program. When, with the outbreak of the war, the choice became clear: Either fight the capitalists or accept the war—the reformists made their choice and the centrists went with them. This happened wherever reformism held control, including America.

American Socialists in War

There is a myth abroad in the land about the conduct of American Socialists during the last war. Let us tell the truth. The chances for honorable action by American Socialists were great. First, the war had been going on for three years, with consequent disillusionment everywhere. Second, the party had a strong left wing—which later split off to become Communist. Despite these advantages, the true story of the American Socialist Party, and especially of most of the outstanding leaders, is a shameful one.

Within two months of the St. Louis convention the S. P. leadership was organizing the "Peoples Council", hand in hand with liberals and pacifists. The "Council" said nothing about opposing war, nor did it even discuss its causes and the necessity of eradicating them. Soon after, the Socialist leadership of the needle trade unions frankly came out in support of the war. In April, 1918 Algeron Lee and six other Socialist leaders in New York voted for the

Third Liberty Loan. In August, the National Executive Committee passed a resolution which said nothing about the war, except to denounce the Kaiser! Meyer London sat in Congress and neglected every opportunity of manifesting serious opposition to war. Victor Berger was frankly pro-German. To the protests of the left wing against all these outright violations of the St. Louis Resolution, the Socialist Party leadership turned a deaf ear.

How deadly did Eugene Debs pay for the mistaken belief that there was room in one party for all shades of belief? When the left wing demanded the expulsion, early in 1916, of Charles Edward Russell who had already turned pro-war, Debs pleaded with the left wing to permit Russell to stay. What was the result of this policy? Those of the outright chauvinists who did not leave the party, as Russell did, joined together with the pacifists to keep the party impotent. Debs went to jail; but Hillquit, Solomon, Waldman, Panken & Co. could speak from every platform in the country with no fear of arrest—for they said nothing objectionable.

And even after the war was over, in the Assembly investigation of 1921, Lee and Hillquit assured the Assembly that the St. Louis Resolution was "not an incitement to the destruction of war work." Waldman swore that New York State was a "peoples government", the U. S. government "not quite" a capitalist government, and declared he would fight for his country "to repel any invasion" and that he favored necessary preparation to do so. Waldman had also voted for militia appropriations, in direct violation of the party constitution which made votes for military expenditures grounds for expulsion.

If the Old Guard and the centrists did these things after the St. Louis Declaration, what will they do in the next war? The Old Guard is by now largely and openly chauvinist, and, at the least, against any mass opposition to war. The "Militants" and the rest of the party majority which voted for the recent Declaration of Principles at Detroit, are today playing the role that Hillquit, Waldman and Algeron Lee played in 1917. Lip service to the unrealistic weapon of the general strike will be more than outweighed by the general reformist orientation of the Militants. Again we repeat: War is the continuation of day-by-day politics.

Those who, like the "Militants", are committed to the reformist fetishism of bourgeois legality and peaceful methods, will choose bourgeois legality when the choice becomes: Either fight against war or capitulate to bourgeois legality. Spokesman after spokesman of the party majority has defended the new Detroit Declaration on the grounds that, as the St. Louis Resolution did not drive the party into illegality, the new Declaration will permit the party to remain legal. True! For the same reason that worked in 1917. Then the Socialist Party remained loyal to bourgeois legality and would not fight war. Tomorrow the Socialist Party will remain true to its traditional reformism which, in war time, can only mean taking sides with the bourgeoisie against the interests of the workers of the world.

The revolutionary struggle against imperialist war will be waged only under one banner: THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Starvation Wages for German Workers

Hamburg (TIS).—The starvation level to which the German workers' wages under the Nazi regime have sunk, is startlingly revealed by the Nazis themselves in an extensive wage investigation conducted by the "German Labor Front". The statistical compilation has been published in the official labor magazine "Arbeiterforum" and is based upon the reports of the affiliated trade unions for the month of February, 1934.

The investigation included 16,600,000 workers with a weekly wage total of 435,000,000 Mark. The average weekly income is thus 25.9 Mark, or approximately \$10.00 at the present rate of exchange. It must be kept in mind, however, that the purchasing power is much less since the decline of the German wage level has been accompanied by a steady rise in prices.

The average weekly wages for the various industrial groups are:

Industrial Group	Weekly Wage (Mark)
Building workers	28.5
Miners	24.7
Wood and Lumber Workers	26.8
Agricultural workers	20.8
(Including goods given in lieu of cash)	
Metal workers	32.1
Textile workers	21.4
Tobacco workers	13.5
Stone and earthen workers	20.5
Public workers	28.8
Leather workers	29.5
Food workers	25.6
Other factory workers	20.0

The report also calls attention to the fact that the wages in numerous cases were much less than the above-mentioned average figures. Since February 1934, wages have shown a further considerable decline. Before Hitler's accession to power wages were often twice as high as the average given above.

WORLD OF LABOR

MASSACRE IN CHILE

We are in receipt of definite information concerning the recent peasant uprising in the little village of Ranquil, Chile, which was featured a few weeks ago in the press as a Communist led revolt of the peasant masses. The truth of the matter is as follows: Having no other means of subsistence, a group of unemployed workers numbering about 800, ascended an uncultivated mountain valley some months ago and making their home in that unoccupied region, commenced the cultivation of the land. The ground was cleared, the soil was plowed, and at last it was time to reap the harvest. At this point the "Producers Society of Industry and Commerce", claiming that this land was part of the 40,000 acre estate of one of their members, the colonists were ordered to move and upon their refusal the troops were sent in. A frightful massacre followed, in which the colonists gave a good accounting of themselves, but which could have but one result. In spite of the declared solidarity of the Chilean workers, accompanied by the hysterical antics of the Stalinists who claimed they were "leading a revolution", the colonists of Ranquil found their efforts to gain a livelihood, drowned in their own blood.

The Chilean government, seeking a plausible excuse for the massacre, claimed that there was a Communist insurrection afoot. The Stalinists, fell right in with this maneuver of the reaction by claiming the same thing when nothing was farther from the truth. Among the irresponsible followers of an irresponsible movement, the Chilean Stalinists merit the first prize. Not so long ago, when the sailors of the fleet rebelled in Coquimbo, these poor clowns issued fantastic proclamations, claiming to have organized the outbreak. When the uprising failed due to lack of organization, it then became apparent that the officers themselves had inspired the whole thing. Other cases could be cited, such as that of the carabinieri conspiracy of Captain Villouta; and each time we find the Stalinist party of Chile claiming leadership.

While making no claims to lead non-existent revolutions, the Communist Left of Chile is laying the basis of the new party that will be found when the time arrives, in the leadership of the Chilean workers' revolution. New forces rally daily to the banner of the Fourth International in Chile, Stalinism loses ground daily, the Socialist Party is heading for a split, and the Chilean Communist Left announces that the first issue of its theoretical magazine, The Fourth International will soon be off the press. In this way the basis is being laid for the new party.

SPAIN

The Spanish Communist Left, while growing organizationally, is distinguishing itself by its printed material. A fortnightly paper La Antorcha is now being published. It is devoted primarily to matters of general popular interest, written in a freer, more popular style, and thus supplements *Comunismo*, the organization's theoretical magazine. Innumerable books and pamphlets, most of them by members of the Spanish Communist Left, have been published in the recent period.

The rightist government of the "republic of workers" is hounding the working class organizations to the very brink of illegality. A new ruling now provides that only regular licensed news vendors may sell the publications of political and working class organizations. It is claimed that this aims at the Fascists as well as the working class organizations. But this is not true, because the Fascists' newspapers have already been forced off the streets by the workers through "direct action" methods.

Mass arrests are taking place in connection with every strike, publications are suspended, and "fines" levied on them before they are permitted to reappear. In spite of all difficulties, however, most of the working class papers still continue to appear with more or less regularity and all of them are attempting to maintain a legal status.

SPANISH YIPSELS FIGHT OPPORTUNISM

Between the radicalization of large sections of its following, and the natural opportunism of many of its leaders, the Socialist movement in Spain is in the throes of an internal crisis. On the one hand, the Socialist Youth Federation at its latest congress declared for the armed insurrection and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; on the other, the party's parliamentary fraction and its leadership generally, orient towards a new coalition with the left republicans. Largo Caballero, president and most outstanding leader of the party, while sincerely striving for a militant leftist policy, attempts to preserve the unity of the heterogeneous movement.

In *Renovacion*, organ of the young socialists, for July 7th, a demand is made for the purging of the party, through the expulsion of the members of the parliamentary fraction. The treacherous policy of capitulation followed by the latter in a whole series of situations in the recent session of the Cortes are the basis of the charges now leveled against the right wing elements, who are making a fetish of parliamentarism and legality in a period of revolutionary agitation. On several occasions the Youth Federation demanded that the S.F. deputies withdraw from the Cortes, a demand which coincided with that raised by the Communist Left.

Recent issues of *Renovacion* publish photographs of Young Socialist Red Shirt detachments in which thousands of uniformed youths can be seen marching and drilling in preparation for the coming struggle. The caption in one issue, hails the "future Spanish Red Army".

NEW PARTY IN AUSTRALIA

Greetings to our Australian comrades who by this time have probably founded a new revolutionary party. We are in receipt of the Draft Program and Policy of the new Workers Party of Australia which was issued in May by the provisional executive committee elected at a conference of the organization in the same month. A twelve page mimeographed bulletin, the draft theses includes an outline on the present world situation, notes on the situation in Australia, their attitude towards the labor party of that country, the Communist party, the trade unions, strikes, the united front, war, defense, immediate issues. It concludes with a constitution. From beginning to end it is a Marxist program worthy of the Communist group that will become the section of the Fourth International in that far-away corner of the world.

The Workers Party of Australia issues a monthly mimeographed theoretical organ called the Militant. A lively revolutionary group, it devotes itself with skill and ability to the political problems in that outpost of the British Empire as well as to the unemployed and trade union movement in which it is active. Similarly the Australian group is thoroughly imbued with the ideas of internationalism which are so well reflected in their paper.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

The United Front

Stifling a Movement

In France the united front has been established between the Communist party and the Socialist party. Both of them were forced into this action by the menace of advancing fascism—either the united front or destruction at the hands of this merciless enemy. This issue is poised on a razor's edge.

This action is a victory for the working class, accomplished by pressure from below. This is not the united front from below, but pressure against the bureaucracy of both parties which despite all their hypocritical lip service, consistently and continuously, during the last few critical years, resisted this unity of action. We have no illusions of a genuine revolutionary policy in the agreement for this united front. Nevertheless we greet this first step as a progressive move for the French proletariat and a vindication of the stand we took long ago.

A Step Forward

While this first step does not represent, as we shall see later, a change in essence of the attitude of the leadership of the two parties, it does represent a change of form which can open up new and great possibilities. It increases the strength of the French proletariat itself. It broadens the field of working class struggle and opens up new perspectives, not only to the possibility of beating back fascism, but also for the emergence of new groupings, leading in a revolutionary direction.

The demand for the united front could no longer be ignored and the leaders of both of the French parties accepted it. The Communist parties in other countries have accepted it and made formal proposals for a united front to the Socialist parties, which have so far been rejected by them. To this date the American Socialist party has failed to answer. Of course, the pressure of the masses for unity of action has not reached the same degree everywhere, although the issues that make it necessary exist. They exist in the United States.

Bureaucrats Fear United Front

Obviously the Socialist party leaders fear the united action of Communist and Socialist workers. Not only do the reactionaries of the old guard fear the broadening and deepening of the struggle against the capitalist attacks, but they are bitterly opposed to any struggle that will bring forward the militancy and revolutionary potentiality of the working class. Among them are outright traitors and chauvinists. But this fear obviously exists also among the "Militants". Speaking for them, Norman Thomas declares that: "What hinders the united front is the intention of the Communists, declared openly in word and deed, to use the united front less against the common enemy than against us in the Socialist party." Questions of intention, of good or bad faith, are, of course important, but they cannot be put above the needs of the class. In doing so, Norman Thomas betrays his own lack of harmony with the working class interests.

Far more decisive than the intentions of anyone are the forces that are set into motion by the historical processes. A united working class, or at least united in action despite what differences may separate its various sections, becomes a distinctly progressive force. And those whose views are on the progressive side have nothing to fear. But that is not the case with the "Militants". By their reformist position they find themselves preoccupied with the function of blurring their differences with the old guard, of adjusting their views to the standpoint of the old guard, including the traitors and chauvinists, at the expense of the struggle of the masses.

A truly left wing, on the other hand, would welcome the opportunity of working class unity of action as its own best reinforcement in the fight against the perfidious reformist bureaucrats. That is what should be expected from the Revolutionary Policy Committee. But it has so far failed miserably as its brothers under the skin, the so-called Militants.

A Practical Test

Here is a practical test. The issue is the working class interests. Those who are maneuvering and playing for time are losing time for the working class. The common enemy does not cease his attacks.

In the United States, it is true, the Communist and the Socialist workers constitute so far only a small section of the working class as a whole. However, some very ferocious assaults have often been set afoot against this conscious minority. Most recently we have witnessed the anti-Communist campaign with its vigilante and police terror on the Pacific Coast. This method of concentrating heavily against a small minority would indicate that the unity of action of the conscious section of Communist and Socialist organizations would have a significance far beyond its numerical scope and would have an effect that would really extend to wide working masses. New inspiration and a new determination to fight and to win would be the

The Task of the Socialist Worker

There are thus very good reasons for the Socialist workers paying the closest attention to this practical test of their party and its leadership. But it is necessary to do more than this. It is necessary for the Socialist workers to demand categorically from their leaders that they make good their pretended claims of favoring working class unity. They should demand from their leaders a genuine united front which will include all workers sections and groups willing to collaborate earnestly in the realization of a definitely stated minimum aims.

In France the united front is confined to the official Socialist party and the Communist party. The revolutionary section, the International Communists, is excluded, apparently by common consent of the bureaucracy of both parties. In reality, as we have said before, it is a social democratic non-aggression pact. That is the reason that there should be no illusions of a revolutionary policy in this pact. In essence it represents an agreement between two centrist parties to the exclusion of the revolutionary wing in the movement. Moreover, the change of the Socialist party to this kind of a united front is primarily dictated by the needs of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as pursued under the Stalinist regime shaped by the theory of Socialist in One Single Country.

Stalinist Foreign Policy

This foreign policy, devoid of revolutionary content, has become based exclusively on the idea of maintaining the status quo within and amongst the capitalist nations as a means of preserving peace under capitalism. It means to endeavor to forestall not only reactionary changes within the capitalist countries, but also revolutionary changes. In France especially, this non-aggression pact endeavors to create a "left" bloc to balance the right bloc (fascism), with the present capitalist government remaining in power.

There is to be no criticism within the limits of the objects of the pact although that is exactly where criticism is imperative. Criticism in action and of actions would not in the least hinder a real united front. In essence this pact is very little different from the German social democratic support of the so-called iron front with Hindenburg as its candidate against Hitler, or the Austrian social democratic support of the Dollfus regime against fascism. It is the Anglo-Russian committee over again in a somewhat different form. This set-up, too, was created ostensibly to prevent intervention in the U.S.S.R., but served as a shield for the betrayers of the general strike and as an instrument to disarm the British revolutionists. In view of this, the revelation that the centrist bureaucracy in both of these French parties semi-openly flirt with the idea of creating one united party should not shock the revolutionists. The formal change of policy executed by the Stalinists is not a real political change but a way whereby they begin to adjust themselves to the attitude of social reformism.

Stimulus of United Front

Despite this perversion of the real united front and its outright reformist implication, even this first step will have far reaching value for the French proletariat. All its latent energies are coming to the fore and will serve as a stimulus, not consciously directed, but of a spontaneous character, to a real struggle against advancing fascism in France. By itself, this will pose revolutionary problems, the very posing of which will have serious repercussions in the proletarian ranks. In this sense it will have additional significance for the world proletariat. Because of this the possibilities, even in this kind of a united front must and attention and wholehearted support from all revolutionists. In France the actions of united struggle are already creating new left wing currents within both parties which are coming into revolt against the parliamentary illusions and the diplomatism from the top; currents that demand that the revolution is a problem to be posed for a solution.

The demand for a united front cannot be ignored for long in other countries, because it grows directly out of the needs of the working class. Revolutionists and all those who desire a genuine united front of mass struggle against fascism, against war and against the capitalist attacks on the workers must be vigilant. It is necessary to penetrate the united front in the making with the idea that a solution to the problems of today can be found ultimately only in the overthrow of capitalism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

NOTICE!

All letters, subscriptions, bundle orders, donations and any inquiries concerning or intended for the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine, are to be addressed to: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, STATION D. P.O. BOX 119, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Coming U. T. W. Convention

Originally scheduled for Sept. 10, the Convention of the United Textile Workers will be held on Monday, August 13th. The reason for this sudden advancement of the date is the tremendous unrest and ferment now going on in all sections of the textile industry. Facing the convention is the most important question of the general strike. Already in Alabama alone 20,000 textile workers are striking; throughout other textile sections, numerous smaller strikes are in progress.

Seven months ago, McMahon, the president of the U. T. W., was able to postpone the general strike on the basis of some phony promises from the NRA. Today the union is faced with either putting up a fight or losing the support of the mass of silk workers.

It is indubitable that the U. T. W. has made great strides forward. U. T. W. locals dot the textile areas in the South and in Pennsylvania. Even in New England where the stench from the past McMahon sell-outs has not yet subsided the U. T. W. is also making headway.

McMahon Spies Autonomy

The silk workers are organized into an autonomous section of the U. T. W., the American Federation of Silk Workers. The idea of autonomy for silk originated in Paterson, the main organized silk center. It was intended to give the silk workers the same status as the Hosiery workers in the solid American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. But the workers in Paterson reckoned without their host, McMahon.

The A. F. S. W. exists as a national organization only on paper. Having

a national secretary, Frank Schweitzer, the union consists only of the large branch in Paterson and a few small locals in Pennsylvania. By paying Schweitzer's wages, McMahon aims not only to restrict the growth of the A. F. S. W. but to slowly choke it to death. The few A. F. S. W. organizers that are sent out to organize, organize the silk workers into pure and simple U. T. W. locals.

Silk Workers Distrust U. T. W.

The danger inherent to McMahon's gang in a real autonomous silk federation is obvious to all, as are the reasons for McMahon's actions. The silk workers, because of their unstable working conditions and their long experience of struggles, are the most militant section of the textiles. Their previous bitter experience with the class collaboration policies of the U. T. W. have made them very distrustful of the parent organization and its corrupt leadership.

The Lovestones, in accordance with their trade union policy, have offered no resistance to McMahon's stifling of the autonomy of the silk workers. And this certainly plays directly into the hands of McMahon. Eli Keller, the general

manager of the Associated Silk Workers, the largest single branch of the A. F. S. W., has made no protest against the sending of organizers into the field and organizing U. T. W. silk locals. On the contrary, he, Keller, expelled militant members of the A. S. W. because they consistently fought for the consolidation and extension of the American Federation of Silk Workers. Moreover no effort was made to unite all the existing craft U. T. W. silk locals in Paterson, together with the A. S. W. into one industrial branch of the American Federation of Silk Workers, although these have loosely amalgamated into a "progressive" federation. Instead the "progressive" Keller is expending most of his energies in organizing the small bosses and "family shops" into a local of the U. T. W.

Paterson Isolated

As a result, Paterson has remained practically isolated from the rest of the silk industry upon which its wage standards are dependent. The low scale of wages in the Pennsylvania and New England silk areas permits the Paterson bosses to beat down almost all the gains of the last strike. This tremendous weakness of the Association forces it to backwater before every offensive of the silk bosses. Naturally, the workers have been getting more and more disgusted with the present union officialdom and its policies. And in this mood lies the greatest danger to the union itself, unless properly organized under a genuine left wing.

Only a firm and militant policy can get the silk workers out of the rest of the textile workers out of the rut they are in. All the evils from which the textile workers are suffering, particularly the spread of unemployment, can be countered in only one way—the establishment of the 6-hour day, 5-day week on higher wage scales. This cannot be gained without a serious fight.

General Strike in Textiles

The question of the general strike in textiles and the organization of the silk workers nationally into the A. F. S. W. are intimately linked together. A solidly organized A. F. S. W., backed by the tremendous prestige of the silk workers throughout the textile industry is the real spearhead of the offensive against the textile operators. A solidly organized A. F. S. W. would be the greatest obstacle in the way of sell-outs. Moreover, a solid autonomous silk organization would point the way to the organization of woolen and worsted workers who are at present unmobilized.

The A. F. S. W. delegates must take the lead in committing the convention to not talk but to action. They must reassert in no uncertain terms the autonomy of the A. F. S. W., and lead in real consolidation of the textile workers for the struggle ahead, especially in organizing for the general strike.

It is up to the Silk Workers. They can win the 30-hour week with substantial wage increases, eliminating the many disgraceful conditions now prevailing in the mills—if they bear in mind their strategic position in textiles and act accordingly.

—SILK WORKER.

Minneapolis Drivers Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

was rejected by the union. In the words of Vincent Dunne in an interview to the *Organizer*: "There are several ridiculous clauses in the bosses' proposal. Whether they are meant seriously or put in merely for trading purposes—it makes no difference. Local 574 is never going to agree to a 'preferential list' which puts the rights of scabs ahead of the rights of union men. The same holds good for the proposal to discriminate against strikers whom they accuse of committing 'unlawful acts'. By that they evidently mean our pickets. Doesn't it take a colossal gull for people who sent out squads of murderers to shoot our pickets in the back to talk about 'unlawful acts'?"

The Citizens Alliance is again preparing for rough stuff in the event that martial law is lifted. Ping nglies have been imported into town. The notorious Bergoff agency, which supplies murderers and strikebreakers to the bosses throughout the country, is reported to be the agency handling this job.

After Harry Ness, the second victim of the premeditated attack was John Belor who died of wounds in a hospital here a week ago. Thus is to be seen in the two labor martyrs in Minneapolis the deathless unity of the employed and the unemployed. Ness was a member of 574 and Belor of the M.C.O.W.

Even the freedom of the press is molested in the "liberal" state of Minnesota with the "progressive" Olson at its head. Salesgirls of the *Organizer* have been constantly persecuted by the militia and now comrades who sell the *Militant* are to be arrested.

Robins-Gras Refused Release On Bail; Appeal Pending

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, strike leaders in the recent general strike of hotel workers, were today refused a certificate of reasonable doubt, in a decision handed down by Justice Valenti.

Simultaneously, however, the fight for the appeal of the original conviction was broadened, with the announcement by M. Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, that his organization has endorsed the Robins-Gras Defense Committee. The appeal will be argued in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on October 8.

Harold Robins, organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers, and Andre Gras, a striker, were arrested during the strike on a charge of second degree assault. Robins had previously been arrested a number of times on various charges trumped up to hamper his strike work. The only eyewitness in the assault, despite this fact, and the weakness and contradictions in the testimony of the prosecution, Robins and Gras were convicted in the court of Judge Corrigan, long notorious in labor circles for his sentences against workers. Robins was sentenced to from two to four years, Gras from one to two years, to Sing Sing prison.

Justice Valenti's decision today was a refusal to permit the workers to be released on bail pending the appeal. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee issued the following statement:

Statement of Defense Committee
"Certificates of reasonable doubt, enabling release of prisoners on bail pending appeal have in most criminal cases become the merest formality. The existence of sufficient grounds for appeal have been taken to be sufficient grounds for

at their inability to intelligently cope with a superior power, they resort to open splitting and thereby sign their own death warrant. They sacrifice the interests of the workers to their political aims.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

A Demagogue at Work

Olson's Role in the Strike

The last chapter of Olson's role in the Minneapolis truck drivers strike of Local 574 of the A. F. of L. cannot yet be written. This is the 19th day of the strike, and the lines are holding as firm as ever, in spite of the fact that Governor Olson's militia have dealt some heavy blows to the strikers. In fact, indications are that a settlement favorable to the workers may be won.

Up to the time of the declaration of martial law by Governor Olson the strike stood solid. The market was closed 100%. Trucking throughout the city was restricted by the rules of the union. Only certain necessities, hospital supplies, and a farmers market, established by the strikers, were allowed to be hauled. The bosses were on the run. The Citizens Alliance was whipping up a red scare but to no avail. The cops were nowhere to be seen when the strikers congregated. Peace reigned under the domination of Local 574. Even the labor fakers of Minneapolis were silent. They were waiting for a more opportune moment to serve the master class.

Permits for Scabs

Then Olson declared martial law and things began to happen. First he issued a statement which was a verbal blast against the bosses, and then he started to act against the workers by establishing a military permit system. Each day more commodities came under the heading of necessities and within three days trucks with scab drivers, under the protection of Governor Olson's militia were moving about town in droves as though nothing had happened.

The union protested and informed the Governor that his action was breaking the strike and demanded that he withdraw all permits. The Governor again answered with a verbal blast against the bosses and the hated Citizens Alliance and proceeded to act against the strikers. Picketing was becoming too prominent, so the militia prohibited picketing, prohibited meetings of the union in front of their union hall, and proceeded to issue hundreds and hundreds of new military permits to the bosses so they could run scab trucks.

In the meantime the bosses were howling against the parking ban in the Loop district informing the Governor that it was hurting their business. Many strikers thought that the day time parking ban in the Loop was a blow at the bosses, but the truth of the matter was that the militia desired to have the downtown street cleared of all parked autos, in order to have the streets cleared for action in case a mass concentration of strikers was attempted in the heart of the city. A struggle with scab trucks under these circumstances would give the militia all of the advantages. This did not materialize because operations against scab trucks are not centered in the Loop. After a week the parking ban by the militia was lifted.

Demands of the Union

These words against the bosses and blows against the strikers were not taken lightly by the union men of the city and their sympathizers. The strike committee of 100 drew up demands and presented them to the Governor. They demanded the withdrawal of the troops, a withdrawal of all permits, the right to meet, and the right to picket. This the Governor refused and the union under the leadership of the three Dunne brothers, Dobbs and Brown were forced to organize their forces to fight for the elementary right of assemblage and picketing, or else lose the strike. Governor Olson's action was breaking the strike.

The drive of the union was met by military occupation of the strike headquarters and the arrest of the strike leaders by Governor Olson's militia. The militia was unable to seize Grant Dunne and Dobbs and others. Under their leadership the forces of the union were reassembled at Central Labor Union headquarters. In less than two hours were raided, taken over by the militia and the strikers driven out.

A wave of protest rose from the laboring masses of the city. Farmer Labor groups sent protests to Governor Olson, declaring that his actions were breaking the strike which they were supporting. 574 called for a General Protest Strike for one day. It met with rapid approval throughout the rank and file of the labor movement. The conservative labor leaders, agents of Olson, were on the run. At the same time picketing increased. Although the militia occupied the headquarters scabs were beaten up all over town, trucks were overturned, and the militia was kept busy from early in the morning until late at night. The bosses were afraid to move trucks. A decline in the number of shipments could be noted.

Olson Retreats

This united action of the workers and the threat of a general strike brought results. Governor Olson retreated. He was losing political ground and everywhere it became apparent that Olson's action was breaking the strike and helping the bosses, irrespective of his intentions. He released the leaders and returned the headquarters

to the strikers. Picketing continued, but the militia was arresting more pickets each day and throwing them in the army stockade.

Even this retreat was not sufficient for Olson to regain his former position as the "friend of labor" and the radical Farmer-Labor Governor. He was forced to retreat still further in order to hold off the general strike and to clear himself in the eyes of the workers. He issued a statement informing the bosses and the strikers that if no settlement was reached by Friday midnight he would revoke all permits. Instead he had his militia raid the headquarters of the Citizens Alliance and extend the permits until Monday morning. All indications were that it was a tipped off raid because reliable reports which were even carried in the bosses press said that most of the files were removed before the militia arrived. The raiding of the Citizens Alliance headquarters was of no value to the strikers, but it was of first rate political importance for Olson. The fact that permits were not revoked, but extended to Monday, and the fact that more pickets were being arrested hourly, was decisive. If the permits are revoked Monday the bosses are well stocked for several days. If permits are re-issued, the union demands that the Governor only issue them to those firms who will abide by the Illinois proposals, recognize the union, pay union wages and hire union help.

"Neutrality" in the Class War

In more than one statement the Governor has stated that he does not take sides with either the bosses or the strikers, that he is for law and order, and will take what action necessary for the good of the people to see that the necessities of life are moved. It is a well known fact that before Olson's militia came to Minneapolis the strikers had the town "sewed up", and peace reigned. After his troops arrived scab trucks increased in number from day to day. It is also a well known fact that the people are made up of two main classes and the workers are the majority. Any one who says he is for the people and neither for the bosses nor the workers is either a liar or a damn fool. It is also a well known fact that if the Governor, who is a "friend of labor", will not tolerate any strike that interferes with the necessities of life for the "people" then the Governor is against the majority of the workers. The majority of the workers are involved in the production and distribution of the necessities of life. It is equally well known that any one who holds a strategic position such as a Governor, and says he is not taking sides with either the exploiters or the strikers, no matter how sincere he is, he can do nothing else than help the bosses. Neutrality in a class society always helps the strongest force. And since the bosses are in power neutrality plays into their hands. The words and deeds of Governor Olson in this strike proves this point conclusively.

"Good Intentions" and Results

Governor Olson is a petty-bourgeois radical. Even if he is the most honest and sincere man, and desires to help the working class, a radical type of reformer can in reality do nothing but help the bosses. The structure and framework of the capitalist system is so organized that it cannot be used for the benefit of the working class. It is an instrument for the capitalists, by the capitalists, and of the capitalists.

Olson's political life on a national scale is at stake. And the strike is not yet over. Olson thrived on the Stalinists' exposures. He grew fat and gained politically. It took a daily strike bulletin of a striking A. F. of L. local under militant left wing leadership to expose Olson. In spite of Olson's strike-breaking role the union is still strong and all indications are that a partial victory can be had.

The odds are against 574, but they will fight on until victory. If victory is had it will not be due to Olson. It will not be due to Tobin, Green or the local C. I. U. conservative labor leaders. Victory will be had in spite of them. Victory will be had because the militant left wing leadership of 574 knew how to expose them, how to counteract their treacherous role in the struggle between the exploiters and the workers, and thus gain the loyal support of the workers of Minneapolis.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Russian Opposition Bulletin

Our friends and sympathizers, our readers of the Russian Opposition Bulletin, know that Comrade Trotsky is its regular contributor and editor. International reaction hounds Trotsky. The French police want to stifle the voice of Leon Trotsky—they will not succeed. Despite police persecution, despite the fact that the editorial office is forced to move again, despite tremendous financial difficulties and delays, the Russian Opposition Bulletin will appear.

The next issue is ready for the press now. You can help to speed up its publication by a contribution, you can help by getting readers and subscribers to the Russian Bulletin.



General Strike Voted in Textile Convention

Conspiracy to Break Mpls. Strike Smashed By Committee of 100

Haas and Dunnigan Exposed as Aiding Bosses in Fake Agreement

Minneapolis, August 14.—A conspiracy to break the strike of local 574, with the Federal mediators as the spearhead was smashed to bits at the meeting of the Strike Committee of 100 where Haas and Dunnigan had gone to appeal to the rank and file "over the heads of the leaders".

The ugly conspiracy centered around a new settlement proposal of the bosses which would force a "discrimination" clause on the union and hold wage scales at their present miserable levels by means of a complex stalling process.

Prepared behind closed doors, the plot had wide ramifications and was intended as a body blow to the striking drivers. Its entire aim was to throw the onus for continuance of the strike on the union.

Acting in concert, the military, the kept press of the bosses, and the federal mediators planned against the strike as follows:

1. The press reported that Haas and Dunnigan abandoned their original plan in favor of the slavery proposal of the bosses, setting up a hue and cry that the union alone blocked an immediate settlement.

2. The military announced a loosening of the military permit system and at the same time began to slap heavy sentences on pickets in the military court.

3. The refusal of a permit for a strike mass meeting at the parade grounds on Tuesday.

4. A broad hint in the press that Haas-Dunnigan would attempt to cajole the strikers to accept the fake over the heads of the leadership.

But the bosses and their government agents reckoned without their host—the courage and intelligence of fighting strikers and not the cowardice of a herd of sheep.

Haas and Dunnigan were submitted to such a cannonade of dynamite-laden questions by members of the committee of 100, with whom they met last night, that they left the conference room with their tails between their legs, put to shame by the very rank and file they thought would fall for the thinly-disguised swindle.

A Fusillade of Questions

After an admission by Haas and Dunnigan, who opened the session with speeches, that militant pickets would be discriminated under the new agreement and that the absence of the fixed minimum of 42¢ and 52¢ cents would be a blow to the union, the rapid machine-gun fire of rank-and-file questions began to resound:

What is this, yours or the bosses'?

The answer was that it is "neither ours nor the bosses'".

Then whose is it?

No answer; laughter.

How do you know the arbitrators won't cut us to 30 cents?

No answer.

Why do you go over the head of our Negotiating Committee, and not over the head of the bosses' Negotiating Committee? Are you trying to insult our Committee, or question their sincerity?

Answer: Oh, no. Your Committee is made up of fine men. We have no criticism of them. They have done their best to get a good settlement in your interests. (Someone yelled "You bet!")

Why don't you force the 166 bosses to get together and take a secret ballot on the Haas-Dunnigan plan?

Answer: We can't.

Then why don't you at least ask them if they are willing to do it?

No answer.

Why didn't you make the bosses accept the original Haas-Dunnigan plan?

We did not have the power to make them do anything.

Then how do you know you will have the power to make them live up to government decisions on the basis of this settlement?

No answer.

Will the man from Washington who judges "violence" cases wear a white collar or overalls?

"He will be fair in any case."

What is our guarantee?

No answer.

If you had been a picket and were now asked to sign an agreement which might bar you forever from a job, would you do it?

No answer.

Then why do you bring it up?

Mediators Squirm

The questions of the strikers pinned the conviving mediators to the wall. They sat through the barrage sweating blood and look-

(Continued on Page 4)

Danger of War Grows as Japs Provoke Soviets

This week's dispatches from the Far East carry the ominous reports of renewed aggressiveness against the Soviet Union by the Japanese militarists and their Manchukuoan puppets. With the arrest a few days ago of 17 Soviet officials employed on the Chinese Eastern Railway there has been a sudden, sharp increase in the tension existing between the two countries.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, strained ever since the creation of Manchukuo into a separate state, have been getting steadily worse. The seizure of the C.E.R. (Chinese Eastern Railway) merely added fuel to the flame and has since then served as the pivot about which the inevitable conflict between the two nations has taken form.

Japan, in continuing its ruthless policy, has been attempting, ever since the seizure of the railroad, to compel the Soviet Union to sell its share in the road. The Japanese militarists have organized bandit raids on the road, blown up bridges and tracks, stolen rolling stock and used every conceivable device to weaken the road financially in their attempt to force the Soviet Union to surrender its share in the road for a song.

The negotiations for the sale of the road have, despite these acts of sabotage on the part of Japan, never made much headway. The Soviet officials always point to the earning power and value of the line prior to the recent period of disorder and ask a much higher price than Japan is willing to concede. The Japanese, on the other hand, pointing to the present disorganized state of the road, the irregularity of trains and regularity of bandit raids, offer a ridiculously low sum for the Soviet share.

War Clouds Gather

Having made no headway in their attempt to secure "legally" what they have already seized by force, the Japanese police in Manchukuo resorted to the present action of arresting 17 Soviet officials of the railway. The arrested officials, citizens of the Soviet Union, have been charged by the Manchukuoan authorities with collusion with bandits in recent raids on the railroad. The brazen effrontery of the Japanese-Manchukuoan officials in leveling these charges against the 17 accused, when it is common knowledge that it is the accusers who have encouraged and incited these bandit attacks (frequently with Japanese manufactured arms).

The present arrests have taken on a critical importance. The Soviet Union, in protesting the summary arrest of its citizens, has voiced fear that the present move is but a preliminary one to the complete seizure of the C.E.R. by Japan.

Precisely what action the Soviet Union will take in this eventuality cannot yet be predicted. In any case, the war clouds, ever-present on the Soviet-Japan horizon, again begin to gather. Now, more than ever, does the slogan of "defense of the Soviet Union" take on real significance for the workers of the world. Any moment may see it transformed into a slogan of action.

MARINES LEAVE HAITI AS DIRTY WORK IS FINISHED

The Marines have finally evacuated Haiti.

Dispatches in the capitalist press from Port-au-Prince report that the evacuation was accomplished with great solemnity, and considerable enthusiasm on the part of the civilian population. Haitian officials and officers of the Marine Corps exchanged compliments.

In the general rejoicing, it was undoubtedly forgotten, save by the workers, that the marines have accomplished their purpose. American investments have been saved. The revolt of the starving workers has been crushed. The lackeys of American imperialism are, for the time being, firmly in the saddle.

There were conciliatory remarks and compliments passed a-plenty, but the assurance is still not forthcoming that the marines will not return—when it is necessary to protect American property and the sacred rights of foreign investments.

PHILADELPHIA JOBLESS FIGHT FOR TAINTED FOOD

Philadelphia, Aug. 16.—No one is starving in this country—

But today, a famished crowd of unemployed, "squatters" on the city dumps, fought deputies armed with revolvers, and braved a blazing gasoline bonfire, to get to a truckload of canned prunes, condemned by the city authorities as tainted.

As the crowd advanced to snatch at the cans, the City Marshal and his deputies drew revolvers.

"The stuff's poisoned," the Marshal shouted. "Who cares?" the hungry men yelled back. "It's something to eat."

The deputies hastily pitched the cans from the truck and poured gasoline over them. The flames mounted.

The crowd became frenzied as they saw the "food" being destroyed before their eyes. They ignored the guns of the deputies, and rushed to the blazing heap, snatching out the cans with sticks, and rushing away with their "loot".

Club Strikers as La Guardia 'Investigates'

Apparently uninformed of the grave investigation into police brutality against pickets being conducted by Mayor LaGuardia and Chief Inspector Valentine, the coppers swung into action again—while the investigation was going on—and beat up pickets of the Moving Picture Operators Union who were picketing in front of the Rugby Theatre, 823 Utica Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

While the Mayor was assuring union leaders that he saw no reason for the police attack with clubs upon pickets at the Commodore Knitting Mills, also in Brooklyn, his coppers were gleefully swinging their clubs against a new group of workers.

Six arrests were made. Pickets and bystanders were bruised and trampled upon as the coppers charged with all the old-time gusto. But, at City Hall, the Mayor showed particular interest in the testimony of witnesses who reported that at the Knitting Mills demonstration, a policeman had rebuked an Irish girl for taking part in the strike.

"What the hell are you doing with these Jews and Wops," the policeman was quoted as saying. The Mayor, who is himself half-Jewish and half-Italian, picked up his ears.

And he turned the whole case over to Inspector Valentine, who promised disciplinary action against the policeman involved—if the charge of brutality can be sustained.

Of course, it would seem a simple matter for Chief Inspector Valentine to issue instructions that would put an end to the beating up of pickets. And Mayor LaGuardia is Mayor, and not the foreman of a coroner's jury.

But they prefer to hold investigations.

There have been many such investigations in the past few months. Witnesses, victims, have paraded their bruises, broken noses, cracked heads, hair torn from their heads, teeth knocked out, ribs broken, and other evidences of police brutality, before the Mayor and his investigators. The transcript of evidence piles mountain-high. The facts are common knowledge; have been reported even in the capitalist press.

But to date, not one police officer has been punished. Not one has been transferred, or even warned. And the dirty work of beating up workers who are striking for the right to live goes on without interruption—just as if there had been no investigations.

Almost as if the Mayor and Chief Inspector Valentine were not sincere.

Bronx Lecture

Eye-Witness Account of the MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE

Speaker:

MAX SCHACHTMAN
Editor New International
Sunday, August 19th, 8 P.M.
1739 Boston Road—Room 5
Auspices: Communist League of America, Bronx Branch.
Admission 10c.

Food Prices Rise Gougers Active; "No Shortage"

There will be no food shortage because of the drought, Government agencies solemnly assure us.

But the cost of foodstuffs this winter is going to rise sky-high.

The situation, as summarized by the Department of Agriculture is as follows:

- (1) Food supplies for the nation as a whole are ample.
- (2) Stocks of bread grains and of several other food products are large.
- (3) Production of most canning crops will be normal.
- (4) Fruits and vegetables are fairly abundant outside the drought area.
- (5) The supply of meat, dairy and poultry products will be adequate for the remainder of this year.

In a word, there will be famine only for the worker living on already near-starvation wages.

Price gougers and speculators are licking their chops in anticipation. Food prices, that have already risen ten per cent over last year, are to rise still higher. The thousands now starving will discover this winter that they did not know what starvation means.

"With smaller supplies and the necessary increase in volume moving through commercial channels, a higher level of food prices on the whole may be expected," the report of the Department of Agriculture reads.

However, the workers will not be without their champions. President Roosevelt has served public notice that he will frown his severest frown upon "chiselers" attempting to profiteer in grain and other foodstuffs as the result of the drought. He will combat—how he does not say—any "excessive" rise in prices.

"Officials," an A. P. dispatch reads, "said they anticipated no development which would make it necessary to use drastic powers; that cooperation was expected from the majority on the Exchange and from food handlers as well."

Nor does William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, intend to accept the situation lying down. He has hurled a typical William Green "challenge" into the teeth of the "gougers".

In the event of a price rise, Green says, the executive council of the A. F. of L. will seek revision of the codes of fair competition in the major industries to provide for an increase in minimum wage schedules.

"If the cost of living is to be affected," he said, with the old fighting spirit that has ever characterized him, "it seems proper and just that wages should be lifted to a higher level. We propose to make plans to meet the situation as best we can, so that the working population will not be compelled to suffer from this changed economic situation."

Not that he contemplates anything rash or "un-American," such as striking for a living wage. God forbid! Green expressly states, last

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REPORTERS PICKET SCAB PAPER IN STATEN ISLAND

Newspaper men, members of the Newspaper Guild of New York, are picketing the plant of the Staten Island Advance, Staten Island, New York City.

They demand the re-instatement of Alexander Crosby, news editor of the Advance, who was discharged for joining the Guild. Crosby was with the paper for five years, and had been given a raise just prior to his joining the Guild. The reason assigned for firing him was "incompetency and incompetency."

Realizing that the very existence of their organization is at stake, members of the Guild have developed unexpected spirit and solidarity in the fight against the publisher of the Advance, whom they defeated before when he sought to block the organizing of employees on the Long Island Press, which he also owns.

It is significant that the Guild refused Mayor LaGuardia's offer to "arbitrate" the dispute. The right of newspaper men to join the Guild cannot be arbitrator, was the reply.

McMahon Out-Voted by Workers; 500,000 to Strike

Riding high over all moves of the reactionary officialdom for postponement, the overwhelming majority of the 570 delegates to the annual convention of the United Textile Workers, now in session in New York, voted for a general strike on or about September 1.

With a strike of 20,000 cotton workers already in progress in Alabama and the report that 2,000 have joined them in Georgia, the sentiment for a general strike which will involve more than 500,000 exploited slaves from Maine to Alabama, swept over the convention like a mighty tide.

More than fifty resolutions calling for the general walkout were introduced on the first day of the convention, and new adherents were gained every day.

As McMahon concluded his demagogic speech the entire delegation from Alabama, where the workers have faced bullets, tear gas, cops and soldiers, jumped from their seats and shouted for a strike vote.

Then a delegate right from the firing line in Alabama limped to the stage, wounded in head and foot by thugs and guardsmen, and said that he was ready to die for the union.

McMahon, Gorman and the rest of the sell-out tribe that now heads the United Textile Workers, moved heaven and earth to force another delay of the strike. It will be remembered that time and again this rotten clique has threatened strike only to call it off on some flimsy promise of the Washington administration. It took the power of the aroused rank and file to turn the hypocritical talk into action.

At the same time the danger of another postponement or a sellout soon after the strike starts is to be seen in the announcement from Washington that McMahon has been appointed a member of the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA. The NRA is already reported to be "ready to act" in the strike.

Reactionaries Challenged
As we go to press, voting on a new Executive Council for the U.T.W. is in progress. A progressive wing is challenging the corrupt officialdom in the elections. The strongest guarantee that the strike will not be betrayed lies in the ousting of McMahon and Co. and replacing them with militant left wing workers.

Action on a tie-up in the closely allied silk and hosiery industries is to be taken at the convention today. A strike in these branches of textiles has been long delayed despite convention and executive board decisions to call a strike.

Strike Demands
The demands of the strike reveal the coolie conditions under which the textile workers have been slaving. Chief among them is a demand for a wage scale ranging from \$13 to \$30.

Cotton operatives have been working for as low as six and seven dollars a week throughout the South. Second, but not less important, is the demand for the elimination of the vicious "stretch-out" system. The "stretch-out" is an inhuman speed-up under which the workers are required to operate more looms per person than is physically possible. One of the most intense means of exploitation, it has been a constant demand of the textile workers that the "stretch-out" be abolished.

The Fight for Recognition
Recognition of the union and collective bargaining is another cardinal demand over which the strike is to be called. The bosses have in this industry as elsewhere, with the wholehearted cooperation of the NRA, been trying to foist a company union on the workers. Here, as elsewhere, it will again be proven that only battle and not the ambiguous section 7a of the NRA will win for labor the right to a union of their own choosing.

Together with the amended strike resolution, which was adopted as against the proposal of the officialdom, and which makes the calling of the strike within a definite period of time mandatory on the Executive Board, was the provision that the contracts of all locals with the employers be uniform on a national scale.

A resolution condemning William Green for his desertion of the strike in Frisco, unanimously introduced by the Resolutions Committee, was lost after extended discussion by the narrow majority of 193 to 103.

Other resolutions instructing the delegates to the Frisco Convention of the A. F. of L. in October to fight for a labor party and for industrial unionism were adopted by the convention.

DON'T FORGET THE BOATRIDE
Tickets for this excursion are available at the City headquarters of the League, 144 Second Ave. The price is \$1.00. The boat will leave Pier 11, East River foot of Wall St. 6 P.M. Saturday, Aug. 18.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Church Crusade on Films

The church in all its forms, from Holy Rome to Ge-Dunkers, from Hard Shell to Episcopal, from Presbyterian to Holy Rollers, is up in arms against lewdness, immorality, etc., etc., in the movies. Well let us suppose, the movies staged a few, moral bible scenes. Cain slaying his brother and then searching for a wife in the Land of Nod; title, "Murder in Eden."—Noah drunk and dancing in the nude; title, "Savior Beware."—Abraham and Sarah, chasing out the frail Hagar and her child born to Abraham; title, "A Man of God."—Isaac turning his wife over to the King of Ginnur and God's punishment of seven years of barrenness on the Kings innocent people; title, "The Woman Pays," or a short reel "Lifting the Ban." Either would pack them in and of course would be highly moral. The story of Jacob's life of murder, low cunning, thievery, etc. could be woven into a serial under the general title of "God's Favorite," subtitles: (1) "Gyping His Brother," (2) "Fleeing in Terror," (3) "The Ladder Episode or Exploring the Stratosphere," (4) "Jacob's Marriage or A Rude Awakening," (5) "Installing Plan Wives," (6) "Murdering Converts or An Ancient Hitler." Finish up with a grand climax of God wrestling with Jacob, "Mat Title Goes to Heaven." A few more titles will indicate to those who are even casually acquainted with the Book of Books, some of the untapped wealth of moral scenarios to be found in it: "Lot and His Daughters"—"David and Uriah's Wife"—"Disembowelling Women or the Mercy of Moses"—"Solomon's Songs," starring Mae West—"Ruth and the Farmer"—"The Reaper Rewarded"—The list is endless—as is also the gall of half-wit dope peddlers who set themselves up as moral censors.

A. F. of L. Executive Council

A picture of that bunch of fat, sleek, agents of the bosses appears in the press with the caption "Leaders of labor." Trailers of capital would be a more fitting caption.

An Act of God

A heavy downpour of rain, the first in many weeks was received by the Tyler Kansas Chamber of Commerce with "Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow," at the same time Earl Winkles, repairing a pump, was electrocuted. Proving that, for the drought, for death, for cold, we should always "Praise God." It's a great game the church plays, for favorable phenomena, thank God and the church, for unfavorable, blame yourself and your sins.—Heads I win, tails you lose.

Who Is God?

The Daily Worker says in arguing against the thesis "Father Divine is God," party members abstractly tried to prove that Father Divine was not God. We wonder if they had another candidate for the position—the inflexible, inflexible, steeled and unchangeable, the same today, yesterday and forever.

Warden Lawes of Sing Sing

"The fellow who doesn't have much money or many friends doesn't get much of a break. I am not a Communist but there ought to be some changes in the social order to get across the idea of fair play both in prison and out." So said the Warden, under the shock of a triple execution. He seems to sense the fact that only a Communist revolution can put "across the idea of fair play both in prison and out."

Capitalism Safe and Sane

J. B. Priestley after a survey of the slums of Birmingham, England, "Never were there so many people doing nothing and never was there so much to be done."

Tulsa, Okla., April 24—John H. Leavell, community fund food director, says that indignant residents of Tulsa are thriving on food costing less than 6-1/4 cents daily. (New York Times, April 25, 1932)

Schuyler, Nebraska—About the same date it is reported that corn is being burnt instead of coal.

New York also rang in early in 1932 with the story of a 16-year old high school student, honor student of his class and son of an unemployed carpenter, hanging himself in the basement storage bin which had become the home of his family after eviction from their apartment.

Just items from the thousands of similar cases to show the Safe and Sane of capitalism. Safe as a jungle beast, sane as a gibbering idiot.

Medals

An American who served in the British army in Palestine dropped into the Militant office. He had somewhat belatedly received two shiny medals for "saving civilization" and he wanted to know if he'd have to turn them in under Roosevelt's new silver order. So we informed him that the medals were exempt and also that up to the present Roosevelt hasn't nationalized them.

Lessons of the General Strike in Frisco

A Demonstration of Power

Despite the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy, despite the lack of revolutionary leadership with rare exceptions in the trades unions, the San Francisco workers came out solidly in a sympathy general strike with their striking fellow workers on the waterfront. This movement, taking the capitalists completely by surprise, had the force of an elemental upheaval, and as such indicated profound current of change in the depths of the working class. Considering the circumstances under which the strike occurred, with a general nation-wide drive by the bosses for the open shop, with a vast unemployed reserve army that threatens to become larger again with a new slump in business, the Frisco workers showed that courage and faith in each other which is the prerequisite for united action. In their elemental struggle they have demonstrated anew, no less to themselves than to the entire working class the tremendous power of labor, united in action. A valuable lesson!

Growing Rift Between Masses and Reactionary Leaders

The role of the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the wave of militant strikes that is sweeping the country has become axiomatic. This leadership is engaged in wholesale strike-breaking, in "delivering" the workers to the boss class. But a distinctly molecular change is already visible in the relation between the misleaders and the rank and file. The very fact that in every big strike the masses override the opposition of the bureaucrats and demand action, is itself proof that the labor hordes of capitalism no longer sway the minds of even the most backward workers to the extent they have in the past. What the new generation of inexperienced workers has still to learn is how to democratize the union so as to displace the fakers and put honest workers at the head of their organization. However, when even the bourgeois press praises the Vandeleurs, the Caseys, the Kidwells and the William Greens for their aid to "law and order" in breaking the strike, can there be any doubt that trade unionists learn from their struggle the meaning of this type of leadership? Can there be any question that the teamsters who came out even before the general strike was declared, who in fact were key men in exerting pressure on the rest of the one hundred thousand who downed tools,—can there be any question that they feel outraged and betrayed at the role unwillingly assigned to them by the Caseys of helping to break the longshoremen's strike? It was not the teamsters but the reactionary clique of misleaders who brought the strike to an inglorious end by permitting scab drivers on the streets. The proof will be repeatedly forthcoming that any movement for unity of the working class and militant struggle has the immediate effect of setting the rank and file against the corrupt bureaucracy. This struggle is now transferred back into the unions.

Class Consciousness and Politicalization of Struggle

An elemental action of American workers that leads to a general strike must be hailed unqualifiedly as a tremendous step forward in the building up of class consciousness. Two things become clear by study of the recent events. First of all, the workers in their trades unions are ripe for new leadership, are in fact in their own fashion casting about for leaders with correct policies to direct their struggles, for they show every willingness to struggle. That means that the left wing elements most intensify their efforts as never before to establish their influence in the unions. Again we see the criminal folly of the Stalinists in stupidly separating real fighters from the masses in the unions. But secondly, is it not surprising that a general strike with all its indications of class solidarity, should pass without having left a trace of any but the most elementary trade union slogans? Basic as these slogans it is evident that with a correct approach we can begin to propagandize for wider aims of struggle. In this epoch the class struggle cannot be carried on in distinctly isolated stages,—first economic, then political. Our struggle is a "combined" one in which we must learn to combine issues properly so as to lead the entire class one step or two steps or many steps forward along the road to power. Only by conscious experimenting can we learn how many stages can be "skipped" and how many combined through the present struggles. Any preconceived, fixed notions of distinct and separate steps, even one taking so much time will prove to be pedantic and sterile.

Workers' Control of Production

The workers demand recognition of the union as a step in the direction of the closed shop. The bosses refuse recognition of any "outside" union and fight for the open shop. In this fight the workers—the longshoremen, for example, who want control over the hiring halls—are really setting up the slogan of control of their own labor power as a united group. This is actually a demand, a first demand, for self-determination of the working class

although, obviously, the workers do not see it in this light. What we must make clear to the workers is what it is that the bosses fear in the closed shop. It is first of all a united working class bargaining over hours, wages and conditions. And the bosses cannot tolerate this when they are engaged with the help of the bourgeois government, in enlarging profits by beating down the standards of living of the toilers. But the bosses fear that the closed shop will lead next to demands of the workers that the boss justify any lay-offs or any attempt to lower wages by permitting the union to examine the firm's books. It is but a step from this to the idea of workers' control of production, to finding out where the boss gets his materials and where he markets his goods, how much profit he is making and why the worker must be penalized if the boss is not making enough profit. These ideas must be propagandized now. But far more important in the struggle for the union and against the open shop is to show how this drive of the bosses becomes part of the process of the crystallization of fascism in America.

Process of Fascist Crystallization

Everywhere right now in America the boss class, under the hegemony of big finance capital (Ford, Rockefeller, Sloan, Swope, Morgan, etc.) is launching with its new profits the open shop drive. In Frisco this drive is being conducted under the notorious Industrial Association, financed by the bankers. This Association has a long record, dating back to the building trades struggles of 1921, of strike-breaking, labor espionage, gangster tactics and murder of labor leaders. With the aid of the entire bourgeoisie, frantic with fear that the general strike might take the path to revolutionary violence, the Association financed gangster raids on the meeting halls, print shops, homes of Communists and Communist sympathizers. The gangsters were aided by vigilantes consisting of business men, by the American Legion and by the police. In their usual attempt to split the workers the press tried to place the onus of these raids on conservative strikers, longshoremen and teamsters. This lie it is unnecessary to refute. Of course we must always point out that such an attempt to separate the "sheep" from the "goats" could never have been made if the Stalinists had not prepared the way for it by separating their followers from the masses in the trade unions. Such raids would have met the united resistance of all the strikers had the Communists been in one organization with the rest of the working class. But these raids duplicate those of the war days or those of the Palmer period of 1919.

The general strike has united the forces of reaction against the working class in its attempt to organize. These raids, conducted now to break the unions and to establish the open shop, although they start by attacks on the "reds," under present conditions gather momentum, form part of a process of crystallization out of the forces of utter reaction, determined to crush all democratic rights. It is hardly an accident that the inception of this process on such a scale should occur in the city that witnessed the frame-up of Tom Mooney. It is the same A. F. of L. bureaucrats who betrayed Mooney that also betrayed the General Strike. Only the united front of workers' organizations, including all trade unions, can meet properly the attack of the inchoate fascists whose forces are being gathered now to prevent the closed shop. The reactionaries are not yet making their bid for state power but we must prepare to meet this bid.

—JACK WEBER.

CHICAGO PICNIC TO DUNES

For the benefit of Young Spartacus
SUNDAY, AUGUST 26th
ADMISSION 30c

Trucks leave:

2557 W. North at 8 A.M.
Ogden and Kedzie at 9 A.M.
51st and Cottage Grove at 10 A.M.
Games - Bathing - Refreshments.
Auspices: Spartacus Youth Clubs of Chicago.

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Org-Press Campaign

The Org-Press campaign has brought in a total of \$423 up to date. This is by no means enough to accomplish all the tasks we have set ourselves and we hope that all those who have not yet responded to our circularization will get busy at once and dispose of their books of coupons.

M. M. of the Bronx has shown that this can be done. He sold 50 books of coupons all by himself in a personal house to house canvass. Surely others can follow his splendid example!

Anette A. of Chicago writes: "Sorry to have delayed so long in sending in the money and wish it could be more. If a job ever comes my way, will be only too glad to send more. All the comrades here are very much thrilled by the strike in Minneapolis and we are all hoping for a successful ending."

T. N. Fall of New York City writes: "Enclosed find \$1 as a donation to help flood Minneapolis with the Militant. What a brave and heroic fight they are waging!" A comrade in Scotland sends a donation and writes:

"According to a current issue of S. P. paper, I see that comrades Shachtman and Cannon have been arrested. The comrades here are following the heroic struggle in Minneapolis and we send fraternal greetings to the spirited workers in Local 574. It is with pride that we extend the hand of comradeship against the common enemy. Send us some more Militants."

The following was received since the last report in the Militant. This does not include the returns from Local New York which were printed separately in the last issue. (Get Busy! Dispose of your coupon book. Send Your Dollar.

Receipts	
Haidons, N. Y.	\$1.75
C. Wassilins	1.00
M. M., Bronx	.50
J. R., Philadelphia	.25
E. J., St. Louis	1.00
N. Hamovitch	1.00
Wm. Berman	1.00
Chicago Branch	89.00
Two Friends	1.00
A. A., Chicago	1.00
A. R., California	2.00
A. Sympathizer	1.00
Max K. Croton	3.00
M. K., N. Y.	1.00
L. Kogan	1.00
Kansas City Branch	7.00
New Haven Branch	7.00
Boston Branch	3.00
L. W., Brooklyn	.40
Friends of Militant Club	25.00
Diego Rivera	50.00
A. S. M.	1.00
Total	\$203.10

Pledge Fund

Manhattan	
I Glade	\$1.00 monthly
Leonard Lewis	1.00 weekly
Dorothy Morris	1.00 "
Clara Nelson	1.00 "
J. G. Wright	.50 "
M. Spithos	1.00 monthly
S. Bleeker	.50 "
S. Gordon	2.00 "
Paul King	1.00 "
Florence Becker	2.00 "
J. Weber	2.00 "
Com. Tamas	1.00 "
F. Victor	.50 "
M. Kling	.50 "
E. Konikow	1.00 "
Harlem	
E. Beecher	.50 "
Colay	.50 "
Cochran	.50 "
Jerry Marsh	1.00 "
T. Smith	2.00 "
Bronx	
S. Eckstadt	1.00 "
M. Lifshitz	1.00 "
Others in New York City	
H. Porter	1.00 monthly
E. Alby	1.00 "
E. B. C.	1.00 "
E. J. Conwit	.50 "
Cornell	1.00 "
L. Haidons	1.00 "
Samuel, E.	1.00 "
The Gellmans	1.00 "
F. Miller	1.00 "
Sydney Moroff	1.00 "
A. McCabe	1.00 "
City Subway Worker	1.00 "
Edith Sher	1.00 "
Ann Toven	1.00 "
H. S.	1.00 weekly
(paid for 25 weeks)	
A Teacher	1.00 "
(paid for 26 weeks)	
Geo. Cooper	1.00 "
M. M.	2.00 "
John Delaney	.50 monthly
Newark, N. J.	
Geo. Holley	2.00 monthly
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G. Kotz	1.00 "
J. Becker	1.00 "
Lambert	1.00 "
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A. Social Worker	1.00 "
A. Clerk	.50 "
Boston	
E. Wiener	.50 "
C. Shecket	.50 "
W. Henderson	.50 "
J. Chiplowitz	.50 "
A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00 "
A. Friend, Youngstown	2.00 "
(paid 4 months in advance)	

Once Again on the Role Of Governor Olson

This is the twenty-sixth day of the strike and the radical petty-bourgeois Farmer-Labor governor is rapidly regaining some of his lost prestige. The turn of events, while not taking any of the pressure off the strikers and the working class, has nevertheless, put the squeeze on the employers. This peculiar position of Governor Olson in the strike struggle is entirely due to the position he holds in the existing class relations in this part of the country.

The general trend of politics in America is in this direction and the working class leaders will have to know how to expose as well as take advantage of the existing antagonisms within the ruling class. The role of Olson in the strike and the way the strike leaders divided the enemy class in the interests of the workers is well worth studying.

Roosevelt-Olson Harmony

It must be remembered that there is a perfect understanding between Olson's forces in Minnesota, and the Roosevelt forces nationally. There is a natural division of labor between them. Roosevelt needs the support of the Farmer-Labor Governor in Minnesota and the Progressives of Wisconsin to carry through his policy in this part of the country. Roosevelt has supported them wholeheartedly. And in return Olson has done all in his power to carry out the needs of the Roosevelt administration in Minnesota.

We pointed out that before martial law was declared the strikers of Local 574 had the town shut up tight. With the declaration of martial law truck movement, within a few days, was almost normal. In addition, picketing was prohibited, meetings banned, the union hall as well as the Central Labor Union headquarters raided by Olson's troops, and the leaders of the strike thrown into the military stockade.

Pressure Forces Retreat

The union defied martial law, continued picketing and crippled truck movement throughout the city, in spite of the fact that the leaders were in military prison. A storm of protest throughout the labor movement developed. Within Olson's own party, the Farmer-Labor Party, this revolt took on dimensions that produced fright in the heart of Olson and his forces. This caused a retreat. The pressure of the working class against the radical petty-bourgeois Governor, was so great that he was forced to change his policy.

He raided the Citizens Alliance. The strikers got nothing out of this but Olson obtained big political capital. Next he revoked all truck permits. Trucks were running almost normal after a week and a half of military rule. Olson's new

ruling allowed necessities to run, and demanded that those who desired to carry on trucking sign the Haas-Dunnigan proposal, which was accepted by the union but rejected by the employers, through the Citizens Alliance. This retreat—entirely due to the pressure of the working class, and the attempt of Olson and the right wing leaders to head off a general protest strike,—was a blow to the bosses. They immediately took the case to court and tried to obtain an injunction against martial law. As long as martial law played havoc with the strike it was alright, but as soon as the pressure of the workers forced the Governor to retreat, the employers demanded redress. Olson did well in defense of his radical petty-bourgeois position. He blustered into court and spoke for human rights as well as property rights and said he would defy the injunction if it was granted.

Martial Law—Bosses Weapon

The three judges refused the injunction. As the Organizer correctly states, martial law is a reserve weapon of the boss class against the workers and the capitalist court could not afford to set a precedent for the checking of the use of martial law. Is it not true that 150 of the best fighters of 574 are in the military stockade under martial law? Is it not true that picketing is prohibited and the union is forced to defy this daily? Is it not true that even after six days of the new ruling that trucking under the protection of martial law is almost normal? And is it not true that before martial law the union had trucking at a standstill? If the bosses did not have the weapon of martial law as an extra force of suppression the town would be sewed up tight.

The Farmer Labor Governor of Minnesota is pressed between two warring camps—between the workers and the capitalists, represented by Local 574, and by the Citizens Alliance. Whoever exerts the greatest pressure will force this radical petty-bourgeois to alter his course. The mass support of Local 574 is great. This is true not only in Minneapolis among employed and unemployed, thanks to the leadership of 574 and to the M.C.C.W. but also throughout the state. This support for the union exists in spite of the local reactionaries of the Central Labor Union—who are the tools of Olson, in spite of Tobin and Green, and in spite of the scoundrelly role of the Stalinists.

The strike is still on. Olson is on the frying pan, but by no means finished. He has regained lots of lost ground. It is up to the leaders of local 574 to continue to utilize the division within the camp of the enemy.

—HUGO OEHLER.

A "Handkerchief Head" Speaks Out

"The Scottsboro Boys have been jailed. Properly defended they might have been Pullman porters, jazz band players, or laborers for C.W.A." . . . the bearing of the mob-minded crackpot proletariat is so unprecedented in these parts (the South) as to merit commendation. In an effort to outdo the cynical Mencken in his choice of insulting epithets for the word Negro, the author resorts to such tidbits as "the lowly Senegambians" and the "accursed blackamoors." Now who may be the author of the above quotations be? Is it some kindly southern gentleman talking down to the poor, benighted blacks of his vicinity? Is it one of the newly formed group of reactionary southern aristocratic literati talking of southern "enlightenment"? No. The above quotations are from an article by a Negro. An above-the-race and above-the-class Negro. A typical handkerchief head. A writer for the Negro bourgeois Pittsburgh Courier. A contributor to what was Mencken's Mercury. A writer for the super-cynical sheet of George Jean Nathan—the American Spectator. A member of the American Workers Party! His name is George S. Schuyler.

Sneers at Mass Pressure

Mr. Schuyler's opinion is that mass pressure in labor cases or what amounts to the same thing—the attempted framing of Negroes in southern courts—is useless and even contemptible. For him mass pressure is an effort on the part of the "boa feather workers and pants pressers" to "embarrass" the southern courts. (Mr. Schuyler is not referring perhaps to a lot of Russian Jews who are starting all this trouble in the country?). What a callous way of dismissing the heroic protests of workers in every part of the country and every part of the globe. Protests held in sympathy and in solidarity with their persecuted brothers in the south of these United States.

Who can deny that but for these very protests, this very mass pressure, the Scottsboro boys would have been chunks of charcoal dangling from southern magnolia trees. If mass pressure cannot save a worker from the frame-up which has been developed into a science by America's ruling class—then nothing can save him. If mass pressure does not free the Scottsboro boys then it will mean

only that the pressure was not deep enough, was not wide enough. Which does not exactly mean that the lawyer's place in a labor case is entirely negligible—it only means that his importance be not exaggerated. That Leibowitz was an evil choice the Militant was the first to point out. His sly behavior in the courtroom even brought a reproach from William Z. Foster. Lawyers don't win labor cases. They can postpone, appeal and postpone again until the pressure of the masses becomes so intense that the judicial hirelings of capital will think twice and three times before they go through with their frame-ups, executions and imprisonments.

Is there a fool or a still dumber in the United States who still doubts that only a serious nation-wide movement of the masses will free Mooney? Is it for a lack of good legal talent that Mooney still rots in prison—or is it that the pressure of the masses is not as yet deep enough nor wide enough? Mooney, Billings, the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon and others can be freed. It is up to the working class organizations to build a powerful united front movement for that purpose.

Mr. Schuyler is a member of the American Workers Party. Does the A.W.P. take responsibility for his opinions. Does it agree with Mr. Schuyler, a responsible member of its organization, that a benevolent protectorate (armed intervention) is the solution for Liberia? Does the A.W.P. consider Mr. Schuyler a fit member for a revolutionary—workers' party?

P.S. Mr. Schuyler divests himself of a bit of advice to those who would go to the south in defense of the Scottsboro boys or the like. Says he: Play up southern chivalry—cajole, flatter and compliment the southerners. Play up to their race hatred, their prejudices and then you will get results. After you've proved that you're as good as any southern gentleman (read, Negro hater) the judge, continues gentleman Schuyler, will impose a sentence of 18 or 20 years—and which sentence will never be served. Because—as soon as the "crackers" depart from the court room and go back to their corn licker, the boys will be freed, justice will be served and the south will be vindicated. None of this is made up. You can find all the above quotations in the July American Spectator.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Foreign Workers in France

The decimation of the male population in France during the war created a shortage of labor in the fields and factories. Hence in the period of reconstruction that followed the signing of peace, the exploiters aided and encouraged the importing and immigration of a vast supply of foreign labor from the more backward countries of Central Europe, particularly from Poland. Today, as a result of this policy joined to the economic necessities of the poverty-stricken workers and peasants of other war-torn areas, there are over one and one half million foreign-born farm laborers subjected to the worst forms of oppression by the French landowners, and over two million of them bound over to all the special forms of exploitation and starvation in the mines, mills and factories. When these workers dare to organize and struggle for the very right to exist, they are rounded up like so many beasts of burden and deported, just as in New Deal America. Thus the Polish coal miners who were driven by desperation to strike underground against their exploiters and against the calculated system of terrorizing the workers by discharging the most militant fighters, were not only discharged but were deported back to Poland without even the opportunity of disposing of their meagre possessions. Eighty-nine of them with their families, two hundred in all, were loaded better-skillet abroad a special train after their "hostage strike" at Lens and expelled from France.

French Fascism and the Foreign Worker

The situation has changed since the period of feverish reconstruction that brought about the immense expansion of French productive forces at a time when the world's markets were shrinking. The crisis of overproduction for the capitalist world market hit French economy last, but it is bringing precisely the same consequences in its train in France as elsewhere. Unemployment is spreading, both on the farms and in the towns. The fascists, appealing to the lowest and most reactionary emotions of the petty bourgeoisie in their efforts to obtain a mass basis, do not fail to point their attack at the "aliens." If there is unemployment that is because so many foreigners have been permitted to take the bread out of the mouths of the French workers and peasants. These foreigners must be driven out. And besides, think of the danger to French "racial purity"! Thus in France anti-Semitism is rivalled by the fomenting of hatred against the foreign worker.

The French Communist League

Our comrades in France, small as are their forces, are at the forefront of the battle against fascism and the looming menace of war. Under the guidance of a leadership schooled in the principles of Bolshevik-Leninism, our French League has given timely and correct analyses of the march of events, has understood clearly every move of fascist reaction. It was under the League's influence that the first real united front was established with the Socialists to combat the immediate menace of a fascist coup d'etat in the February days. And this at a time when the Stalinists, still opposing the united front as counter-revolutionary, were going through a brief phase of the German Red Referendum by demonstrating on February 6th together with the fascists against the government of Daladier, and by calling for the imprisonment of Daladier and Prot for shooting down fascists who were attempting the immediate forcible overthrow of the bourgeois democratic parliamentary system. Our League has set up the slogan of Workers Alliance (the united front and the incontinent soviets) as the only means of fighting fascism effectively, of the arming of the working class and the formation of the Workers' Militia to meet the attack of the military formations of fascism.

Comrade Trotsky in Danger!

No wonder that the fascist forces aided by the Doumergue government, the prelude to fascism, aim to crush the League! Today the forces working against time to build up the Fourth International are rightly viewed by French reaction as the worst enemy of fascism. Hence the spearhead of the attack against the working class is turned first of all towards comrade Trotsky. Under constant surveillance by the police, forced to move about so as to destroy any possibility of doing concentrated work, he is threatened constantly with deportation to the French African colonies, perhaps to Madagascar. His life is in danger! We must rally to his defense! Every aid must be given to assure his safety. A campaign must be started to secure political asylum in America. Above all, money is needed. Aid now to comrade Trotsky means aid to the French proletariat.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

GERALD DAVIS, Philadelphia.—I hope that as a result of this experience it becomes fixed in your mind that when a contradiction exists between what Lenin said and what a Stalinist says, you can be sure that there is something wrong with the statement of the latter. If, as your friend states, Lenin said something to the French comrades about building "Red" unions, you can be sure that he spoke to them in the spirit of his "Left-Wing Communism" and not a la Stalin.

In the first place it is correct that the Red International of Labor Unions was formed during Lenin's time; or to be more exact, in July, 1920. (In 1921 the Constitution of the R.I.L.U. was published in English by the American Labor Union Educational Society.) What your Stalinist friend implies, however, is that the R.I.L.U. was intended as the international center of the various national "T.U.U.L.s". Nothing could be farther from the truth. The R.I.L.U. was intended as the international center of revolutionary unions, it is true, but unions made revolutionary by the communists expanding and capturing the existing organization, and not by creating "paper" ones. To prove this statement we will call upon none other than Lozovsky himself.

Reporting upon the international council of trade and industrial unions of June, 1920, which laid the basis for the R.I.L.U., he states: "The question that raised most discussion was that of the tactics of the Communist revolutionary elements within the trade union movement in connection with the old mass unions. The question was: Should the old unions be split or captured? . . . To leave the unions and to set up small independent unions is an evidence of weakness, it is a policy of despair, and, more than that, it shows lack of faith in the working class. (them) One must choose between two positions, either the social revolution is inevitable, that the working class is pressing toward the overthrow of capitalism, and the trade unions, however reactionary they may be at present, will change their character under the influence of the revolutionary mass—or the social revolution is a matter of the distant future—in that case no unions, however revolutionary their programmes may be, will be of much use. . . . That the conference took up the correct point of view is proved by the Second Congress of the Third International which sharply opposed the tactics of leaving the unions. The motto put forward by the Communist International, and which is our motto is: NOT THE DESTRUCTION BUT THE CONQUEST OF THE TRADE UNIONS. (Emphasis in original.)

"It may have been possible on other questions to compromise in order to secure agreement, BUT ON THIS CARDINAL QUESTION NO COMPROMISE WAS POSSIBLE . . . neither the Communist International nor the TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS (emphasis ours) affiliated to it could put forward any other motto, because for the revolutionary elements to leave the unions would mean playing into Lenin's and Gompers's hand. . . ." (A. Lozovsky, "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," pp. 37 to 39). You will find this further substantiated in another pamphlet by Lozovsky, "What is the Red International of Labor Unions?" published by the R.I.L.U. in 1927.

Now as to the contention that the present "red" unions were formed primarily to organize the unorganized. This argument cannot stand up either in the face of an analysis of such a position or in the face of the facts as stated in the official Party documents or as the matter actually developed in life.

Point 1. The theoretical basis for the new unions (7th National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., 1930) was that the A. F. of L. is "outright fascist" and since a fascist organization is only fit to be destroyed, "only on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the Party be able to assume the leadership of . . . economic struggles."

Point 2. If the new unions were formed primarily to organize the unorganized, it would be reasonable to expect that the new unions would be formed only where none with a mass base existed. The Stalinists, however, split the Workmen's Circle and founded the I.W.O.; split the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union and formed the Food Workers' Industrial Union; the National Miners Union was maintained in the face of the mass U.M.W. of A.; and the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union exists alongside the mass I.L.G.W.U. These cases which are not mentioned would only further destroy the Stalinists' contention.

Point 3, which concerns the C. P.'s position prior to the inception of the T.U.U.L. requires fairly lengthy quotations which will be given in order that the matter can be cleared up once and for all, and so that no accusations can be leveled against us that we make use of hastily snatched quotations. Since other questioners are pressing for answers, lack of space requires that this be—CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.

COMRADE H. M. K., Philadelphia.—Unfortunately, since they are out of print, or their publishers out of business, there is no record of all the versions, in English, of Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism." A check-up at the N. Y. Public Library shows that the only copy on file is a French translation.

However, there is handy, in addition to the one recently published by the International Publishers an edition entitled "Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," published by the Marxian Educational Society, 1921; and an edition entitled "The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism," published by the Contemporary Publishing Association in 1920. The latter translation appeared simultaneously with the first Russian, French and German editions.

A comparison of the 1920 "Infantile Sickness" copy with the latest International Publishers publication indicates that, as far as can be judged by the various subject headings, the text covered by both is the same. Both editions have in their appendix Lenin's correspondence with the Dutch Communist Party, an article about Turatti in Italy, etc. Except for some typographical errors it will probably be difficult to show why the 1920 edition is "inadequate."

However, the Stalinists will bear watching. They are making a turn in their trade union policy and a slight distortion of a sentence or the addition of a word, particularly in that part of Lenin's work which deals with work in the reactionary unions, might help them in their oily maneuvers, especially since it is this chapter which stands as a condemnation of their whole policy.

LEFT S. P. ite, N. Y.—Because of lack of space, our answer to the Boston Yipsel of August 4 did not get completely into the question raised which may account for the impression you got. It was never intended to convey the idea that the question of proletarian power might be settled by the ballot box even under certain circumstances. No! The question of power will be decided by the dynamics of the class struggle of which elections are, at best, but a crude barometer.

You will find an answer to Kautsky's "Terrorism vs. Democracy" in Trotsky's pamphlet "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" which was written as a reply to Kautsky.

POLITICAL CHANGES IN MEXICO

The Significance of the Impending Crisis in the Government Party

There is a rumor in Mexico that the governing National Revolutionary Party is in the midst of serious internal trouble, that may lead to a split.

On the one side, according to this rumor are the supporters of the newly-formed fascist organization: the brown-shirted "Mexican Revolutionary Association and the green-shirted "Pro-race Committee". Supposedly directing this group is the present president in office, A. Rodriguez.

On the other side are those elements of the ruling class who see in these groups a peril, and who think that the democratic ways of ruling the masses are still good enough.

Rumors of Split

Mexico is a land of rumors. The large illiterate population, the timid newspapers (even from a bourgeois point of view), the general unsettled state of affairs causes this condition. Even the lowest peon has a friend, or a friend of a friend, in the large governmental bureaucracy who will tell him "confidentially" all sorts of fantastic stories. This rumor, however, has grounds for belief.

The various fascist organizations have been experiencing some growth lately. The usual collection of social filth, the refuse of life, has been flocking into these organizations: Ex-governmental officials, unemployed generals, colonels, captains and lieutenants (and Mexico with its 25 years of revolution and counter-revolution is more populated with men wearing, or entitled to wear, epaulets than it is with doctors); petty-bourgeois alarmed at Jewish and Chinese competition; ex-landowners who dream of the glorious days of peonage under Porfirio Diaz; ambitious students; lackeys of the imperialist groups who are getting the worst of the scramble with American finance-capital; and the usual lot of degenerated proletarians recruited at the nearest cantina and instructed at the given signal to shout "Vive Mexico", "Mueren Los Comunistas", and "Abajo los Judios y Chinos"—for the price of a brown coat and shirt and a half liter of Tequila.

Above all, Catholics are entering these fascist organizations in large numbers and becoming the chief and most militant elements in all the demonstrations.

Composed of such elements, these groups are a danger to the Calles faction which is in power and which represents American imperialism in alliance with the large native capitalists. The latter, which gained its standing in the struggle with the feudal and clerical elements, as well as the former, have everything to fear from these fascist organizations, made up of reactionary, clerical, feudal elements and those imperialists whose interests clash with Wall Street's.

For fists, for mass support, the Calles group depends upon the peasants who were given a few hectares of land, and very liberal promises—for the future of course, and on the proletariat, whose support was gained because of fear of loss of the social reforms won during the revolution (Article 23 of the Constitution and the Labor Laws).

These fascist organizations, being liberally supplied with funds from German, French, Spanish, Catholic, and in all probability British sources, elements high up in the government have enrolled in them.

This trivial fact may illustrate this. The Department of War, rumor has it, advised all foot-loose officers to join these movements. It also gave its band to the fascists to be used at an entertainment of the brown shirts at the Bull Ring. A few days ago Calles came to the capital, it is said to personally liquidate these organizations. Upon his arrival the army band was withdrawn.

The main step that lends credence to these reports is the motion passed July 28 by the Central Committee of the National Revolutionary Party, expelling anybody from its ranks who joins any organization of a political type—a move directed against the shirted ones.

Analogy with Kerensky. The Calles Party in Mexico is built upon many elements and classes similar to the Social Revolutionary Party of Russia in 1917 or the Kuo Min Tang of China was in 1927. These elements (supporting one of the imperialist factions, of course) attempt to "unite" the nation, and to suppress the class struggle in the interests of a "national" task. In Russia it was to carry the war to a successful conclusion. In China it was to "drive the imperialists out". In Mexico it is to liquidate the clergy and the feudal elements.

There is another analogy. All these parties appear in the period between the downfall of the political government of the ultra-reaction (the overturn of the dynasty in China, the March Revolution in Russia and the overthrow of the Czar, and revolution against Porfirio Diaz in 1910 in Mexico) and the victory of the proletarian revolution, supported by the poor peasantry.

In this period Kerensky appeared in Russia and Calles in Mexico. The duration of this period depends on the specific conditions in each country and the relationship of

class forces. In Russia this stage lasted but several months, in Mexico years. Basing itself generally upon the petty-bourgeoisie they represent the vacillation of this class which hopes to complete the bourgeois revolution without having recourse to the proletariat. A task of such magnitude is beyond the possibility of any class in modern society but the proletariat. Speaking concretely of Mexico the only class that can abolish the clergy, give land to the peasants on either an individual or collective basis, and free the land of imperialism is the proletariat organized in its own class form, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The petty bourgeoisie and the upper reaches of the peasantry hope to avoid this by throwing their support behind Calles. He will prove a broken reed to them."

Stalinism and Leninism

There is yet another analogy that from the viewpoint of the struggle between Stalinism and Leninism is of great importance. In the following we naturally exclude Russia. In both China and Mexico the working class and its party was harnessed to the chariot of the bourgeoisie by the Stalinists. Just as Chiang Kai Shek was hailed as liberator of the Chinese from imperialism so was Calles. The masses were instructed to build an iron wall of defense around Calles by the Stalinists. These are the results of the theory of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

But "parties" built upon so many classes, antagonistic classes moreover, are not parties. They split apart into warring parties, each party with its own class, in time of crisis. In 1917 the Social Revolutionaries split into a pro-Kerensky pro-war wing, and into a left pro-Soviet wing. Broadly speaking this separation divided the peasantry from the big bourgeoisie.

The Kuo Min Tang in 1927 split into two groups: a left and right Kuo Min Tang. The same will take place in Mexico. The seemingly powerful National Revolutionary Party will collapse in moments of great stress, from the right as well

as left side. The Communist movement in Mexico must push this forward.

The unity of these above mentioned parties is only "secure" because of a lull in the struggle of the classes. Where the class struggle is given free play and even encouraged, as was the case in Russia, these parties last only a few days. In China where the class struggle between the workers and native capitalists was suppressed by all the strength that Stalin had, the Kuo Min Tang maintained an appearance of unity from 1924 to 1927. Again the turn in the events of 1927, the stunning defeat given the proletariat has kept the Chinese mass movement from reappearing. The major difficulties for Chiang Kai Shek and the bourgeoisie supporting him now is from the right.

The working class of Mexico has been dormant since 1927. The number of strikes, and their militancy have been decreasing. The agrarian movement seethes below the surface, appearing only in nightly expeditions of the white guards of the land owners who attempt to do the same to peasant leaders—or has degenerated as far as pleading on the part of peasants before the agrarian committees of the National Revolutionary Party.

Labor on New Upswing

Speaking at least from the point of view of the working class, there are signs that this powerful period is drawing to a close. The number of strikes and their militancy is increasing, due to the same economic conditions that work for the increase of the number of strikes in the U. S. The leadership of the union movement has been forced by pressure from the workers to at least talk radically.

And the peasants are not satisfied. The increasing activity of the urban workers will without doubt awaken the class struggle in the village.

With the greater and greater pressure of the class struggle, the

The Crisis in the Socialist Party "Bogus" Democracy

(This is the second of a series of articles on the problems facing the members of the Socialist party.—Ed.)

Even among the more advanced militant workers in the Socialist party the Detroit declaration of principles is hailed as a revolutionary document. Their enthusiasm is heightened on the one hand by the attacks on the right wing, on the other, by the absence of a genuinely revolutionary criticism of the document within the Socialist party.

Surely, we are told, a document which opposes the "bogus democracy" of capitalist parliamentarianism and calls for its replacement by "workers' democracy" is a revolutionary one. The Old Guard gives aid to this interpretation by howling: communism.

What does "bogus democracy" mean? Kantorovitch again comes to our assistance: " . . . real democracy is incompatible with capitalism. Real democracy will only be made possible by the abolition of class divisions in society." ("The Socialist Party at the Cross Roads"). What Socialist would not give lip-service to such a statement? One can find the same view expressed in Hilquit's "From Marx to Lenin"; but did this make Hilquit a revolutionist?

Kantorovitch goes no further than general remarks on the question of socialism and democracy. And for good reason! For only yesterday when the old "Militants" group showed the changed character of democracy since the World War and stated that the parties of the Labor and Socialist International "have made a fetish of democracy," Kantorovitch replied: "But Comrade Shapir and the Militants never seem to have thought that their anti-democratic propaganda must be very welcome to capitalism. It is a strange case of class collaboration." (American Socialist Quarterly, April, 1932, page 40). No less!

Now the Old Guard repeats the argument of Kantorovitch—by quoting his past statements! The phrase "bogus democracy" plays into the hands of the reactionaries, they shout. However, if Kantorovitch's recent interpretation of the phrase were put into the declaration of principles, Oniel and Lee would find little to disagree with. In a word, the phrase is used so as to appear near-Communist and yet Socialist; to satisfy the Thomases and the militant workers. On the fundamental question of democracy and socialism the declaration is not in irreconcilable conflict with the position of the Old Guard.

Does the declaration of principles fare any better with its statement

of "workers' democracy"?

This has been discussed at some length in previous issues of the Militant. But let us examine Kantorovitch's utterances on the question. "A workers' democracy as the term is used in the declaration of principles means a democracy where franchise is based on useful service to society, and nothing else." It includes both the transition period and the final goal (socialism), according to Kantorovitch, "but in the declaration of principles it applies to the final goal." (p. 15)

What an explanation? In the first place, it is obvious that the declaration formulae is intentional vague, so as to unite the largest, even if conflicting, forces behind it and permit the left wing Socialist to think that the S. P. is for the dictatorship of the proletariat! Does not the "Militant Program" of Kantorovitch state that both terms are synonymous? On the other hand, has not Thomas repeatedly stated that workers' democracy is not the dictatorship of the proletariat?

But Kantorovitch goes further: in the declaration the term "workers' democracy" refers only to the final goal. Which means that it takes no position—that is no positive position—on the all important problem of the transition period between capitalist rule and socialism! Instead of the declaration reading: "workers' democracy, that is socialism" so as to make the full meaning clear, the latter phrase is omitted, thereby giving the impression of supporting something revolutionary! Can one imagine any greater deception than this apparently innocent phrase!

The So-Called Minority Revolution

Many Socialists may be ready to grant that the declaration of principles as a whole is vague. But they are convinced that it is unequivocally revolutionary where it proclaims that if the capitalist system collapses in a general chaos and confusion, the Socialist party, "whether or not in such cases it is a majority will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

According to Kantorovitch: "No communist, however, would subscribe to the above paragraphs"; and so as to make it clear that he is anti-communist he states that "The declaration of principles does not call for insurrection and violence." Then how is this "non-majority" revolution to be attained? What does it look like in real life?

To this Kantorovitch responds triumphantly: Look at Germany and Austria in the period immediately following the World War!

WORLD OF LABOR

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND THE STALINISTS

The following incident should serve to illustrate to what abyssal depths the Stalinist conception of international solidarity has sunk. In cases where the hand of reaction reaches out and seizes a fighter for the proletariat one would expect that every section of the labor movement, irrespective of other political differences, would unite to wrest the victim from the enemy. Not so with the Stalinists. Unless they have a private concern in the case they wash their hands of it because they have "interests separate and apart from those of the working class."

This is illustrated in their criminal neglect of Torgler, who was reported to have had differences with them, up till the time rumors of his death were heard. Then the Stalinists said: "Now that Torgler is dead let us redouble the fight for Thaelmann."

The instance at hand is an interview between Godefroy, the secretary of the Belgian Young Socialists which numbers some 35,000 members had with Kossarev, the secretary of the Young Communist International. Kossarev was asked why the Young Communists of Belgium (500 members) had refused a united front proposal made by it for the purpose of defending the 4 German youths arrested by the Dutch police during the International Youth Conference and deported back to Hitler Germany. Kossarev replied that they "had no time to waste defending Trotskyists who are in the vanguard of the counter-revolution." We have no doubt that this declaration of solidarity will be extremely pleasing to Hitler and his catthroats.

REACTIONARY DECREES IN HOLLAND

Reaction is paving the way for Fascism in Holland. Following the crushing of the spontaneous uprising of the unemployed, reported in this column two weeks ago, the government has undertaken repressive measures against the revolutionary section of the labor movement and passed laws aimed directly at the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Dutch Section of the I.C.L.), the Independent Socialist Party and the Stalinist party. First is the Sedition Bill. Second, the passage of another bill making it impossible for any party to be represented in parliament unless at least three members are elected. Third, a deposit of 250 guilds must be paid before candidates can be nominated. This deposit is forfeited unless at least three members are elected. Fourth, another law has been approved making it illegal for any paid official of a trade union to sit on any public body. This would strike directly at comrade Smeets, chairman of the R.S.P., who is likewise one of the officials of an independent trade union movement as well as being a member of parliament.

One further word on Holland. We are not at all surprised to see a reprint in the New Leader, for August 11th, in the column "The Workers Abroad", of the account of Peter Schmidt of the revolt of the unemployed in Holland which is practically a verbatim reproduction with the exception of the part that deals with the treachery of social-democratic trade union leaders who called the police when workers came to them for help. Very convenient, but obvious facts cannot be concealed that way.

VANDERVELDE ON THE UNITED FRONT

Emile Vandervelde, president of the Second International, and leader of His Majesty King Leopold's Most Loyal Opposition, indicates how enormous was the mass pressure for united action in France when he said in an article published in the *Petit Provençal*: "I am fully in accord with Leon Blum, with Paul Faure and with Lebas that it was morally impossible for them to decline." He refers to the unity offer of the Communist Party of France. It was "morally impossible" because the French proletariat was clamoring too loudly for the united front and any bureaucratic, Stalinist or reformist, that stood in its way, would be immediately discredited and brushed aside. To accept the united front was to save the face of reformism temporarily. And Vandervelde, being no novice at political squirming, was well aware of this.

For this ex-Minister of the King, who wept bitter tears at the funeral of Albert, the united front offer was not accepted so as to bring power to the struggle against Fascism but rather because it was "morally impossible" to decline the offer. That Vandervelde and his colleagues in France have found a convenient ally in the Stalinists in hamstringing the united front, confining it to meetings, speeches, etc. but not to struggle is manifest in the same article. Here Vandervelde attributes the turn of the French C.P. to the new position occupied by the U.S.S.R. internationally. This position has led the Soviet Union to follow a policy of attempting to maintain peace at all costs, even at the expense of revolutions and upheavals in European countries. Vandervelde and Co. certainly do not want any drastic change in the capitalist countries where they hold down fat jobs. The Stalinist parties must follow blindly and obediently the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Politics make strange bedfellows!

tion in peace time leads to social patriotism in war time. The alternative is a revolutionary Marxist party, to the exclusion of reformists and centrists.

3. Oniel and Waldman have no bones to pick with the assumption to power of the German and Austrian Social Democracy in 1918. They are opposed to presenting the problem in the same manner as the declaration; they are against saying anything at all about it in the declaration. On the politics there is no disagreement.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee therefore has made a serious mistake in advising the Socialist party members to vote for the Detroit declaration of principles. No explanatory statement of such an action can wipe away its support of a centrist program. Undoubtedly many militant Socialists think that a support of the Detroit declaration is a blow at the Right wing. The "Militant" group accuses those left wingers who oppose the declaration as supporters of the Right. But is not this the universal cry of the centrists? By their very position between the extreme right and the genuine left wing they threaten the latter with the growth of the former and the former with the growing power of the latter. At this stage with a small and hesitant left wing in the S. P. the centrists warn them of their "support" of the Right. Tomorrow when the left wing grows stronger the Right wing will be warned of this new danger by the centrists.

What is needed is a clear cut revolutionary program and grouping in the Socialist party. This means an unambiguous struggle against the rights, Thomases and the self-styled "Militants". It means a fundamental understanding of the revolutionary road to power, of the task of the workers' party in the struggle against war and Fascism and the need for a new revolutionary workers' party. Such a party cannot be a member of the reformist Labor and Socialist International. The revolutionary workers in the Socialist party—if they are to break from reformism and centrism—must demand a break with this International and proclaim the need for a new, a Fourth International.

Only along this path can the left wing Socialist forces contribute in a progressive and revolutionary manner to the solution of the problems of the American working class.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

Fraternal Orders Begin Drive Against Labor

"Nation-wide Drive On Reds Planned," "Citizens Committee Organized To Combat Reds," "Assault Communists for Strike Activity," "Hunt Reds Among Jobless," "Citizens to Organize to Curb Reds." Translated, these headlines mean nothing more nor less than that a concerted effort is now in preparation to exterminate the labor movement. To crush labor if and when it lifts its head. To stem the tide of the growing strike struggles throughout the country. To scare and bewilder the workers. To confuse the issues. To crack down on the unions. To establish an open-shop America. To pave the way for Fascism.

That the above are not the usual run of scare-heads common to the boss press is attested by the fact that they flow from resolutions adopted by various mass organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie—the fraternal lodges.

From Atlantic City comes the news that the Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks has pledged to enlist his entire organization, numbering 500,000 in a battle "against radicalism." "The time has arrived in America," says he, "when the issue is between the Star and Stripes and the Stars and Stripes." The time has arrived when the Stars and Stripes cease talking our devotion to the institutions of the United States and to act our love of country."

It should not be necessary to go into a detailed analysis of such a statement. The reference to talking and acting is all too clear. At the convention of the Knights of Pythias held this last week in Chicago, the 700 delegates present "cheered a proposal that the lodge's military department (are these the embryo of our American Storm Troopers?) merge with the National Guard in the event of Communist emergencies." Again it does not require any too much perspicacity to translate "Communist emergencies" into strikes, struggles of the unemployed, etc., etc.

In Cincinnati the Order of Eagles adopted a resolution to "condemn all Communism as we know it today, and likewise all kindred theories or doctrines."

From the heart of the terror belt of the United States—Alameda County in California—comes the news that District Attorney Earl Warren is the head of a county-wide organization which has elaborated the following seven point program:

1. To list and classify all per-

sons advocating the overthrow of the American government.

2. To make these records, including criminal records, available to every police department in the country.

3. To act as a clearing house for all information concerning all radical activities of this character.

4. To see to it that school and other public buildings are not used for disloyal purposes.

5. To see that propaganda disloyal to the government is not secretly distributed to school children.

6. To keep in constant touch with immigration authorities, the naturalization department and the intelligence units of the Army and Navy for the purpose of exchanging information concerning radicals.

7. To militantly strive for the deportation of all alien radicals.

The first meeting of this committee of legal and extra-legal vigilantes will be sponsored by the East Bay Rotary Clubs. As a result of the activities of this arch-reactionary Warren not a worker's home is safe from attack by his armed gorillas. In one issue of the Oakland Tribune is listed the places of ten different workers' homes or organizations that have been smashed up by the District Attorney's hooligans.

And as a centralizing feature of all these activities comes an A. P. dispatch from the seat of the New Deal—dirty deal government, Washington, with the headline reading: "Hunt Reds Among Jobless." Who are the "jobless reds?" Those who refuse to starve in silence. How to deal with them under the New Deal? Grant 75,000 Krags (rifles a bit antiquated—but not too antiquated for purposes intended) to the American Legion. That gang of professional and semi-professional killers will know upon whom to use them.

So from Atlantic City to the Bay area in California—from coast to coast—one can see a clearly calculated effort on the part of all the agencies of American reaction to band together to crack down on the rising head of American labor. These fraternal lodges of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie proper can become the organizing center for American fascism. They are organizing. We must organize, too. American labor is only now learning to pronounce its syllables.—Wait till it learns to talk!

Keller's Achievements
The "progressive" achievements of Keller, the general manager, have already been reported in the *Militant*, which were crowned by his expelling the militants who opposed him. The membership rebelled and voted to reinstate these militants—but the long overdue general membership meeting has still failed to materialize. Naturally, feelings are running pretty high against Keller these days in Paterson. The workers find an outlet for their grievances in indignation first, and later in actions.

But the problems facing the silk workers immediately go beyond Keller. At present there are other burning issues. For one thing, there are the expelled who must be reinstated; union democracy must be safeguarded; then there is a need to shift immediately to a militant policy in the union, rebuff the onslaughts of the bosses and achieve complete industrial unionism; and finally preparations must be planned and fulfilled for a nationwide general strike.

Build the Left Wing
By now it must be clear to every silk worker, despite the activities of the National (Stalinist) Union (clique) that the way out in silk is through building the American Federation of Silk Workers. The building of the Associated is the central problem locally. Despite its present obvious and dangerous weaknesses the Associated must be maintained today, in order that tomorrow it may be solidified. What decides is the strength and morale of the militants in the union. The formation of such a left wing was long delayed, and only now is in process of crystallization. The United Silk Workers Club has taken the lead in this direction, but the real job has still to be done. Once the left wing is formed it will serve as the greatest bulwark of the union. It and it alone can provide the proper leadership in the union. Without the left wing, the union is like a ship without a rudder and is at the mercy of every shifting wind and current, to say nothing of shifty people who are always ready to sow additional confusion.

If McMahon is able to sell out at his leisure, it is only because there is no left wing inside the U.T.W. And in the last analysis the plight

Behind the Algerian Massacre

Economic Factors Provoking the Recent Anti-Semitic Riots

A drunken Jewish soldier in a mosque—race and religious riot—this is the way French authorities and the bourgeois press explain the recent massacres in Constantine, Algeria. Glibly we are told that "anti-Semitism has long been an issue in Algeria," and asked to believe that a vague something called "race antagonism" makes men murder their neighbors.

But let us look at the class stratification in Algeria, and try to place Jews and Moslems within it. The Moslems include Berbers, Arabs, Arab mixtures of these, the Arabs and Moors are racially Semites, like the Jews, and the Berbers are semi-European, semi-African types, like many of the Jews too. There is no clearly traceable racial difference between any of these groups.

Class Differences

However, there is a sharp class difference between the Jews and the other native Algerians. The Moslems, who make up the great majority of the population, are peasants, shepherds, workers, artisans and petty tradesmen. A few are large semi-feudal landowners. The Jews, on the other hand, are merchants, industrialists, hardly without exception part of the large and petty bourgeoisie, sharing this class position with French, Italian and Spanish traders.

Algeria is largely an agricultural country. The best land, a strip along the coast, fifty to a hundred miles wide, has been appropriated by the French colonists, of whom there are 750,000. In order to strengthen the authority of the colonial government, the French enfranchised the Jews in 1870, forty years after the invasion of Algeria. On the other hand, the Moslems are subjects but not citizens. They may become citizens by one of several roads: serving in the French army or navy or colonial civil ranks; learning French, or owning property enough to make them considerable taxpayers. Citizenship involves subjection to French law, whereas Moslem subjects are judged by Moslem law, which privileges, however, entails the penalty of little or no voice in government.

Nominally Algeria is supposed to be "part of France," and has deputies and Senators in the national Parliament. However, they are elected only by the bourgeoisie,

the Moslems having a small voice in purely local government, whereas there are enough non-Moslems to guarantee French control. On the other hand, the Jews have a full voice, and though native Algerians, the same privileges as French colonists.

Pressure on Moslems

The economic pressure on the Moslems has steadily grown greater as the French expropriated more and more land—before the invasion owned tribally or communally—and turned it into private property. Greater and greater numbers of Moslem landless were then drafted into factory, mine, and road-building work, while the rest, remaining peasants or shepherds on a petty scale, were exposed to the exploitation of the merchants, traders and banker-usurers, among whom the Jews are conspicuous.

At the same time the Italian and Spanish tradesmen in competition with the Jews, and some under the thumbs of the Jews, nurse a constant petty-bourgeois grievance. Nazi propaganda among this class, which includes some Moslems, recently elected a whole municipal government in the city of Oran, on an anti-Semitic ticket. Spread to the peasants and some of the workers, it becomes at the same time a locally useful tool against the Jews and a German thrust at French colonial strength, since Algeria is one of the richest and most powerful of French colonies, supplying wheat, olives, oil, wine and wool, and providing a great and richly exploited market for French goods.

Dividing the Colonials

Moslems suffering under the French colonial yoke are held down by several mighty forces: first, the political and economic weight of

Drivers Smash Conspiracy

(Continued from Page 1)

ing for the first chance to make a get-away.

Following the questions, the union leaders, William Brown, Vincent Damm and Miles Dunne began to pound away at them, denouncing the proposal, demanding to know whether the mediators associated themselves with the plan.—If they did not then why had the press reported them in agreement and would they make a public statement disassociating themselves from it?

Dunnigan stated in reply, that he neither endorsed nor rejected the new proposal, but that he would make no statement or enter into any quarrel with the press.

Here the reporter for the *Organizer* entered the discussion. He told Haas and Dunnigan that he would print any statement by them in the *Organizer* disassociating themselves from their reported agreement with the scheme in the boss press. He wanted to know whether, when that appeared, Haas and Dunnigan would enter into controversy with the *Organizer* or whether it is only with the boss press they do not like to fight. This question, met with a round of laughter by the strikers, received no answer from the mediators.

Backing Down

After the federal mediators had again stated that they did not desire to endorse the proposal but merely to submit it for discussion, they left the conference room.

A brief discussion ensued and then by unanimous vote the strike committee of 100, upholding the policy of their Negotiating Committee, rejected the new scheme and instructing the union president to write a letter to that effect.

Both the union and the confidence of the strikers in their leadership came out of this session immeasurably strengthened. For more than a week the *Organizer* had been cautioning the drivers to watch out for tricks and maneuvers, and advising them to maintain eternal vigilance.

The splendid showing of the committee of 100 demonstrated that they had been well prepared.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

There are only a limited number of Bound Volumes for the year 1933 on hand. They can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers at \$1.50 post-paid. This holds for any part of the United States.

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BROWNSVILLE COMRADES ATTENTION!

The social affair, in connection with the three volumes of the "History of the Russian Revolution" scheduled to take place on August 18th in the headquarters of the Brownsville branch 1776 Pitkin Ave. has been postponed due to the moonlight excursion which occurs on the same date. Watch the *Militant* for announcement of new time and place for the blowout.

Knit Goods Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

leadership that they have called a general strike, while they are found in the shops WORKING. It never occurs to them that the strikers' committee who are so easily "fooled" would think them scabs for working while a general strike in the industry is on or that they might even jump to the conclusion that the "Industrial" general strike call was a fake. Of course, such stupidities will inevitably grow out of their theory of dual unionism.

It should be said at this time that the general strike situation of the knit goods workers commands complete unity and that the continuous agitation by the Stalinists only results into splitting the ranks of the workers who are now in a fight primarily for improved working conditions in the industry. Particularly, does such disruptive propaganda and action befog the minds of the newer elements in the union who are badly lacking in the knowledge and experience of the class struggle. It is clear that the Stalinist policy plays right into the hands of the bosses and it is therefore necessary that the workers abandon these disruptive tactics and splitting policies by joining the struggle for one strong union of the knit garment workers against the bosses.

Those of us who recognize the need of the class conscious elements to add the as yet backward workers in their struggle for better conditions on the job, shall join the workers where they are to be found, to spur them on for greater militancy in their struggle for better living conditions.

A KNIT GOODS WORKER.

of the Associated lies also in the lack of a functioning left wing there. The big and immediate job before all the militants is twofold: on the one hand they must defeat the demagogues, job-seekers, disrupters and cliques who thrive on trouble and who put their personal interests above the interests of the union; and on the other hand they must fuse so solid a front as to teach the bosses that an end must be put to the disgraceful chaos and misery now prevailing in the industry. Only a left wing can accomplish this task. It is the need of the hour. A real left wing in Paterson today means a real left wing in the U.T.W. tomorrow and the dawn of a new day for textile workers.

—SILK WORKER.

Don't forget the Boat Ride Saturday, August 18. Boat leaves Pier 11, foot of Wall St. at 6 P.M.

Drought and New Deal Ruins American Farmers

In the midst of a severe agrarian crisis produced by the contraction of the foreign market and the incapacity of the American workers to purchase the necessities of life, the American farmers are now faced with the most destructive drought in the 75 years during which the Weather Bureau has kept records.

While the drought, in which 27 million persons in 24 states are affected, has caused a damage running in excess of 5 billion dollars, the Roosevelt administration has so far allocated only 165 million dollars for relief purposes. This amount is not only totally inadequate, considering the amount of damage wrought, but is insufficient to even feed the millions of people affected.

As a result of the crops destroyed, thousands of farmers will be thrown into bankruptcy. Almost 250,000 animals are killed daily for lack of feed.

Agricultural experts maintain that prompt action by the government in shipping feed to drought areas and the removal of cattle to other regions would have saved a good proportion of the live stock.

This was not done, however, as it would have interfered with the government's agricultural program to reduce "surplus" and boost prices.

Prices Soaring

Prices of commodities are soaring in the meantime in expectation of a shortage this winter. And Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, declares that: "You can't have a drought like this without an advance in prices. That is inevitable. There is nothing one can do about things of this sort."

While conservative agricultural economists claim that there is enough food supply for domestic requirements, the monopolists and the government are busy spreading scare stories of a food shortage in order to increase prices. It is generally conceded that the greatest damage was caused to feed for live stock, which amounts to 60 percent of the total gross income of agriculture.

The Roosevelt administration's handling of the drought situation will not only fail to aid the rehabilitation of the destroyed areas, but will only serve to further accentuate the crisis which has plagued the American farmer since 1920.

Causes of Crisis

We will here try to summarize the causes which have led to the present crisis.

As a result of the World War, European agricultural production was reduced to approximately 25% of normal by 1918. This led to a tremendous increase of American agricultural production. The gross income of American farmers which amounted to \$6,000,000,000 in 1913, rose to \$16,900,000,000 in 1919. Land prices took a tremendous upward leap as the prices of farm products soared to unheard of heights.

In order to finance this colossal expansion, farmers mortgaged their holdings to acquire additional acreage. The mortgage debt increased from \$3,300,000,000 in 1910 to \$7,900,000,000 in 1920. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that land prices were 70% above normal during the war.

With the end of the war European agriculture began to regain its place in the world market. The huge mortgage burden of the American farmers accumulated at inflation prices during the war and the elimination of the European market, contributed to the financial crisis of 1929. Between 1920 and 1930 more than 450,000 owners lost their farms and mortgage indebtedness increased to over 10 billion dollars. Tenancy increased by over 250,000.

Drop in Value of Farm Products

While the farm income for 1919 amounted to 15 billion dollars, it fell to a little over 5 billion in 1932. At the same time the value of property dropped from 78 billion dollars to 44 billion. Taxes on the other hand increased over 150% since the war, while prices of farm products were only 52% of their pre-war level.

In the face of the contracting export and home market, production continued to expand at an increasing pace. American capitalism was faced with the curse of plenty. Cries of "overproduction" were heard on all sides while over 40 million people were forced to live on charity and another few million on the borderline.

The Roosevelt government, in line with its "New Deal" program, set up a plan for disposing of the "surplus," which the workers whose buying power had been constantly reduced by unemployment and the NRA minimums were unable to absorb at the artificially inflated prices established by the government.

The program called for the aban-

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

donment of 50 million acres of productive land. This wholesale destruction of primary wealth was subsidized by the government to the tune of over 3 billion dollars.

At the same time the Public Works program calls for the outlay of more than 300 million dollars for dams, irrigation, flood control, and soil erosion reclamation—to bring hundreds of thousands of new acres into productivity.

Thus we get a classic example of planning under capitalism! First, a reward offered for not producing—while at the same time spending millions to increase productivity. The logic behind it all being to stabilize prices above the level determined by world competition.

Now the drought has come to the aid of the government and with one fell swoop has accomplished the objective of all its planning:

Tens of thousands of farmers' crops have been destroyed (without benefit of government subsidy). Live stock slaughtered for lack of feed and water.

Thousands of farmers thrown off the land as a result of destroyed crops and failure to pay mortgage indebtedness.

—WASSERMAN.

Newark Meeting On Minneapolis

Newark, N. J., Aug. 18.—A meeting on the Minneapolis strike was held here today under the joint auspices of the American Workers Party and the Communist League.

The meeting was attended by over 70 workers, most of whom remained until the end of the question and discussion period which ended at 11:40.

The speakers, Rosenberg of the A.W.P. and Kotz of the C.L.A., gave an account of the conduct and progress of the strike; an analysis of the role of Gov. Olson and the role of the C. P.

The Stalinists and their sympathizers present repeated the accusations and criticisms made in the *Daily Worker* against what it calls the Trotskyite leadership of local 574. They were treated to refutations made by direct quotations from the union's paper, the *Organizer*, and other literature. They were not particularly pleased to learn that even the capitalist press in Minneapolis was aware of the Stalinists' role and had printed a story pointing out that the "106 noble employers, Dan Tobin, and the Communist Party are united in their attacks on the leadership of local 574." The story also contained the information that "no one seemed to like the poor leaders of 574 but the truck drivers."

The enthusiastic response to this meeting was another testimonial to the increasing recognition of the League's intelligent and correct trade union policy.

The Newark branch of the Communist League is undertaking an organizational drive and urges all sympathizers and Militant readers in Jersey to L. Nagr, 843 So. 19th St., Newark, N. J. An interesting series of lectures and classes are being prepared for the Fall. We urge our sympathizers to cooperate. —J.K.

OPEN FORUM COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM—IS UNITY POSSIBLE?

Friday, August 24, at 8 P.M. 144 Second Avenue, N.Y.C.

QUESTIONS : DISCUSSION Admission Free

Auspices: Manhattan Branch Communist League of America.

Food Prices Rise

(Continued from Page 1)

anyone take undue alarm at his "fighting" words. "We do not contemplate strikes. Not at all! We want to avoid strikes!"

"We hold that the interests of the wage earners can be protected only through Government administration of the NRA."

That is Green's message to the workers who are underpaid and underfed as never before in American history, by the grace of God and the NRA.

A cold winter threatens, and a hard one for the workers of the United States of America, richest land under the sun. If prices are high now, they must go still higher. Workers who hunger, must now starve. For the drought has completed the work begun by the NRA farm administration in plowing under corn, wheat and cotton. God himself came to the aid of the Roosevelt-Wallace farm program and food prices will rise, as high as he contemplated, and higher.

But where, in any statement issued by our beaming President since the drought began, has there been one word about a corresponding rise in wages?

Where, Mister Green? The upshot of the whole business is, that under capitalism workers must starve. If there is a surplus, they must starve because of the surplus. If there is a shortage they must starve because of the shortage. But starve they must.

MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS VICTORIOUS

Green & Co. Declare War On Militants

Playing, as usual, squarely into the hands of the vigilantes, citizens' alliances, American Legion thugs, and other avowed enemies of all organized labor, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, announces that he plans a relentless and organized war on the "reds" within the ranks.

The executive council of the Federation met in Atlantic City, ignored the burning issue facing American labor—namely, whether it must submit tamely to the violation of the constitutional rights of workers on strike, whether the activities of the strike-breaking organizations are to continue without the resistance of organized labor—but did pass solemn resolutions, and a three-point program, to fight its own left-wing elements.

The Reactionary Program

The three-points of the program are in part:

First: To call upon all subordinate organized units to ferret out the Communists within its ranks and to expel them from membership.

Second: "We shall call upon the proper governmental authorities to protect trade unionists who seek to comply with agreements made with employers through collective bargaining, against the attacks of Communists who seek to compel them through force, intimidation, violence, to become identified with the Communist organization."

Third: "The Executive Council will call upon the Department of Labor to deport alien Communists... who are deportable under the immigration statute."

Translate these three points on the anti-Red program, and they mean, first: That Green will lend his support to the California and Minneapolis red-baiting program of the employers, who also want to rid labor of its "Communists" i.e. militant elements. Second, that the cops will be called in to support trade-union bureaucrats in their sell-outs of the workers, against the revolt of the rank-and-file. Third, that Green will support the Department of Labor's strike-breaking deportation policy.

The situation becomes particularly ominous when one bears in mind that the next convention of the A. F. of L. will be held shortly—October 3—in San Francisco, and that handpicked delegates are more than likely to railroad through the anti-Red program of the executive council.

Fascist Bands Will Approve
Thus, on the scene where organized labor is most menaced by lawless, quasi-Fascist mobs, the instigators of the lawlessness and terror will be able to point to the approval of the American Federation of Labor, of organized labor.

The bosses who broke the San Francisco general strike by the use of armed thugs, aided by police, will be able to say: "We were only making war on the Reds, just as the A. F. of L. was forced to do."

Bill Green's rule is threatened. Locals are in open rebellion, and the seething discontent is beginning to force its way into the ranks of the top leadership. The war against this rebellion will be masked as a war against the "Reds" (not even the bosses are more adept than Green at drawing the red-herring across the trail) but all the dissatisfied elements will be smashed before the war is over—if Green has his way.

Minneapolis Shows the Way
The answer of the workers who won the glorious battle of Minneapolis should be the answer of all trade unionists to Bill Green's latest pronouncements. They refused to be diverted by Tobin's and Green's red-herring, and they continued under their own militant leadership to win one of the most significant victories in the history of labor in the last 15 years.

Trade-union membership belongs to all workers, regardless of their political affiliations and convictions, who are willing to actively fight for improvement of workers' conditions. The most active members have been the leftward moving members, who are in revolt against Bill Green's policy of betrayal.

And they are the ones Bill Green is seeking to expel.
Make no mistake about it, when the anti-Red drive gets into full swing, all militant trade-union leaders and members will be declared "reds", and all militant trade-union tactics condemned as "originating in Moscow".

NEW DEB DEFENDS PROFIT SYSTEM, SAYS SECRETARY

For such timid capitalists—if such there be—who were seriously concerned lest the New Deal assail their sacred rights to profit off the sweat and blood of the workingman, Secretary of Commerce Roper has issued a soothing reassurance.

"To the business man let me say," he said in a radio address, "that your government and the masses of people resent unthinking statements or subtle suggestions that the profit motive in American life has been or is to be abolished."

With recent disclosures to the effect that milk companies have been enjoying 300 per cent profit while dairy farmers were begging for a government pittance, with textile companies enjoying 370 per cent increase in profits, with General Motors showing a 16 per cent increase in profits, and Dupont a 50 cents extra dividend, the honorable secretary's assurances would seem to be superfluous.

Nor do the starving masses need to be told that the profit motive still rules. How strongly it rules, and how unscrupulously, they will further discover when the prices of food, and other necessities of life, begin to rocket this winter.

Japan Prepares Seizure of Chinese Eastern Railroad

The Soviet officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway seized last week are still being kept in prison by the Manchukuoan authorities who refuse to free them. Their release has been refused despite repeated protests on the part of Soviet Russia, even threatening to temporarily suspend all negotiations for the sale of the road. Japan, arrogant bully of the East, has merely continued its incarceration of the Linc's officials, thereby hoping to force the Soviet Union to agree to their terms.

Following the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, the latter's warlords, sensing the weakness of the Workers' Republic, forcibly seized control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had formerly been owned jointly by Soviet Russia and China. Forced by the protestations of the Soviets to relinquish part of the control to the Russian officials, Japan has since then been attempting

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An Open Letter to the C. P. and S. P. on the United Front

To the Communist Party of the United States
To the Socialist Party of the United States
Dear Comrades:

You are now considering the establishment of a united front of common struggle for certain immediate aims. Formally such a proposal has been made by the Communist Party to the Socialist Party, and naturally we urge its acceptance.

It is a fact well known to you that we have consistently advocated the united front of Communist and Socialist organizations. When others rejected this idea we remained steadfast in our conviction of its imperative necessity and its feasibility. Particularly in face of the advancing Fascist menace in Europe and its developing tendencies also in the United States did we persist in our demand for a united front of common action against the class enemy. Our concern can be only that of the needs of our class. That is the only point of view which has any meaning and from that point of view the realization of the united front will mean a victory for the working class.

It is not necessary for us to restate here the pressing needs of the united front of Communist and Socialist organizations; they have been stated often enough. But we feel that it is necessary for us to emphasize that the united front must be genuine in its substance and in its objectives. This would mean first of all that it must include all Communist and Socialist organizations ready to accept a program of common struggle and ready to collaborate loyally in carrying it into actual life. It would mean

Labor Skates Stall General Textile Strike

The much heralded textile union general strike threatens to join the much heralded steel strike into a sliding.

Already the timorous, the treacherous, textile union leaders are paying the way for the sell-out.

The special "strike committee", headed by Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United Textile Workers, is hopeful that "President Roosevelt or someone else with real authority" will be able to avert the walkout.

The President's sop to the demands of the workers, in the form of a reduction of hours from 40 to 36, is hailed by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as a "living symbol of the NRA" (which it is) and "a new approach to real economic democracy".

Having thus prepared the workers with these fine, militant slogans for a battle to the death, the finishing touches to the strike campaign is supplied by William Green, president of the A. F. of L. Green has appointed a committee to cooperate with the general strike committee. Green's committee comprises John L. Lewis, Samuel Woll, Frank Morrison, and similar fire-fighters, all calculated to dampen the most promising conflagration that might arise in union circles, and to put out all scattered flames of revolt as well.

In a word, the leaders of the textile union are not only stalling on the strike issue, but such preparations as they are making are in the direction of strangling the strike should it begin.

The only hope for the strike, if it is called, is that the workers themselves may rebel against such obviously lukewarm leadership, and demand a genuine rank-and-file strike committee, responsible neither to Bill Green, nor to the NRA, but representing the needs and demands of the workers in the textile industry.

FOOD PRICES RISE 22 PERCENT

Coinciding with the reports of increased corporation profits and increased unemployment (359,000 laid off between June and July of this year—Francis Perkins) come those of rising food prices.

Food prices on July 31 reached the highest point in 30 months, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Where a worker paid 90 cents for food in April 1933, he today has to pay \$1.10, an increase of 22 percent.

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Local 574 Wins Right to Represent Inside Men; Discrimination Barred

Agreement Answers Lies and Slanders

(Reprinted below are the terms of the settlement adopted by the membership of 574 and agreed to by the "168" employers. We believe that this is the surest way to answer all lies and put the calumniators in their place. —Ed.)

1. The strike and all strike activities to be terminated at once.

2. All employees now on strike shall be reinstated on the basis of seniority, without discrimination.

3. Each employer who does not at once reinstate all his employees to their former positions, shall within three (3) days after the strike is terminated, prepare and file with the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board a preferential list. Such employers shall place on the preferential list the names of employees on their payrolls as of July 16th, 1934, and they shall engage workers from this list in seniority order, and will not hire or maintain on their payrolls any other employees (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) until this preferential list is exhausted.

4. In the twenty-two (22) firms known as the "market firms," the provisions hereof shall cover Drivers, Helpers, Platform Workers and "Inside Workers." The term "Inside Workers" shall mean all employees of these firms except Drivers, Helpers, Platform Workers, Office Workers and Salesmen. The term "Salesman" shall mean any employee who devotes at least sixty per cent (60%) of his time to selling.

5. In the one hundred and forty-four (144) firms other than the "market firms," the provisions hereof shall cover only Drivers, Helpers and Platform Workers directly engaged in loading or unloading trucks. In any plant where there are inside employees handling merchandise who went out on strike, they shall be returned to their former positions, but they shall not be eligible to vote in the election as called for in paragraph seven (7) hereof; unless all "Inside Workers" in said plant or plants be also entitled to vote.

6. No employer shall discriminate against any employee because of Union membership.

7. Within ten (10) days after the termination of the strike, an election shall be held in each of the one hundred and sixty-six (166) firms to determine representation of the employees in these firms (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof). All employees so defined whose names appear on the payroll or list of employees as of July 16, 1934, shall be eligible to vote. The election shall be by secret ballot and conducted under the supervision of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board.

Representatives chosen by the majority shall bargain for all said employees eligible to vote.

Each employer shall deal with such person, persons, or organization as the majority of his employees (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) shall select for purposes of collective bargaining.

8. Each firm agrees to pay for a period of at least one year, not less than fifty (50c) cents per hour to Truck Drivers, and not less than forty (40c) cents per hour to Helpers, Platform Workers and "Inside Workers" as above defined. These hourly rates shall remain in effect unless changed by agreement or arbitration. If a dispute arises in any individual firm regarding hourly rates, which can not be settled by negotiation, the dispute shall be submitted to arbitration. The affected employer shall within three (3) days after the request is made appoint two (2) representatives to the Arbitration Board the employees (as defined in paragraphs four (4) and five (5) hereof) by majority representation, within three days after the request is made, shall

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The Strike Triumphant

The stirring news of the victory of the Minneapolis strike will give heart and hope to every class conscious and union conscious worker in the United States. It comes as a beacon light on the dark sea of defeats that have engulfed the labor unions in the second strike movement under the NRA. The thrilling outcome of the battle will give confidence to the doubting worker that labor need not lose and capitalism can be defeated. It will strengthen the conviction in the minds of every revolutionist that the policies of consistent class struggle are the only method of crowning the struggles of the working class with success.

But the working class has little time to rejoice. Bigger and fiercer battles are ahead. It must forge its weapons and prepare. Let the workers learn and assimilate the lessons of Minneapolis and they will have gained an invaluable addition to the arsenal of class weapons against capital. And Minneapolis is rich in lessons, so rich that if but a part of them are digested the proletariat will take a huge stride forward.

With hardly an exception practically all of the major problems of strike strategy were telescoped in the battle of 574. Lack of space does not permit us to deal with all of them, but to mention them in part: maintaining a picket line to cope with scabs, feeding five thousand strikers and their families, providing relief to the more destitute of the workers, holding high the morale of the strikers for the long weeks of the struggle, answering the lies, the calumnies and the slanders of the boss press and radio, conducting negotiations with the employers and federal arbitrators, gaining the support of workers in other unions, combatting the police and the city officials.

These are the customary problems faced by the workers when they rebel for better conditions. But the Minneapolis strike was complicated with other and far more perplexing matters. From the very word go, the strike was faced with a vehement "red" scare of the bosses, kept alive for its entire duration. This was joined in by the International President of the Teamsters, Tobin, who declared the strike illegal at the very outset. Then, to make confusion worse confounded, a farmer-labor governor, having the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the workers, dealt some deadly blows at the strike while pretending friendship. A backward rank-and-file, fighting mad, but steeped in all the prejudices that the bosses had inculcated into them for years finishes the picture.

Any other leadership than the one in Minneapolis would have foundered on the rocks of this stupendous problem. This is not because of the personal qualities or the integrity of the men, although that contributed heavily, but rather because the tactics they pursued were Marxian from beginning to end. They were thoroughly fused with the workers in the ranks. They carried on their work in the trade union not with the purpose of some sensational stunt. Building on organization, leading it to victory and helping the workers learn from their own experiences in the class struggle—that was their aim.

Previous issues of the *Militant* have commented on the military-efficient organization of the strike apparatus. But it does not hurt to repeat some of them, for it was on this very thing that success was founded. To enumerate: the picket line on wheels ready to move at a moment's notice, in contact at every step with strike headquarters—the commissary serving five thousand strikers daily on the solid assumption that an army travels on its belly—the Ladies Auxiliary giving the women a direct interest in the struggle, making them an encouragement and an aid instead of a drag on the strikers—the mobilization of the unemployed for support—and finally the daily strike bulletin, which we can safely say is one of the greatest contributions to strike strategy in recent times. Here was a paper that inspired the strikers, answered the lies of the boss press day in, day out, fanned their flagging enthusiasm, warned them of traps set by the bosses and arbitrators, showed the class lines of the struggle and performed a thousand and one other services. This was the unshakable foundation of the strike.

Yet all of this would have been wrecked by the "red" scare had the union leaders not been prepared to meet it. In Frisco the cry of "Communism" tore a deep hole into the strike front. In Minneapolis it was a complete dud. The leaders faced the issue squarely. They did not rush into print denying the accusations. Nor did they shout their opinions to the wide world. They explained to the men that this was part of a plot of the bosses to evade the issues, sow confusion and division in the ranks and thus smash the strike. The results are known. The red-scare fell on deaf ears.

Quite as important, if not more so, was the role of Governor Olson. With a cunning play of demagoguery and harmless attacks on the employers he established himself as the "friend" of the strikers. So much so, that when he called the troops onto the streets and declared martial law, opinion was general among the drivers that it was done in their interest. Pickets began to rely on Olson's soldiers. Knowing the class nature of the state, the leaders saw how fatal such an attitude would be for the strike. They were quick to act. The *Organizer*, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the union men, pointed out the real purpose of the troops—to break the strike. But they did not confine themselves to denunciation. Only experience would teach the strikers. A test of the right of picketing was decided upon. And then, by raiding the strike headquarters, imprisoning the leaders and the best pickets, Olson taught the strikers more about Olson than all the editorials in the world could have done. A different opinion of the Governor of Minnesota and the purpose of the state now pervades not a few members of 574.

The union saw to it that the struggle against Olson be further pushed by exerting the severest pressure on Olson's men, the conservative leaders of the Central Labor Union. The biggest barrier to Olson's game was the support of the drivers by the entire Minneapolis labor movement. By adroit and skillful tactics the leaders of 574 forced the heads of the C.L.U. to give their assistance to the drivers and not to condemn them. When the union called upon the officials to declare a general strike in answer to the raid on the headquarters, they resisted but they were on the carpet. They brought pressure to bear on Olson and he released the strike leaders and restored the hall. While the officials of the C. L. U. and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor were successful in preventing a general strike, their answer was a living demonstration to the workers of Minneapolis of the stuff these "leaders" are made. A general strike is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. And the conservatives at the head of the Minneapolis labor movement deprived 574 of this powerful means. The rank and file will draw the proper conclusions!

In the gratifying conclusion of the battle there lie the features that distinguish the Minneapolis strike from all others in recent times. For the first time in years militants, indigenous to the industry, have entered an A. F. of L. union; converted it from a craft to an industrial union; built it up patiently and quietly; prepared carefully and struck at the proper moment; combined organization with militancy and political wisdom, and emerged from a five week's strike against insuperable odds with victory in their laps. And on top of all this, what is almost unprecedented in such strikes—not only is the union intact but the leadership is still in the hands of the genuine militants.

The example of the Minneapolis leadership will be an inspiration everywhere!

It can and will be repeated!

574 Acts in Enforcement of Settlement

Minneapolis, Aug. 22.—Triumphant 574 is celebrating tonight.

The Minneapolis drivers have battled through five weeks of the toughest strike struggle in recent times and have emerged from it with a victory that will warm the hearts of the militants from Maine to California.

In the most significant duel in years between reaction, the bosses, the governor, the soldiers, the cops, the press, the radio, the church, on the one side and the dauntless militancy of 574 supported by the Minneapolis working class on the other, labor has won.

Defeating a Mighty Foe
The enemy was powerful.

It flooded the press with a Niagara of vituperation against the union and its leaders.

It impressed its paid agent, Daniel J. Tobin International Teamsters President into service to denounce the leadership as Communists.

It barked into the radio after day in a never-ending tirade against the "Communists who wanted to overthrow established law and order."

It murdered two unarmed workers in cold blood and did not even make the pretense of apprehending their assassins.

It raided the union headquarters.

It imprisoned the leaders and the best militants in a military stockade.

It declared martial law, gave free rein to the troops who strangled the picketing that had tied up Minneapolis trucking tight as a drum.

This Citizens Alliance wanted to smash 574 and organized labor. But though it was backed by all the gold of Wall Street, it has cracked like an egg shell under the fist of the truckers union.

The settlement, agreed to by the union and proposed by P. A. Donahue, who had been sent here from Washington after the raw frame-up by Haas and Dunnigan had been exposed by the rank and file of 574, gives the union the most important of the demands for which they fought.

Win On Major Issue

The paramount demand of the strike—the recognition of the inside men in the market firms—has been granted the union.

All the strikers are to be restored to their jobs without discrimination and on the basis of seniority.

Although certain concessions have been made, as in the wage scale and on the elections to determine the right of the union to represent the drivers, nevertheless the capitulation of the bosses on the cardinal issues, made the union feel strong enough to yield on these questions.

Statement of Dunne

The statement of Vincent R. Dunne, strike leader, summarizes the position of the union on the settlement:

"The action of the membership tonight, in adopting the settlement as recommended by the Strike Committee of 100, gives Local 574 substantially what it has fought and bled for since the beginning of the strike more than five weeks ago. While the Union has accepted certain modifications of its original demands, the settlement establishes the basis for the unconditional return of all strikers without discrimination, and leaves the right of Local 574 to represent the inside men in the market—the basic issue in the strike—unchallenged. The settlement differs in some respects from the Haas-Dunnigan plan which the union had adopted as a minimum, but it is so close to it in fundamentals that the committee felt justified in recommending its acceptance, and the membership by an almost unanimous vote endorsed this recommendation.

"We consider as fundamental in the settlement the fact that previous attempts to discriminate against strikers and active pickets in re-employment, is entirely eliminated."

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Attention Browder!

Albert Tustar, Holiness preacher of Sylvia N. C., to prove his faith in God, allowed a rattle-snake to bite him. His arm swelled up, his tongue became so swollen that it filled his mouth, he screamed with pain but he did not die and his followers held a Victory-Hall rally demonstration. For half an hour or more they prayed, danced, sang and rolled on the ground led by 20 "salute". Looks like a perfect set-up for a Stalinist united front.

"National Socialism"

The Nazi under-Secretary of Economics, Posse, is reported by Time, Aug. 24, as stating that the workers in Germany were caught by the Nazis' "socialism" like "flies on a fly paper". An apt comparison. Section 7a of the NRA is another form of "Tanglefoot".

The Union Label

Workers are being gassed, shot and bayoneted on picket lines. Strike headquarters and trade union headquarters are occupied by National Guards. Fellow workers in other trades show their solidarity by sympathetic strikes and by support on picket lines with their striking brothers. Fascism threatens to smash the labor movement of the world. Never was there a time when courageous and determined leadership was such a vital matter to the American labor movement as now. And—Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. propose a campaign for—the Union Label!

"Splinters"

Lovestone refers to the "Trotskyists" as splinters from Communism. If he and Brandler keep on whitening down the "International Communist Opposition" he won't have enough left to even dignify with the name "splinters".

"Deuces Wild"

Aristotle Caldis, Gitlow's third deuce, finds that the Communist League cannot be "divorced from the interests of the counter-revolution" in a truly "brilliant" historical sketch in that penny-ante pot which they call Labor Front. Aristotle should leave writing to Gitlow and spend his time "with sleeves rolled up" threshing out differences over the Talmud with Harry Watson who according to Gitlow has "a very healthy viewpoint."

Not Entirely . . .

In the thesis presented to and endorsed by the "National" Plenum of the Lovestone group, note is taken of the "disintegration" of the Trotskyists after which Lovestone states in these words: "However, we must frankly declare that the ICO has not been immune from the crisis pervading the labor movement." Not quite, as the letter of H. Zam shows. Writes Zam: "I write this after hearing the report of our international representative that the Alsatian section of the ICO, the C. P. of Alsace, has been expelled. This was the strongest section of the ICO after the Swedish party which was similarly expelled some months ago. The expulsion of the Alsatian section marks one of the major steps in the disintegration of the ICO. . . . The ICO as an international factor no longer exists." Lovestone's admission that they have not entirely escaped the crisis must be accepted as another example of that "frankness" for which he and the C. P. O. have long been famous.

Silence on Union Square

We recently commented on the ukase issued by the Stalinists here that picketing and talking must cease on Union Square August 1st. One of the "proletarian guards" elected to enforce the decision writes to the "D.W." "Although it was in the Daily Worker on the first page, August 1st urging the comrades to pay attention to the speakers, they were doing otherwise. The separate meetings and the conversations were worse than before." We would suggest that a joint statement signed by Browder and Father Divine be issued for the next meeting and printed "in the Daily Worker first page." If that doesn't silence the masses then the only thing to do is to expel them from Union Square as counter-revolutionary social-fascists. We must have silence while the Talleyrises and Divines speak.

—BILL.

Protest Deporting Of Bellussi

Terming impending deportation on September 1 of Antonio Bellussi, Italian anti-Fascist, a manifest injustice, a group of prominent liberals today petitioned Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to reinvestigate Bellussi's case.

Bellussi, according to the petition, which accompanies a legal memorandum prepared by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, was arrested in Pennsylvania in March 1933, ordered deported to Italy, and kept in jail nine months. Recently the order of deportation was modified to allow Bellussi's departure to a country other than Italy. No visa could be obtained from the countries approached, and Bellussi is again in danger of being deported to Fascist Italy.

His defenders fear that heavy punishment awaits him if he is sent back to his native land, because of his known anti-Fascist views and activities.

Among the signers of the petition to Secretary Perkins are: Professor Irwin Edman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Edmund Wilson, Maxwell S. Stewart, Frieda Kirchwey, Professor Mark Van Doren, Professor Frank Boas, James Rorty and Professor Karl Llewellyn.

The petition sets forth that Bellussi was arrested when he sought to heckle a speaker at a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts. His home was searched without warrant, in violation of his constitutional rights. Evidence was procured indicating that he was a member of the Communist Party of America, presumably making his deportation mandatory, when, as a matter of fact, he had been expelled from the Communist Party five years earlier.

On these grounds and others the petition seeks to re-open the case.

Klan Rears Its Head in Fort Wayne

Fort Wayne, Ind., Aug. 20.—The menace of the American fascist movement is becoming more evident every day. Various varieties of fascism, all bearing a marked resemblance of the original German model, and all sporting an ambitious "Der Fuehrer" or two, are raising themselves and making a bid for a mass following, and more than that, heavy financial support from the captains of industry.

Such a movement is presented in the revival of the Klu Klux Klan in Indiana. This American prototype of Hitlerism is engaged, like the Silver Shirts, in an acrimonious drive against Jews and radicals in the best approved Nazi manner. Leaflets and literature is issued denouncing "international Jewry" and warning citizens against voting for Jewish candidates for public office.

Their most vicious vituperation however, is directed against Communists. All sorts of blood-curling charges are brought against the "international band of red criminals who are trying to Russinize America." "Communism will not be tolerated" declare placards posted by the K.K.K. But these would-be Hitler make one mistake: it is fascism, not communism, that will not be tolerated by the working class.

Stirred by the wave of strikes and the valuable, concrete work of the Communist League of America, particularly in Minneapolis, the Friends of the Militant of Chicago decided to raise additional funds to its previous contributions.

A meeting was called last week and upon the suggestion of one of our members, comrade Rose Casano a decision was made to have an outing and to charge \$1.00 per person, which price should include transportation by automobile, etc. With the whole-hearted cooperation of all members, some contributing machines, others helping in preparing and serving the food, the picnic was held last Sunday, August 5th at one of the Forest Preserves, and the net result was a complete success, both in a material and ideological sense. Twenty-five dollars were netted, several new contacts were made and in general, the interest in the viewpoints of the movement stimulated.

The success of this out of door affair was due not only to the activities of our own members, but also to the splendid help we received from outsiders who attended the affair.

—J. R.

Painters Strike Sags In New York

The huge mass-meeting at Mecca Temple on Monday night, August 20, called by the Brotherhood of Painters District Council No. 9, marked the beginning of the fourth week of the general painters strike in New York for the maintenance of the \$9 wage scale and the seven hour work day.

Rumors were in circulation before the meeting, that this would be the conclusion of the strike; that the D. C. had it all fixed up with the bosses and the occasion would be taken merely as a formal announcement of the fact. But as it turned out, the series of conferences held during the day with the employers, in which every angle and every conceivable point was discussed, had not led to any agreement, and the Master Painters Association were stubbornly holding out for the eight-hour day.

Therefore, after sufficient ground had been prepared and the strikers' sentiment aroused to a high pitch, a resolution was read and unanimously adopted by a rising vote, that the Master Painters Assn. be given a 48-hour ultimatum, to come to terms or be damned; that in expiration of 48 hours the negotiations will be broken off completely and only individual employers would be dealt with thereafter.

The reading of this seemingly radical resolution, which was introduced with a real gust of bravado, was calculated to strike the militant tone of the gathering, to quell the gullible and to embolden the leaders. And this pilloried demagogue Zausner, has not miscalculated. The meeting thereafter was, though enthusiastic, most orderly and quiet: not a single disruption was heard throughout the speech-making. The Stalinists, who had split the union by refusing to cooperate with the D.C. in the strike were kept outside, as were all the 600 rank and file members of the Stalinists' local No. 499, whose charter had recently been revoked. Every man had to show his membership book at the door. The corrupt Zausner machine, together with many invited guest politicians and outside labor fakers, had full control of the gathering.

Moley Crowd of Speakers

Amongst the speakers were a representative of the Regional Labor Board, Ben Golden, a sly cunning politician who was introduced as an "impartial observer", George Meany from the Plumbers union, who was hailed by Philip Zausner as the coming State Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. Next came Louis Waldman of the Socialist Party, and last but not least Joseph B. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Assn. and of the Central Trades and Labor Council. He was introduced by the chairman as the "generalissimo" of the trade union movement, embracing more than 400,000 organized workers in New York City.

All these "stars", with a score of lesser lights, sat in a great semi-circle on the stage, with Zausner rattling on most of the time with an adroit volubility, saying little, but keeping the audience at their ease, like a country hostess. He talked interminably but failed to touch the sore spots of the union—the excessive dues and taxes, the terror and intimidations, the favoritism and gangsterism. He addressed the painters in the audience as "my boys". Whenever he accidentally came close to a tender subject, he dexterously fled under a cloud of words.

The other high priests were apparently invited on the scene to entertain the strikers; entertain them and keep them in good spirits with gross demagoguery, rosy promises and prophecies, funny anecdotes, bombastic recitations, stuff full of rhetoric and wind. Louis Waldman, who was promised as the spice, the delicacy of the program, lived up to this promise, by delectably introducing the "class nature" of the strike into the conservative chorus, much to the elation of the audience.

Gradually, as the speeches dragged on, the congregation became more and more restless and tired from the hot air delivered for them from the platform. The applause diminished. The leaders, sensing that they had sowed wind, and if they did not want to reap whirlwind, they might as well end, right there. At ten o'clock the melange of painters were on the streets.

The strike is going on as usual. Very little picketing is being done. Many of the painters who had worked before the strike are back at the jobs, as more than 200 independent bosses have signed up. The strikers are becoming more demoralized and tired of registering twice a day at their local unions. Those who work are scheming for ways and means to shirk the 50 cent a day work tax imposed on them by Zausner. The membership does not seem to care what the outcome of the strike will be. Many of the painters are clinging to the union simply to see what the hell is coming next.

The terrorism and sluggings, so familiar in the early days of the strike, have considerably abated. The disciplinary force, or strong-

arm-men (also called—strike committees, election committees etc.); mercenaries largely recruited from the underworld, are not so much in evidence. This coterie of beasts as devoid of principle as their hirers are laying low for lack of funds and work, since the Stalinists have scabbed on them by isolating all the militant elements from the battlefield, who would have given any trouble to the corrupt officialdom.

While the opportunities for the settlement of the strike is propitious at the present time, the union leaders seem to evade the actual step, because a slow, peaceful and dragged-out strike means a good source of income for them. The strikers in their part, despite their demoralization, are becoming somewhat incensed at the stalling of their leaders in securing a settlement.

There are times when patience ceases to be a virtue, and the time is approaching in the painters union, when the strikers' patience will be exhausted. The painters are getting fed up on Zausner's lies, his petty cheats, his miserable deceptions, his double dealings, and everything that goes to constitute a clique that is full of shyster tricks.

But Zausner and his creatures will not cease terrorizing and bulldozing the painters; certainly not until the rank and file wakes up and takes matters into its own hands.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

Molders in Unity Move

St. Louis.—A movement towards a merger between the International Molders Union of North America and the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees is now on foot and will probably go into effect at the twenty-eighth convention of the I. M. U. to be held in Chicago on August 13. At the time of writing we have no report of the convention. This is an important step forward, one which has been forced on the leadership by the rank and file of both organizations.

Stevenson, Vice-President of the I. M. U., is reported to have said that little or no opposition is expected from the delegates on the merger question. The only opposition which is anticipated will come from Dannenberg, head of the B. F. E., who is ready for the amalgamation or anything else so long as he is able to preserve his pie-card. Then there is the old-line leadership of the A. F. of L. who of course view any move towards the industrial union as a threat to the "established order" of hamstringing the workers in the outworn or obsolete craft union.

Bureaucrat Wants Pie-Card
All the negotiations with Dannenberg revolved around the question of the number of fat-salaried positions which will be allowed in the new organization. Dannenberg's position, however, is in the main a hopeless struggle and the convention will make short shrift of him. As for the A. F. of L., Stevenson is reported to have said that if withdrawing from it is the only way to achieve this unification then withdrawal will take place.

Stevenson, who was on a national tour, told of shop conditions around the country and especially those in the south as being so terrible as to defy description. In the south, the Negro workers are very enthusiastic about the organization. Hopes aroused by the organization have already inspired the terribly exploited workers, mostly Negro, of one of the large southern shops to go on a courageous and militant strike for the betterment of their conditions. Negroes, in other parts of the country particularly around East St. Louis are also flocking to the banner of the union.

The NRA code, setting a flat rate for sections of the foundry industry, making no discrimination between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers has led to ridiculous wage scales. In many shops skilled and unskilled are paid the same wage and in one plant it is reported that where laborers receive 32 cents an hour the molders receive only 30 cents an hour.

In addition to this, machinery has to a large extent obliterated the difference between skilled and unskilled labor. On one type of mold five workers are employed, supposedly one "molder" and five "laborers". The most experienced eye watching the operation would be unable to say which was the "molder" and which the "laborer". To continue to maintain craft lines under such conditions is foolish and suicidal.

The membership of the I. M. U. is for the most part old and conservative. The amalgamation will fuse into the new union new and young blood, younger in years as well as organization. The militants in the I. M. U. will receive from the new membership the support they need to go ahead with a program that will make the foundry bosses sit up and take notice. The brutally exploited foundry workers will have in their hands a weapon for obtaining lower hours, better conditions and a higher standard of living. That weapon is the industrial union.

—G. M.

N.Y. Truckers Strike Looms

On the heels of the settlement of the Drivers strike in Minneapolis comes the news of an impending battle in the same industry in New York.

The present agreement of Local 807 expires on September 1. Taking this occasion to present their grievances the truckers' union has sent a letter to the Master Truckmen's Bureau (bosses association) demanding that in drawing up a list of rates now being submitted to the NRA, the five dollar reduction which they voluntarily took in January 1933, be restored to them.

The union argues that they took the wage cut "to aid the industry" but they now feel that conditions have improved sufficiently to warrant a restoration of the wage level prior to the decrease. They further state that Federal reports show a rise in the cost of living of about 27% since last year while the return of the \$5 will only amount to an increase of 13%.

The Master Truckmen's Bureau, acting for the United States Trucking Corporation, in a letter to the union flatly refuses to grant this demand. In doing so they bring forth the traditional fake arguments of the bosses; competition, distorted figures on the rise of the cost of living, a boast of the "excellent" wages now paid, a threat that the granting of the demand would mean loss of customers and therefore of jobs, and a plea for "loyalty".

To this stubborn, profit-mad attitude of the bosses the union has but one possible reply—strike. The Minneapolis workers had a trying experience, prior to their walkout, in trying to bring the bosses to terms at the round table of discussions. 574 found out that they were strongest in negotiations when the economic might of the workers was solidly behind them. Local 807 will make the same discovery, if they have not already done so.

Pocketbook Workers Oust Wolinsky

The long over-due resignation of Ossip Wolinsky was finally accepted at a packed membership meeting of 1,300 Pocketbook Workers held at Stuyvesant Casino on August 16.

The resignation of the notorious "legal adviser", Wolinsky had been accepted by the Joint Council of Pocketbook workers a few weeks ago. On July 21 Wolinsky's gang broke up a meeting not permitting a vote on the resignation.

After the recording secretary had read the report of the Joint Council, one of Wolinsky's lickspittles, the anarchist Wisotsky, appealed to the chair saying that Wolinsky's resignation could not be discussed by the membership since the resignation had been sent to the press and not to the members.

This was a maneuver and a test to feel out the sentiment of the membership.

Demonstration Against Wolinsky
The chairman, a former Wolinsky supporter, ruled against the appeal and put the question to a vote. He was sustained and the announcement of the results 626 as against 534 brought a stormy demonstration from the workers which lasted more than ten minutes.

Two speakers for and two against the resignation were then given the floor by the chairman. The Wolinsky supporters made no attempt to speak but rather to shout and yell so as to break up the meeting before a vote could be taken. Their trick failed.

A thunder of "yeas" arose from the great mass of the workers in the viva voce vote on the question. The chairman announced the resignation accepted and adjourned the meeting.

The Wolinsky patriots, however, remained in the hall continuing the meeting. Wolinsky himself took the floor, calling on his lieutenants to refuse to pay dues and to institute a regime of expulsions and sluggings.

Wolinsky wants to force himself on the workers, in a reign of terror, as the Hitler of the pocketbook union. The militants in the entire trade union movement must answer the challenge by coming to the aid of the pocketbook workers in the present crisis.

A Program of Action

What is to be done?

First, a new agreement should immediately be negotiated and the workers mobilized for a battle.

Second, shop meetings should be held at once and all chairmen and committee men supporting Wolinsky removed.

There must be no delay in executing this program. The season is rapidly approaching its end. Without an agreement and with an internal fight in its ranks the danger is great that the union will receive a smashing blow if prompt action is not taken.

Present Leaders Not Trustworthy

The same workers who oppose Wolinsky have no confidence in the present administration, Stein, Goldmann, Lubliner, Wise and others. It would be fatal to entrust the negotiations to them. They are respon-

Hathaway Slurs Mpls. Strike

A large audience attended a meeting on Friday, August 10 at Irving Plaza. They were there to learn the "Lessons of Minneapolis" through the medium of Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker.

Having failed to learn anything from the Minneapolis strike himself, Hathaway was therefore unable to impart anything of importance to the workers. It is true he spoke for one and one half hours on the "sell-out", the "wrong policy", the "collaboration of the Trotskyists with Olson", etc., etc., ad nauseum—a long series of distortions, misstatements, outright lies, provocative slanders.

Model Strike

Here is a strike that stands out as a model for the working class. Fighting against great odds, all of the state forces lined up against it, Local 574 is putting up as militant a struggle as has ever been witnessed in labor history. The efficiency of the strike apparatus, the strike committee of 100, the strike headquarters, the preparations for relief, the strike hospital, the daily strike newspaper, the loud speaker bulletins over Station 574, the discipline and fighting courage of the workers, the solidarity of workers with the leaders—these are some of the facts of the Minneapolis strike which are unique in American labor history and will serve as lessons to the working class in future struggles.

But Hathaway could not find one word of praise or make one constructive criticism for this magnificent battle.

Only written questions were permitted and the chairman was free to choose those to be answered. A protest from the floor arose. One worker stated to the chairman that he had recently returned from Minneapolis, that he had several copies of the Organizer, the strike paper, which contained direct refutation of statements made by Hathaway and requested the floor to read them. The request was refused.

Provocative Slander

A little later Hathaway resorted to a vile, provocative trick to arouse the workers to a pitch of violence (shades of Madison Square Garden). Said Hathaway: "The Trotskyists organized squads to beat up the Communists who distributed leaflets." Unable to restrain himself the worker who had previously attempted to get the floor shouted: "That's a lie! I was there and you weren't." A cry of "throw him out" arose from many throats. A contingent of strong arm guys started to converge on the worker and there would have been violence but for the order from Hathaway that he would handle the question. Then came a shock.

A written challenge for a debate on the lessons of the Minneapolis strike by the Communist League was read. As a member of the C. E. C., Hathaway accepted this challenge—on one proviso; that the debate be held first in Minneapolis.

Mr. Hathaway, we will debate you in Minneapolis, New York, anywhere. We call your bluff. Put up or shut up! Our committee stands ready to meet yours and make arrangements.

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sible for Wolinsky's return to the union. Moreover, they have worked hand in glove with the employers for years, double-crossing the workers whenever it was necessary to gain their own ends.

A few weeks ago this same "Anti-Wolinsky" committee called a meeting in the Rand School where the speakers were the very men, Kleinman, Lubliner, Wise, etc., who engineered Wolinsky's return. Just as at union meetings they refused to give the floor to rank-and-file workers. The workers left the meeting in disgust.

Is it any wonder that the Wolinsky gang received 534 votes at the union meeting?

This "Anti-Wolinsky" committee issued not a single statement clarifying the situation and their position. The same goes for the Stalinist "rank and file committee" which made no fight against the "Fraternal Club" administration with whom they are in a united front. The Stalinists will yet have to give an accounting of themselves and an explanation of all their monstrous blunders in the Wolinsky affair.

—POCKETBOOK WORKER.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

The Pre-Revolutionary Situation in France

With unprecedented speed the crisis in France has sharpened the class struggle to the point where a growing and unbridgeable rift is clearly visible between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The coup d'etat by which the reactionary pre-fascist government of Doumergue achieved power in February was so evidently a blow at bourgeois parliamentary democracy and so clearly the planned work of fascist forces, that it set in motion a molecular process of change among the masses. The workers and toilers realized that the Doumergue Bonapartist regime, a police-military regime, was merely a bridge to aid the fascist forces of extreme reaction to come to power. Under this frightful threat, having in mind the lessons of Germany and Austria, the masses moved leftwards, turning their backs on those who advocated the more obvious forms of class collaboration and exerting tremendous pressure on the bureaucracies of the working class parties and organizations for unity. The result was the splitting of every party without exception, from the outright bourgeois democratic radical socialists, and the social democrats to the centrist Stalinist party, the C. P. Despite the desires of the bureaucracies of the two centrist parties, the S. D. and the C. P., the workers in these parties forced the acceptance of the united front to defend the proletariat against the fascist menace.

Socialists and the United Front

At the Toulouse congress of the S. P., its titular leader Blum still defended Frossard, who had betrayed his party in parliament by helping to oust the Daladier government in favor of the Doumergue government of "national concentration", and attacked the "left" wing, Pivert and Zyromski, advocates of the united front. So swiftly have events moved since Toulouse that only recently the delegates at the meeting of the National Council of the S. P. voted 3,471 against 306 in favor of the united front with the C. P. Blum was now forced to attack Frossard who attempted to scare the bureaucracy with the dire consequence of losing their parliamentary posts in the coming October elections.

Significance of the United Front

The united front thus achieved is only a beginning so far as a real defense against fascist attack on the working class is concerned. The bureaucracies of both parties are acting to limit and bridle the necessary action of the masses, to confine the united front to "agreements" at the top. But it is necessary to broaden this unity to include all workers' organizations, and above all it is necessary to accomplish the task, through the united front, of creating a drilled workers' guard, to arm the workers to meet the drilled and armed forces of the fascists. There is also the task of beating back fascism by wresting state power from its aid, the Doumergue government, which can only be done by preparing now for a general strike.

Despite the meagre achievement thus far, we welcome the united front even in its limited preliminary form, particularly because of the mood of the French masses for unity is reflected through it. Each step correctly taken for the defense of the workers means also the quickening of the tempo of the struggle and the speeding up of the efforts of reaction. There is ample evidence for this in the reception by the French bourgeois press of the news of the united front. Thus the vote of the S. P. leads the organ of big industry, *La Journée Industrielle*, to say, "The Sunday event leads us but to one simple conclusion: the necessity to reorganize more and more actively the forces resisting the social revolution." *Le Temps*, that semi-official organ which Jaures called "the bourgeoisie turned newspaper", writes: "The hour is approaching when there will be in France but two opposed political conceptions: the national and democratic (read fascist!) conception and the international and dictatorial conception. What is at stake in this conflict is nothing less than the nation and liberty. We will have to decide definitely and forever between the idealism of the French Revolution and the Revolution (read proletarian revolution) pure and simple. Marxism on one side, Anti-Marxism on the other. It is no longer a question of a dilemma involving a theoretical and ideological opposition (read the perille parliamentary opposition of social democracy), but a real opposition which corresponds to the antagonism of irreconcilable conceptions, partly organized (read armed) and ready for action." Thus the bourgeoisie, having taken alarm, gives us warning that the time is short, that already the two irreconcilable forces in capitalist society have crystallized out, that the dual power will have to be resolved by the test of armed action. It is now that the French proletariat will have to learn anew the lessons of the Com-

—JACK WEBER.

Just Off the Press!

War and the 4th International

Draft Theses Adopted by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League

TEN CENTS

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QUESTION BOX

GERALD DAVIS, Philadelphia—(Continued from last week)—Point 3. The Stalinist argument that they formed the T.U.U.L. in order to organize the unorganized runs about as follows: There are about 40 million workers in the U. S. of whom only about 4 million are in the A. F. of L. Do you think that we are going to organize the other 36 million and turn them over to the A. F. of L. reactionaries?

This reasoning, at first sight unassailable, is false. As Lozovsky's quotation, given last week shows, it is precisely upon the basis of this revolutionary mass, over whom the revolutionaries will have the decisive influence because the left wing will have organized them, that the Communists can capture the trade unions. Furthermore the Stalinists admit by this contention that they lack confidence in their ability to combat the reactionary union bureaucracy, that they are afraid of them. How can such people have confidence in their ability to fight the powerful American imperialists if they are stopped by a much weaker adversary?

Point 4. If the T.U.U.L. was formed primarily to organize the unorganized, one would have to assume that, prior to the inception of this trade union center, the C. P. either did not stand for the organization of the unorganized or had no policy for accomplishing it either within the framework of the existing organizations. Neither is the case and the contention falls on its point alone.

For proof we will dig up the ghost of Wm. Z. Foster, the most authoritative of the C. P. leaders on the trade union question:

"A most important question for T.U.E.L. militants to understand in order to carry through successfully our work of organizing the unorganized is our relationship to the A. F. of L. and Independent Unions. Our goal must be to build mass labor organizations of the workers, and to bring or maintain these unions in affiliation with the general labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. . . . The two evils we have to guard against are on the one side, the devil of dual unionism, and on the other, the dogma of unity with the old trade unions 'at any price'."

"In the industries where there are no A. F. of L. unions our course is clear. We must form new unions and bring them into affiliation with the broad labor movement as quickly as practicability permits. Or if there be independent unions in such industries we must give them our active support and work for their affiliation to the A. F. of L. . . ."

"In industries where there are A. F. of L. unions, but where these unions are so weak and decrepit, with corrupt leadership, hidebound agreements, etc., that it is impossible to stimulate them into the necessary activity to mobilize the mass militant organization campaigns or to defend their interests in strikes arising therefrom, our problem is more complicated. There the advantage of affiliation may easily be outweighed by the disadvantages. Such situations raise the question of independent unionism in its most intricate form. In spite of our most urgent desire for unity with the general labor movement, we will often, under these circumstances, be compelled to form independent unions."

"But wherever we form new unions, whether because there are no A. F. of L. unions in the field or because those that may exist are absolutely decrepit, we must from the outset follow a program for the affiliation of these unions to the A. F. of L. We must be keenly on our guard not to get into a dual union position, by declaring against the A. F. of L. in principle or by permitting an open warfare to develop against it. Experience teaches us that dual unionism means sectarianism, isolation from the broad labor movement, and eventually disintegration. One of the outstanding contributions of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to the American labor movement is their categorical condemnation of dual unionism." (Wm. Z. Foster, "Organize the Unorganized," pp. 13 and 14, published in 1926.)

You will find the same position advanced in Foster's "Strike Strategy" and in his "Milestones of Labor."

It is obvious from the material which has been presented that all the reasons which the Stalinists give for having formed the T.U.U.L. are merely apologies for an untenable position.

TEXTILE WORKER, Fall River.—Since you are unable to supply details it is impossible to state why your boss is "losing" money despite the fact that he has increased speed and cut your wages. The following may help you determine what has taken place. It is to be understood that, for simplicity, abstraction is made from all those factors which enter into the capitalist mode of production, but which would only complicate but not change anything which follows.

In computing profits the capitalists deduct from the selling price of their product, in addition to the amount advanced for wages, raw and auxiliary materials, and overhead a value for wear, tear, and depreciation of his fixed capital (machinery, buildings, etc.). How much should this latter be? In the final analysis the market itself over a period of time determines how much of the fixed capital is socially necessary and therefore how much is really transferred to the value of the commodities produced. The capitalist, however, deducts from his selling price an amount estimated on what he thinks is the value of his TOTAL fixed capital, regardless of whether his plant is operating at full capacity, or during a crisis, at partial capacity.

Let us suppose a corporation with two plants of equal size operating at full capacity and making a profit of \$1,000,000 on each plant. Assume further in computing this profit the capitalist has correctly estimated the wear and tear etc. on his plant as \$1,000,000 a year. With one plant completely shut down, and assuming for the moment no change in prices or wages, the profit from the plant which is operated is still a million dollars, but, since the books will probably show a loss due to wear and tear etc. on the idle plant of a million dollars, the capitalist's records will show that he made no profit that year. Where there is only one plant operating at part capacity the case is similar to this.

The capitalist might just as well have lost the million in a gambling house and then entered it in his books, which would then show the same results. In addition to the above there are cases where, despite this method of bookkeeping, a profit is shown, but the particular owner or owners of the plant take an immediate financial loss. Suppose a capitalist starts a plant with \$500,000 of his own and \$500,000 of borrowed money for which he has guaranteed to pay 5% or \$25,000 a year. If, with a reduced capacity there is shown only a profit of \$20,000, he must dig up \$5,000 from his own capital in order to pay the interest. The same might apply if he had a high fixed rent to pay which at times was larger than the profit shown. In these cases of the interest and the rent, however, what is the loss of one capitalist is the gain of another. A case in point is the railroads which in 1933 earned about \$385,000,000 but paid out in interest on bonds \$525,000,000.

In actuality one does not find examples as simple as are used here; a combination of all these factors plus changes in prices, wages, rate of exploitation, etc. intermingling simultaneously.

A Capitalist Institution

Suicide

Our great liberal press never tires of rebuking us Communists for our "narrow-mindedness" and "unscientific" spirit. We present, in their opinion a one sided picture of the complex organism of modern society. We are too much involved, they state, in the "dogmas" of the class struggle, and so fail to see the other factors of our civilization, equally, if not more important, than the class struggle. In contrast, their own writings, dispassionately take into consideration all the complex factors of our civilization and point out the "bad" features as well as the "good" ones.

We too are anxious to be scientific and broad-minded. Learning in their press, that by concerning ourselves with the class struggle, we have grown provincial and have lost touch with the mysteries of modern life, we determined to continue our "interrupted" scientific studies. We hunted through our files for a subject, which was suitable for scientific analysis and which presented at the same time an essential feature of modern life. At last we found an absolutely ideal subject: Suicide. Suicide! What study could be more dispassionate, more objective, more removed from the class struggle, so as to guarantee the proper historical perspective and to guarantee its scientific validity.

We embarked on our scientific researches in deadly earnest, beginning with the study of Suicide by Ruth Shohie Cavan. Here is a book which is modern, has been highly praised by the experts, and is published by a great cultural institution, the University of Chicago Press. Nothing more could be desired.

Chicago: A "Normal" City

We began by reading through accounts of suicide in Rome and Greece, and the South Sea Islands etc., suddenly we came upon an account of the suicide record of Chicago since the war. Chicago has a "medium" rate of suicide, it is a large urban center, has a mixture of all sorts of nationalities, races, etc., all of which makes it an ideal city for our purposes, as it is "normal" in every sense of the word, so far as suicide is concerned. We learned that Chicago has four suicide areas: "the Loop" . . . and its periphery of cheap hotels for men and sooty flats over stores, 2) the Lower North Side, . . . which has a shifting population of unattached men and an equally shifting population of young men and women in the rooming house area, 3) the North Side linking the loop on the North . . . and the West Madison area, with its womanless street of flophouses, missions, cheap restaurants and hundreds of men who drift in aimless, bleary-eyed abandon.

Having progressed this far with our investigations, we don't mind confessing we were becoming slightly annoyed. Flophouses, Missions . . . these were the very things we were attempting to escape, the very things against which our liberals had warned us. We decided we had better skip all about conditions in the urban centers and tackle the "case histories." After all, our psychologists assure us, suicide is a "psychological" problem and therefore it is perfectly proper to study the individual cases involved. Most of these case histories are taken from the Coroner of Cook County or from the United Charity Records. (We just mention this to assure our readers of the "objectivity" of the documents quoted.)

A Typical "Case History"

First, we learned that one George Rowsk, a Pole born in Austria, killed himself at the age of 45. He was a carpenter who came to Chicago in 1905 and continued working in his trade until about 1911 at which time he lost his job. Since then he continually was forced to appeal to the charities. At this time, he was perfectly normal and sane. After he and his wife and children "lived" on charity for about ten years, he began developing melancholia, manic depressive insanity, dementia praecox and a "fixation"; and so overburdened with all these riches, on June 1924, Mr. Rowsk decided to call it a day and hanged himself in the city of Chicago.

After finishing taking notes of this and other case histories, we grew very, very worried. If to forget the class struggle was our purpose, we might just as well not have wasted our time on this book at all. Slightly discouraged, we tore up our notes and decided to make a fresh start. This time we weren't taking any chances. We consulted a prominent social worker, who advised us to read a book by J. M. Williams entitled "The Human Aspects of Unemployment and Relief." The book has been published in 1933 and so we at least felt safe we wouldn't come across Rome or Greece or the South Sea Islands. We also learned that Mr. Williams is a Ph.D. and that his book is published by another great educational institution, this time of the South, the University of South Carolina. Without further ado, we looked up the pages in the index, dealing with Suicide.

The Class Struggle Again
Dr. Williams seems to be one of those "on the one hand we must admit, on the other hand we must confess" variety of writers. Still,

plowing through the verbiage, the facts bare a startling resemblance to those in Cavan's book. "The hardships of the depression have driven fathers and mothers to suicide." "The suicide rate in New York has risen since 1929. . . ." We read of Jimmie Capasso, one of the best pupils of his class, was forced to leave school at 15, out for months looking for work, couldn't find a job; his morale was shattered. One day, he went down the cellar of his house, and shot himself in the heart with his father's pistol.

This time we were genuinely frightened. Maybe Williams was one of those professors on the Brain Trust. Hastily we turned to the beginning of the book and found to our great chagrin the opening sentence a quotation of the Greek philosopher, Plato, "Any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one of the city of the poor, the other of the rich." These two cities are "at war with one another."

That was all we wanted. That will be a lesson for us, anyhow, to start reading books from the beginning in the future and not somewhere in the middle or the end. For all we know to the contrary Williams may be a radical. Imagine writing a "scientific" work, with the aid of a man like that.

Looking for "Solid" Stuff

Our notes were all in the waste basket and a good day wasted. What to do now? Give it up? We decided we would make one more stab at it, but we washed our hands clean of all professors and educational institutions. Now we were going to pursue with the realists, the business men, the people who don't let their feelings run away with them.

We took up the annual studies of suicide, covering the country as a whole, in the *Spectator*—a business paper of insurance. The studies are written by Frederick L. Hoffman, one of the world's most famous statisticians and, to further guarantee the "objectivity", consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company. Writing in the early part of 1929, Mr. Hoffman finds the suicide rate for 100 cities to be 12.3 per 100,000 in 1920 and a leap way up to 17.0 per 100,000 in 1928. Here we had eight solid years of prosperity and suicide was increasing at an enormous rate. What could be the meaning of this?

"The increase in rate is difficult to understand in view of the generally favorable industrial and business conditions . . ." states Mr. Hoffman. Maybe love-affairs had something to do with the rise? No! Mr. Hoffman warns us "It is easy to draw false conclusions from the prevailing prosperity, which after all may be much more apparent than real in countless individual cases where the struggle for existence falls with crushing weight upon persons unable to cope with circumstances beyond their control."

In a book that Hoffman wrote on Suicide Problems he reproduces a chart published by Bradstreets. We are not going to quote it here. You can look it up for yourself if you are interested. But this chart shows with a mathematical regularity, that the years when business bankruptcies increase and business indices fall, when it becomes hard to find a job and make a living; in these years suicides increase rapidly and in the years when bankruptcies decrease, and business conditions ease up, the suicide record decreases. That is why in 1920 and '30, '31, '32, '33, taking the country as a whole, the suicide record has been increasing steadily every year, because the struggle for existence has become so bitter and so hard that life becomes too unbearable for many unemployed workers, professionals, etc. Writing in 1932, Mr. Hoffman says: "A review of our homicide and suicide records leads to no other conclusion than that the cheapest commodity in the United States at the present time is human life." Mr. Hoffman realizes it is an important problem because "even the life insurance companies are becoming alarmed at the losses sustained through voluntary self-destruction, which now cut quite a figure in their annual claim payments."

We are not particularly concerned about the Life Insurance Companies, but we realize by this time that suicide is no more "distinct" from the system of capitalism than the class struggle itself and that the decrease in the suicidal rate will never be accomplished by "scientific reforms" but only by eliminating the miseries of modern life to thousands of unemployed men and women. This will only be accomplished by destroying the robber system of capitalism and replacing it with a workers and farmers government, which will create real equality of opportunity of life by building Socialism.

—BURKT COCHRANE.

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Under the Heel of Wall Street

Imperialism

The American Imperialist Colossus looks southward on a domain several times the size of its own soil. In the Caribbean, in Central and South America live approximately ninety million people, divided by the boundaries of close to twenty countries, by racial differences which reach back, in some cases, to an undeterminable antiquity, upon which have been imposed the feudal and capitalist national, cultural and religious mores of Spain, Portugal, Germany, France and now the United States and Japan.

In their vast majority they have come within the orbit and under the heel of imperialist capitalism: American, British, German, French, Japanese, Portuguese. The process of extracting profit from the limitless resources and natural wealth of this great area has condemned millions to unimaginable poverty, disease, peonage, serfdom, physical and spiritual deformation and to suffering which they bear like the omnipresent and indispensable burden.

The problem of their emancipation is an extremely complicated one. Once the beacon light of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky could have pointed the road to freedom from degradation and abysmal poverty, to a better life, fruitful and rich like the lands they inhabit. But that light has been put out by the treacherous wreckers of the revolutionary movement, the Stalinists. Of the Fourth International only a mere handful know anything although their number is growing and they are situated in the decisive cities and sinking roots in the proletariat. The vast majority of this tremendous population knows, as yet, only its own suffering and hatred for its imperialist and native capitalist oppressors.

Stake of American Imperialism

The penetration of imperialism, the merciless work of the crisis which imperialism unleashes on the people's backs and the ever sharpening competition for the Latin American market, always at the expense of the native population, have combined to produce a situation in Latin America which is full of explosive possibilities. The stake of American imperialism is immense. Its investments run into billions. It will fight tooth and nail to preserve these investments and the condition on which they can be profitable, the ousting of its imperialist rivals and the poverty of the people.

—JOHN COATES.
San Luis Potosi, Mexico, Aug. 15.

THE NEXT STEP

To place the question of the necessity for a new communist international has been recognized and openly voiced at two international conferences. Four groups, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O.S.P.), the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.), the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland (which shortly after joined the I.C.L.) and the League of International Communists united on a common declaration, the "Necessity and Principles of a New International". At the same conference another group, namely the S.A.P., the O.S.P., the British I.L.P. and the Norwegian Labor Party and several other less important organizations adopted a joint resolution on "the necessity of the regeneration of the international working class movement."

At the youth conference held in Lille in February 1932 a resolution was adopted on the necessity for a new international youth organization as well as a new international organization and responsibility for its "creation" and "crystallization" accepted. While few organizational consequences flowed from the "declaration of the Four" in August 1933, the "Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations" with a permanent International Secretariat resulted from the Youth Conference. It was no accident that the youth organizations of both parties, the I.L.P. and the N.L.P., which subscribed only to the unanimously adopted resolution at the Paris conference and opposed the creation of a new international, did not take part in the work of the International Bureau of the Revolutionary Youth Organizations.

A Progressive Mission
The Plenary session of the Bureau to be held in August must draw the consequences of the Lille resolution on "The work for the crystallization of a new international organization". There is one way to realize these tasks. The declaration of the four organizations at Paris has to date not led to any extension of common activity between the four organizations. The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations will fulfill a great progressive mission if it subscribes to the Declaration on the "Necessity and the Principles of a new international", and calls upon the organizations which have already signed the declaration, to organize common activity on the basis of this declaration and is itself drawn into this work.

There is nothing new in this and nothing especially new in the past. The assistance given to the building of the C. I. by the international revolutionary youth in the war, later the Y.C.I. is well known. And in later World Congresses of the C.I. there was hardly a commission of importance to which a representative of the Y.C.I. was not delegated.

Deep Ferment in Youth Movement
The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations has no grounds—on the excuse of the ideological backwardness of the international youth movement—to shrink from such a step. A deep-going oppositional current in several important national organizations of the Socialist Youth International is noticeable even today. In Spain a large section of the Socialist Youth League has already split and united with the Bolshevik Leninist Youth of Spain. At the National Congress of the Socialist Youth of Spain the question of international affiliation was placed before the entire organization and only 103 representatives out of a possible 770 pronounced themselves for remaining any longer in the Socialist Youth International and the 2nd International. 76 voted for the creation of a Fourth International and 600 abstained from voting.

French Youth for New International
Even deeper is the ferment in the Socialist youth organization in France where the lefts, who advocate the creation of a new Communist international, have won an overwhelming majority in certain districts (e.g. the Seine district) and have temporarily come into open conflict with the bureaucracy. There are similar developments in Belgium and in the United States.

If the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations is not to be left straggling behind the march of events but on the contrary will play the role it should play, that of pointing out the road to the vanguard of the international proletarian youth, then it must adopt as its own the declaration of the four accepted in August 1933. Should it fail to do so it will be in danger of becoming an obstacle in the path of history instead of a progressive and history-making factor.

—WALTER HELD
(Member of the International Secretariat of the Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations)

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

There are only a limited number of Bound Volumes for the year 1933 on hand. They can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers at \$1.50 post-paid. This holds for any part of the United States.

WORLD OF LABOR

SPAIN

In answer to a C. P. Youth call for a united front, the S. P. youth replied that the Alianza Obrera, or united front committees now operating in a large part of the country, was a true united front and asked the C. P. youth why they did not join them?

Subsequently Largo Caballero, left-centrist Socialist leader and at present president of the party, made a speech in which he said that a united front as proposed by the C. P., without a concrete basis or given aims, and postulating a kind of vague fusion, was bound to fail; whereas the proper alternative was the Alianza Obrera. This was the first speech made by Largo Caballero for some months. When last heard from he was agitating for an immediate revolutionary stand, but has since been silenced by the reformists, who are engaging in under-cover deals with the republicans. Rank-and-file pressure for some open stand on the united front issue provided a good "out" for Largo Caballero, in this case; but actually the S. P. has been accepting the Alianza Obrera in word, but doing nothing much about it in deed, and wherever possible, quietly sabotaging it by inaction.

The significance of the S. P. youth answer is this, that our comrades have maintained and are maintaining close contact with S. P. youth members and leaders, many of whom are deeply influenced by the League position. The S. P. Youth is the most active section of the S. P., and is at present wholly committed to a Communist position on every point, but wavers on the question of which international.

CHINA

The government Bolsheviki-Leninists. After the unification conference of the four left opposition groups in July 1931, seven members of the Executive Committee were arrested and imprisoned. It will also be recalled that in September 1932 Chen Dui Hui and ten members of the Shanghai District Committee were condemned to long terms. Chen is still alive but in poor health. Thanks to his prestige and to the intervention of several bourgeois admirers he is not subjected to the same treatment as the other political prisoners. His release, however, depends entirely upon international action.

The present organization is composed of 5 sections: Shanghai (60 members), Honkong-Canton (100), Peking (40), Tsingtao-Tsuan (70), Foochow in Fukien province (20) and several other scattered groups. This makes a total of 300 members, 90% of whom are active. With the exception of Peking, which is composed of intellectuals, the majority are proletarians. In Tsingtao there is a strong percentage of soldiers and several peasants. Two illegal organs are published: *The Spark* in Peking and the *Vanguard* in Shanghai. A translation of "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International" by Comrade Trotsky was recently made.

ARGENTINA

The following note was received from one of our groups in Argentina, the "Tribune Leninists" and transmitted to us by the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists.

"The Congress of the Young Socialists was held in May and although confused, took a definite stand against the nationalist attitude of the social-democracy and adopted resolutions which indicate that the socialist youth are evolving towards Communism. The Federation of Young Socialists has 140 groups and a total of 7,000 members. Several days later, on the 26th, the regular biennial congress of the Socialist Party was held at Santa Fe where two currents clashed, a Marxist and an avowedly nationalist wing. In one of the contests, the right received 10,000 votes and the Left 4,000. Several days after this congress the Executive Committee of the S. P. dissolved the Socialist Youth Conference and asked for and obtained, in part, the expulsion of the left socialist leaders.

"The Stalinists, despite an enormous loss of prestige, succeeded in deriving some gain from the situation by their usual methods but with absolutely no results to date. Our comrades of the *Tribuna Leninista* have attempted to give an orientation to the young socialists towards our organization as is demonstrated in their growing influence in that sphere. They state that in a meeting called for the purpose of pressing the Left leaders to a clear position our comrades were invited for the express purpose of offering their contribution to the discussion."

COSTA RICAN BANANA WORKERS STRIKE

The workers on the extensive plantations of the United Fruit Company are striking against semi-slavery conditions and starvation wages. This promises to be the greatest labor struggle in Costa Rica for many years and recalls to mind the great plantation strike in the same company's Colombian plantations in 1926.

All evidences point to the probability of violent clashes between the strikers and the armed forces, especially if reports of the existence of an armed workers "militia" of 400 men in the plantation area, are true. August 17th (Friday) and the days immediately following will witness the first real test of strength when the company attempts to cut the fruit for loading on ships due then. Many of the strikers are foreign born workers, from other Caribbean countries—both Spanish and English speaking.

The plantation workers' strike is led by the Communist Party, which, although of recent formation, is very influential, publishes a regular weekly paper, and functions legally, enjoying considerable prestige in the labor unions of the whole country. It is interesting to note that the C. P. of Costa Rica has the unique distinction of having increased in membership and influence, while most of the other sections of the C. I. are more or less definitely on the downgrade, organizationally as well as politically. In the recent elections, two Communist deputies were elected out of a Chamber of thirty, in addition to several aldermen in the capital and other towns.

The Costa Rican labor movement is now in line for its first great test. Upon the success of the Costa Rican banana workers, depends in great part, the future of the whole labor movement in Central America for many years to come.

NEW STRIKE WAVE RISING IN CUBA

The Post Office and Telegraph workers of Havana have been on strike since August 10th and workers of other government departments are preparing to join the movement. This together with the sharp conflict between Batista and the ABC, is creating a new political crisis in the Cuban capital. True to its idiotic antics, the Cuban Stalinists issued a manifesto calling on the workers to support an insurrection for the establishment of Soviet rule on August 14th. The Stalinist bombast fell flat and nothing serious occurred. Once more, the need for the building a real revolutionary party of the Cuban proletariat is made apparent, as the Stalinists repeat their demonstrations of bankruptcy, stupidity and betrayal. It is our duty to aid our Cuban section, the Bolshevik Leninist Party in this, in its period of financial crisis. Branches and comrades holding collection lists for this campaign should make special efforts to have them fill out and sent in to the National Office as soon as possible.

Profits of Large Corporations Rise; Greed Unsatiated

The reports of industrial corporation profits for the first six months of this year reveal an enormous increase over the returns for the same period of 1933. These increases, in some cases of gigantic importance, have taken place despite the fact that the accompanying figures of unemployment in the manufacturing industries have shown only slight improvement.

Corporation profits for the first six months of this year show a total increase of 220 percent over the same six month period of 1933. This brought the annual rate of return (on the basis of all stock issued—water, hide, and hair) up from 1.7 percent profit for 1933 to 5.7 percent for 1934. These figures are derived from a study of the report of 250 leading industrial corporations representing a capital worth of almost 10 billion dollars. Were public utility companies and railroads included the results would undoubtedly show even more profits for the bosses.

Low Textile Wages Make Enormous Profits

This enormous profit was aided considerably by the results of the "nine dollar and eleven dollar a week" textile industry that showed a 370 percent increase in profit over that made during the first six months last year. A direct link can be drawn between this enormous increase in profit, the speed-up and stretch-out systems, and the present talk of a general strike in the industry.

The General Motors Company, another company which was threatened with a strike and with which the NRA board was so liberal, shows an increase of 44.8 percent in profits. General Motors, although not showing so large an increase in profit, continued to head the list in annual rate of return. This, close to a billion dollar combine, showed a return on its stock of 16 percent as compared to only a paltry 11.2 percent profit last year. To celebrate this in the good old-fashioned way, the company recently declared an extra dividend of 50 cents a share for common stock.

Interesting too, in view of the recent militant strike at the Toledo plant of the Electric-Auto-Lite Company, are the reported returns for the automobile accessory industries. As compared to a deficit of 7.4 percent in 1933, they now show a profit of 15.2 percent. This profit would have been much higher, but the companies were required to contribute more to the tax fund—for the purchase of tear and vomit gas.

Gunpowder Turns to Profits

The E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, makers of gunpowder, tear gas, and dynamite, profited by the war scare and strike wave to the tune of 12 million dollars in the second quarter of 1934 as compared to 9 million for the second quarter of 1933, showing earnings even surpassing those of the U. S. Steel Corporation, which makes the steel jackets surrounding the du Pont gunpowder in the cartridge shells used against the workers.

The profit shown is one that has been sustained ever since the introduction of the "new deal" and certainly indicates a new deal for the bosses, although one could hardly say the same for the workers. Separate reports by quarter years are available for 201 of the companies in the tabulation and show combined net profits of 98 million dollars in the first quarter of this year and 144 million dollars in the second quarter. Last year, the same companies had a net deficit of 19 million dollars in the first quarter, and a net profit of 85 million dollars in the second.

Despite this sharp upturn, and despite the return of 5.7 percent on the watered stock, and in the face of the continued unemployment, mass misery and starvation, the National City Bank complains: "that the rate of return on invested capital is still relatively low" (as compared to the 18 percent profit for the 1919-1929 period) and calls for increased wage cuts to "take industry out of the red".

OPEN FORUM

"How Should Communists Work in A. F. of L. Unions?"

Speaker: SYLVIA BLECKER
Friday, Aug. 31, 8 P.M.
at 144 Second Avenue, N.Y.C.
Audience: Downtown Branch Communist League of America

CELEBRATE 19th ANNIVERSARY INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY

with the
Spartacus Youth League.
Come to the
SOCIAL AND DANCE
Saturday, Sept. 1, at 8 P.M.
144 Second Ave., N.Y.C.
ADMISSION 15c

And to the MASS MEETING

Speakers:
JOSEPH CARTER
SAM GORDON
and Comrades from Newark,
New Haven and Philadelphia
Chairman: M. Garrett
Sunday, Sept. 2, at 8 P.M.
144 Second Ave., N.Y.C.
ADMISSION FREE.

20 Million Live on Crumbs On Government Relief

Approximately five million families, or some 20,000,000 people, are receiving relief through the Federal government's various relief agencies, according to official figures, quoted in a recent editorial in the Nation.

This does not include, the Nation points out, the millions receiving local relief, the flophouse refugees, the poorhouse inmates, the recipients of chichory, cornmeal and rotten potatoes, distributed by the county and community guardians of the poor. It does not include the thousands upon thousands dependent upon private charity, or the wearied pity of friends and relatives.

At the Bottom of the Heap
Nor does it include, one might add, the thousands upon thousands who need aid, but get none, the Philadelphia "squatters" braving police guns and flames to get to a blazing pile of tainted prunes; the suicides that mount daily, the "malnutrition" cases, the thousands who are permitted to die literally of starvation.

Moreover, the Nation points out, the number on relief increases daily, and the number needing relief increases still more. In New York City, there were 77,000 more families on relief in June, 1934, than in June of the previous year. At the same time, the sums available for relief are dwindling. These sums were at all times pitifully inadequate. About \$60,000,000 is spent each month by the combined federal, state, and county agencies. Divided among 20,000,000 people, this would make available the average of \$3 a month per person.

But this figure is misleading. Actually the government is not nearly so generous. One must deduct from the \$60,000,000 available the cost of administration, and of dirty graft and politics. One will have to deduct further the needs of the 2,000,000 farm families to be added to relief rolls as the result of the drought. And one must further remember that the 20,000,000 people include only those on federal relief rolls.

On this basis, it is doubtful whether \$1 a month per person, or \$5 a month per family, is available through the combined agencies of the federal, state and local relief. Some on relief get more, of course; others get much less.

These people on relief are of no use to the capitalist rulers of the United States, to the real rulers, the industrial and banking magnates, who pull the strings of the puppets nominally in charge. These people on relief can buy nothing, nor are they needed for profit-making production.

They stand, an unassimilable and ever increasing portion of the population, outside of the social structure as at present constituted. What to do with them is admitted to be a problem too great for any capitalist regime to meet. Bourgeois statesmen and economists divide into two classes on the subject—those who would starve them to death slowly, and others, more merciful, who want them to die in a hurry.

The Tories Protest at the Pittance
The latter class, the Tory class, is beginning to grumble about the high cost of relief, and the consequent mounting of taxes.

They resent the fact that these millions of useless poor continue to burden the political and economic system, that outcries of the starving continue to intrude upon their profit-making plans.

The Tory chieftain, Attorney General Wickham, wants to deprive them of their right to vote, lest they make themselves heard at the polls.

All are agreed on shooting them down when they become too vociferous, in public demonstrations, on the picket lines.

For all in the bourgeois camp are joined in one great fear—that the pauperized millions may propose their own solution, that they may refuse to starve at the behest of their rulers, that they may organize to take matters in their own hands—for the operation of industry for the benefit of the people, of all the people.

NEVER FORGET

On August 22, 1927, seven years ago, Sacco and Vanzetti, the shoe worker and the humble fish peddler, were murdered in cold blood by the State of Massachusetts.

Since then the working class of the world has had sad occasion to mourn many, many such victims, perished in fascist internment camps, tortured to death by sadistic executioners. Sacco and Vanzetti, at least died to better purpose.

Their death was an inspiration to the workers all over the world. They died as symbols of the class struggle, with a united working class battling vigorously, if in vain, on their behalf. Their death was the occasion for great rallying demonstrations in every corner of the globe. The great, tearing cry that arose when the news was flashed of their execution, caused the most powerful established rulers to tremble.

An Irresistible Tide

For a while it seemed, indeed, as if governments would topple and tyrannies be overthrown forever, through the impetus given by the executioner's electric switch. So aroused was the whole working class, so infuriated by the murder of its best fighters.

Yes, it seemed at the time that their deaths would be dearly purchased. They became the accepted symbols of the class struggle—accepted by both sides. Capitalism, through the State of Massachusetts, and its brutal agents, held firm against the protests of millions in its demand for the blood of the two heroes. A great issue was at stake. The execution was a prelude, a rehearsal of fascist terror.

And to its eternal credit, militant labor, too, refused to allow the issue to be obscured. It presented a united front to the murderers. There were huge demonstrations and riots in every capital of any importance anywhere in the world. The workers lost their battle. The captors of Sacco and Vanzetti refused to relinquish them in the face of the universal outcry. But for some time after, the forces of reaction were thoughtful. It had not been easy to kill the two simple workmen. Almost they were cheated of their prey. The working class forces had revealed unexpected strength, surprising solidarity.

With much greater ease, the German Nazis, years later, were able to torture to death thousands upon thousands of workers. The working class of Germany, split by Stalinist tactics and Social Democratic treachery, surrendered its victims without a struggle. World protest was confused and weakened by disunity, and the bitterest of internal warfare in working class ranks.

So easily were the German executions accomplished, with so little opposition, that for a while the example of Germany threatened to sweep the capitalist world. The heroic resistance of the Austrian workers gave a second halt to the reaction. Mass demand for unity in working class ranks threatens now to break the barriers erected (in place of barricades) by bureaucratic Stalinist or Social Democratic leadership. The workers are prepared again to march in self-defense, in defense of their own.

Let Sacco and Vanzetti be again the rallying cry. They are clear symbols, belonging to no faction, to be claimed by no party, representing the fighting proletariat of all the world.

As they were defended, so must all victims of reaction be defended: Mooney rotting in San Quentin penitentiary, Thaelmann and Torgler held by the Nazi Inquisition, Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys, Leon Trotsky, hounded by the French police agents.

A united defense, a true united front, in behalf of all victims of Fascism and capitalist oppression! In the name of Sacco and Vanzetti!

New Haven Meeting On Minneapolis

New Haven, Aug. 8.—Comrade Kotz's meeting was a success. We have it on reliable authority that the Stalinists soon after called a special meeting of the city committee to consider the "Trotskyist menace". About half-way through the evening a couple of the Y.C.L.ers dropped in. They were told, quietly but determinedly by a six foot two comrade, that there was to be no heckling or interrupting of the speaker. They left soon after. Evidently serious, democratic discussion was too much of a strain.

Comrade Kotz's account of the Minneapolis strike was favorably received by the crowd of fifty, as was proven by the collection taken up at the close of the meeting. The donations and the final amount were larger than ever before collected, even from larger audiences, by the League. Starting with a chronological account of the events leading up to the strike, the speaker explained in detail the roles played by the League and the Stalinists. For an hour and a half we received a first hand account of the struggle waged by the workers of Minneapolis for the right to live.

Young Spartacans Fight Stalinists Expel Pacifism at Congress

The "First American Youth Congress" closed its three days sessions last Friday under the leadership of the Stalinist Young Communist League. With the withdrawal of the sponsoring group, the Central Bureau for Young America and its 50 delegates, the elected credentials committee reported that the Congress represented 76 organizations, among them 31 national ones, and 1,700,955 (!) youth. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates of the Spartacus Youth League and other organizations, mostly Stalinist, which arbitrarily had been barred from the Congress.

The Congress can record two achievements: the defeat of the Roosevelt program and leadership of the Central Bureau (which the Stalinists mistakenly call "Fascist"), and the presence of representatives of the major radical youth organizations in the country, particularly the Young Communist League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, Spartacus Youth League, National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

All talk about this being a Congress representative of "the American youth is nonsense. Delegates from the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Young Men's Christian Association did not represent the views of the masses of youth in their organizations. American youth today are without doubt, unfortunately, as it is, enthusiastic supporters of Roosevelt. Yet when a spokesman of the Civil Conservation Camps at the concluding session of the Congress praised Roosevelt and his program the delegates laughed. Does this express the sentiments of the great mass of American youth? Hardly! It was a radical youth assemblage with a sprinkling of liberals.

Despite this fact the Congress had a pacifist color. The united front took the form of Ypsel and Y.C.L. delegates not only from paper groups in New York and elsewhere. The superior organization of the Stalinist youth delegation, its concessions to pacifism, the lack of organization among the Ypsels, and their submissiveness to both the Y.C.L. and pacifism resulted in Stalinist leadership of the Congress.

No attempt was made on the Congress floor by either the Y.C.L. or the Ypsels to state their full program on the youth problems. They supported two resolutions in the resolutions committee which contained pacifist conceptions. In the resolution on education, they supported the conception that the R.O.T.C. should be abolished "since we believe that war holds nothing for the youth but destruction—physical, economic and moral". The Spartacus Youth League delegates on the floor of the congress attacked this section as pacifist since it rejected all wars. He stated that the R.O.T.C. should be abolished because it trains the youth in the patriotism of American imperialism and prepares them for capitalist war service. An N.S.L. delegate introduced an amendment which called for the abolition of the R.O.T.C. because it was a training place for American imperialist chauvinism. The amendment was carried unanimously.

In the discussion on the resolution on war and fascism, the Spartacus Youth League delegate repeated the objections he had presented at the progressive bloc conference. He amended the section reading: "For the support of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union for complete disarmament" to "Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks." After three minutes objections were raised to the "lengthy" speech. Other delegates had spoken more than five minutes and several times on minor organizational questions, but for discussion on a fundamental question, the delegates for the first time established a time limit of . . . two minutes!

And here again the Ypsels and the Y.C.L. formed a united front. First in refusing to give adequate time to the representative of the S.Y.L. and second in opposing the amendment. A young Socialist stated that he opposed the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union" for the united front; that he "was of course in favor of the Soviet Union", but why not include those countries of Europe where the Socialists play an important role, he stated! Politically this means support of a "democratic" war of

imperialist country where the Socialists are strong. But did the young Socialist understand the import of his remarks? He did not say a word in reply to the objections to the slogan of disarmament.

Gil Green of the Young Communist League defended the original resolution. The proposal of the Spartacus Clubs is a provocation intended to break up (!) the Congress. It was explained at the conference (of the progressive bloc) that some delegates could not accept the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union". We support the Soviet Union's proposal for disarmament, but this does not mean that we call upon the Roosevelt government to disarm! Such was Green's contribution. Everybody, but Green, had thought that the disputed section was a demand that the American government disarm!

The accusation of split was challenged by the delegate from the Communist Party (Opposition). He was quickly howled down and ruled out of order. Then a Stalinist delegate was given the floor to "explain" what Green meant! When the delegate of the S.Y.L. asked for the floor to answer Green and his interpreter he was shouted down and declared out of order. The victory of the "democratic control" group obviously did not mean complete democracy!

The S. Y. L. had explained at the conference that if the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union" was unacceptable to a majority of the delegates this should not force upon the militant and revolutionary youth organizations the pacifist slogan of disarmament. The Stalinists thought otherwise; the section had been taken from the program of the "American League Against War and Fascism".

But the Stalinist pacifist bloc had its way. The confusion of the Ypsels on the paramount problems of war shows the immaturity of the militant trend in their ranks and their centrist character. The original resolution, with minor amendments was accepted.

In such an atmosphere the character of the continuations committee was determined. A Ypsel proposed a committee of fifteen which included the outstanding liberal, Socialist and Stalinist organizations. The Spartacus Youth League was the only national radical youth organization omitted. The same Ypsel explained that the continuations committee should have the power to solicit affiliations of new organizations.

The motion of the S.Y.L. that all national organizations be represented on the continuation committee, despite its support by several Stalinists and Socialists, was defeated by the Stalinists and liberals. They did not want the S.Y.L. on the committee, it would disturb the "peace"!

The Spartacus Youth League will make further efforts to affiliate to the Congress committee. However, a far more effective united front can be established by direct negotiations of the outstanding radical youth organizations, the Young Communist League, Young Peoples Socialist League, Spartacus Youth League, Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. A militant program of action could be worked out on the basis of the needs of the young workers and students. Then local conferences could be held throughout the country leading up to a national congress representative of local and national radical and liberal youth sentiment.

To delude oneself that even such a conference can possibly represent the majority of the American youth is to be blind to the views of the mass of young workers and students. It is precisely the united front which can set in motion not only the present organized youth but substantial sections of the more backward young workers. Particularly in the field of unionizing the youth is this possible. Here also many obstacles will have to be overcome; in the first instance the dual unionist policy of the Stalinist Young Communist League.

A step forward has been made at the American Youth Congress. But only greater clarity on the role and mechanics of the united front, keener understanding of the danger of pacifism for the mass of youth, and finally greater participation in the united front movements by the small but only consistent revolutionary youth organization in the United States, the Spartacus Youth League, can bring about an effective all-inclusive united front support of a "democratic" war of

6 Youth Join S.Y.L. and League

The Stalinists have added six more to their list of "renegade counter-revolutionaries" when they recently expelled six Y.C.L. members for contacting that dangerous disease Trotskyism. Fred Mauer, at one time agit-prop director of his section in New York City, and Al Garber, Lil Thompson, John Ristev, Sid Scott and Art Dolinsky, all active and leading members in Chicago, were expelled in the pre-convention discussion period of the Y.C.L. for daring to express their doubts as to the correctness of the line of the Communist Party.

Fred Mauer, whose membership in the Y.C.L. exceeded that of any member in his section, found himself outside its ranks for carrying out an appeal to the N.E.C. of the Y.C.L. calling upon the membership to send in articles to the Young Worker dealing with the various problems confronting the organization. Comrade Mauer sent in his contribution which was never printed because in it he pointed out the causes for the defeat of the German working class, that the errors made in Germany were not due to isolated individuals, but rather to a false conception of the united front, a false appreciation of the actual situation. Instead of opening a discussion on these most vital problems of the revolutionary movement the bureaucracy replied with immediate expulsion. There can be no hope for an organization which treats with its critics in this manner.

Similarly in Chicago, where five were expelled for Trotskyism. There, the five sought to participate in the pre-convention discussion by bringing up the trade union question. For stating the revolutionary axioms, that the place of Communists is in the trades unions where masses of workers are to be found today; for declaring that the majority of organized workers and those who are just coming to the union movement are in the A. F. of L.; that the Stalinists today are isolated from the masses of organized workers and incapable of influencing them with a militant, left-wing program; these comrades were summarily expelled from their organization. In addition, the have been attacked as stool-pigeons, spies, counter-revolutionaries and all the other choice words out of the Stalinist dictionary.

These six comrades have now found their place with the Communist League of America and the Spartacus Youth League. They conclude from their experiences in the Y.C.L. that it is not by accident that the Stalinist organizations lead only to defeats for the working class, that the fundamental course of the Stalinists is false to revolutionary principles, and that it is now necessary to create a new Communist party in this country and a new revolutionary International. They know full well that a party which is blind to all its mistakes, that refuses to discuss and correct them, but demands blind and religious obedience instead of revolutionary discipline—such an organization is hopeless.

We welcome these comrades to our ranks. They are not the first nor the last. The Stalinists are losing their best material to the Fourth International. These comrades are now where they belong, in the ranks of the internationalist revolutionists, building and creating that party which will lead the working class to Soviet America.

Japan Prepares Seizure Of C. E. R.

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to force the Soviet Union to sell its share of the road.

Unable to bluff Russia to give up the road back in 1933, Japan-Manchukuo have been attempting ever since to force down the price of the Soviet's share. A campaign of banditry, of blowing up of bridges, of stealing movable property belonging to the Chinese Eastern, and of harassing the Russian officials in every conceivable manner has been going on throughout the entire period of negotiations. These acts on the part of the Japanese authorities have undoubtedly had their share in reducing the figure originally asked for by the Soviets to that asked for today (190 million yen).

The latter figure is only 40 million (12 million dollars) above that offered by Japan. It was for these 12 million dollars that Japan was bidding when she arrested the Soviet railway officials.

This time the Soviet Union called her bluff. The complete negotiations had been laid bare and the enormous concessions already made by Russia. Japan's hand was stayed and, although still keeping the men in prison, she has taken no further acts against them.

The danger that Japan may attempt to forcibly seize complete control of the railroad has already been pointed out by the Soviet Union.

Where the present action will lead to, one cannot say. Any spark today may start the world aflame again. It was the Balkans in 1914; will it be Manchuria in 1934?

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor
2. Organization Principles Instructor to be Announced
3. History and Principles of the International Communists Max Shachtman
4. State and Revolution Jack Weber
5. American History Felix Morrow
6. Elementary Marxian Economics Alfred Weaver

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-5924.



TEXTILE STRIKE BEGINS TODAY

Sinclair Plan a Daydream of Middle Class

In the biggest vote cast in a primary election in the State of California, Upton Sinclair, running as a Democrat, received the nomination for governor by an overwhelming majority of three to one over his nearest runner-up, George Creel. Sinclair's program was Epic-New Deal, Creel's was more or less New Deal, and Wardell, an out-and-out reactionary who made a very poor showing, was for the old deal.

The vote for Sinclair undoubtedly shows a nascent radicalization, or what is probably more correct, a distinct dissatisfaction with things as they are by a large section of the lower middle-class and to some extent the workers themselves. That it represents a swing to the left away from the old line two-party politics of American capitalism no one can deny. To estimate how far a swing to the left Sinclair's nomination indicates, an examination of his program will disclose.

E. P. I. C.
Upton Sinclair's EPIC (Epic Poverty in California) program is unquestionably a petty bourgeois program. Its effect is to reform one single state within the shell of the 48 capitalist states in the union. And typical of all demagogic programs, it promises something to everybody. To the worker, the farmer, the unemployed, the little business man and to the big business man... not forgetting the old, the maimed and the blind. To all shall be given, from none shall be taken. To the unemployed will be given scrip; to the big business man security—security in the fact that when the unemployed are "taken care of," the worker is "satisfied," then big business is secure. Idle factories will be taken over, the unemployed will be placed therein to produce shoes, clothing, etc., for themselves and for the farmers and farm-laborers on the idle land. From the idle land operated by unemployed farm-hands will come the foodstuffs for these categories. A system of barter will be instituted. Cash relief will be abolished. Money will flow out of the state and inflation will come in. But one point on the program which has more than passing significance for the working class in this country is that Sinclair promises to pardon Mooney immediately upon being inducted into office. Of this later.

Sinclair Sold on New Deal
Perhaps one can get a clearer picture of Sinclair's Epic by examining the New Deal. "All we are doing is to bring the Democratic party," says Mr. Sinclair, "into line with the forward looking principles of the New Deal." And just exactly what are these forward looking principles? asks the worker in Toledo and Detroit, the longshoreman on the west coast—particularly in California—the truck driver in Minneapolis and the unemployed suffering from dysentery in New Jersey, New York and elsewhere.

What has the New Deal given us? the answer is to know. And the answer is: New brands of tear gas, vomit gas, sawed-off shot-guns, the militia, vigilantes inspired by Johnson, fake arbitration boards and the National Run Around (NRA). Now E.P.I.C. becomes clear. It is the California catechism of the New Deal and Sinclair is its apostle.

A Socialist?
Is Sinclair still a socialist? Let those for whom he speaks answer. "What do I think about it? I think it's great stuff," said Mr. Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. "Sure, I'm for him. He's on our side. A socialist? Of course not. He's a Democrat, a good Democrat." He's on our side, say the bosses and their agents. Just as he was during the war.

Anything might happen in California. Witness the growth of the freak movement known as the Utopian society—which backed Sinclair's nomination. But we warn the workers in California not to rely on a freak sentiment to get Mooney out of jail. Promises or no promises, Mooney can and will get out of the bosses' dungeon in San Quentin only by mass agitation and pressure. We cannot repeat that too much or too often. This is not the first time that demagogues have offered to reopen the Mooney case—if elected. Whether Sinclair will or will not free Mooney depends entirely upon the mass sentiment for it. To rely purely on the whim

(Continued on Page 4)

JAIL INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISTS IN MEXICO

Mexico City, Aug. 25.—The organization of Communists in Mexico received a serious blow when the police arrested four of its members, one a member of its provisional national committee, and one sympathizer, along with five members of the official Communist Party and two chauffeurs.

The comrades were kept in complete incommunicado for a few days, while the frantic families and friends searched for them. Without word they were deported to the disease-laden penal islands in the Pacific, where news has finally come from them.

The situation of these comrades and their families is desperate. One comrade was taken from bed where he was ill with intestinal fever. The wife of the same comrade, two days before his arrest gave birth to a child. She was forced to leave bed to go to work to feed the family of four little children, four days after birth, with of course serious consequences to her health.

Another comrade is tubercular, while a third has a chronic bronchial condition. The families are destitute.

Word coming from the comrades attest to the fact that while in agony, their morale is of the highest. They ask for medicines.

In spite of this handicap, the League in the capital has formed a new branch. This is an answer to the bourgeois government of Mexico, and all its attempts at suppression of the movement.

—Correspondent.

Richberg Report Omits Wage Drop

Donald R. Richberg, one of the NRA headmen, in a report to President Roosevelt this week, made known the "tremendous gains" made by the country since the inauguration of the National Recovery Act. The summary by Mr. Richberg, who correlated information submitted by various government departments, is supposed to be the administration's reply to all criticism of the results of the New Deal.

The report indicates a fairly substantial upturn as regards the profit end of industry. As for the working man, and his gains from the NRA, the figures, gathered from those submitted by the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins, show very little improvement indeed.

The conclusions arrived at indicate that while the large corporations were making huge profit gains, the individual worker was turning out far more for his boss in a given length of time, but receiving no increases in pay for his increased output. The report shows increased profits, and increased production, whereas the returns to the individual worker remained at the low level of the spring of 1933.

Corporation profits, Mr. Richberg showed, rose a total of over 200 percent for the first half of this year as compared to the same period of last year. The rise in profit for industrial concerns for the same period, he pointed out, was over 600 percent.

Real Wages Drop
The average weekly wage in manufacturing (where the bosses' profits rose over 600 percent) increased from June 1933 to June 1934 a total of 8.5 percent. Against this slight increase there was a rise in the cost of living for the same period of 5.6 percent. This would indicate that while the bosses were making these huge profit gains the real wages of the worker took a slight drop.

These figures of course bring the story only through June (and very conveniently so for Mr. Richberg). Since June the cost of living has taken a sudden jump, and spurred on by the drought, is steadily mounting. Furthermore, the latest Labor Department report of a drop between the months of June and July of 3 percent in employment and 6.8 percent in wages, show a still further shrinkage of the weekly pay envelope.

As regards total employment, the author of the report credits the "New Deal" with an increase for private industry of 4,120,000 over the low of March 1933, and an increase of 2,320,000 for June 1934

(Continued on Page 4)

Steel Salaries Slashed; Wage Reductions Next

As first fruits of Mike Tighe's betrayal of the steel strike in July, a drastic cut in the salaries of white collar employees has been announced by virtually all members of the American Iron and Steel Institute, the "union" of the steel bosses.

Even more drastic cuts of wages will follow as sure as death and taxes. So it was when the salaries were cut the last time, and the time before. The salary cuts were heavy; the wage cuts were heavier.

The present reduction in the salaries amounts to ten per cent. Salaried employees will be put on a five day week, with a corresponding downward revision of pay, and then some.

This is reported to be the first reduction in payrolls by a major industry since the NRA went into effect. Do not believe that it will be the last.

Cuts Announced in Big Companies
The announcement of the salary cuts was issued simultaneously by a number of the major steel companies, including the giant United States Steel Corporation. Others included Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and the Republic Steel Corporation, third largest company in the industry. The National Steel Corporation is expected to take similar action shortly after Labor Day, when Ernest W. Weir, the chairman, returns from vacation.

A united front against labor! The excuse given for the reduction is the drop in business. The steel industry reaped enormous profits through the rush of stock purchases fostered by the NRA. These profits were hailed as an index of the return of prosperity under the New Deal. "As steel goes so goes the nation."

More Profits—Less Wages
A natural lag followed the brief period of boom, during which period the steel corporations made substantial gains.

With unprecedented—and hence suspicious—liberality, Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, announced recently that the government would grant relief to workers on strike—the textile strike being particularly referred to.

This statement was greeted with howls of anguish by the manufacturers and their press. Hopkins was not only violating the rules of a strike-breaking government, but the laws of God.

God Against the Workers
"Even God Almighty never promised anybody that he should not suffer from hunger," yelled John E. Edgerton, permanent president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The threatened textile strike, he continued, would not last a week if "the Government would revoke its unfortunate comment that no one shall go hungry in this country."

The God-fearing Edgerton, who opposes child-labor amendments of any sort on similar religious grounds, is needlessly alarmed. Hopkins has explained everything. He has no intention of disobeying the rules of capitalist society. Certainly he will not violate the intentions of God Almighty.

The same policy, he says, that has been pursued by his organization in the past, will be observed in the future. This policy, he explained carefully, was "not a promise in advance that the strikers will be fed."

Hopkins Reassures His Masters
"During the California strike," Hopkins points out reassuringly, "no additional funds were given by the Federal Relief Administration to California for relief needs, nor was the cost of relief appreciably increased."

What then, does the promise of Mr. Hopkins mean? It means exactly nothing.

Relief is administered through the local authorities, in every case composed of respectable and God-fearing elements, friends of law and order, tools of the bosses, and the bosses themselves—strike-breakers natural born.

They will pass upon each case individually, and upon them and them alone will rest the decision as to "need and worthiness."

(Continued on Page 4)

Utility and Truck Strikes Loom in N.Y.

Unless Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, vice-chairman of the Regional Labor Board, succeeds in delaying the issue (when has she ever settled one?) 10,000 truck drivers in Greater New York will go out on strike today.

The issue is simple and clear. In January 1933 the trucking bosses succeeded in persuading the leaders of the truck drivers union that a voluntary reduction of \$5.00 a week would be for the good of the industry. The period of the reduction has expired, and presumably the bosses were to restore the wages to the 1933 level, but this they refuse to do.

There is no need to offer here the pretext on the part of the bosses for not sticking to their promise. The workers were tricked by pleas for cooperation with the bosses. Now they are undeceived, and willing to fight for their most elementary rights. Prices have gone up 27 per cent, and are still mounting. Even a restoration to the 1933 wage level would still mean a substantial reduction in the real wages of the drivers.

There is only one method by which they can fight the bosses, and that is the method of the militant truck drivers of Minneapolis. If they monkey around with the Regional Labor Board, without showing their strength, they will most surely be gypped. If they put their faith in negotiations, they are licked before they start.

Efficient strike organization, systematic and militant picketing, unrelenting war on scabs, despite police thugs and the devil, these tactics, and these alone, will win for the strikers. They will win what they have the strength to win in open strike warfare, and no more.

A strike of tremendous significance threatens today to close the power plant of the Brooklyn Edison Co., the largest generating plant in the world, supplying light and power for all Brooklyn.

As in the impending truckers strike the Utility workers have been led a merry chase by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick. While she fiddled with the issue the Edison trust fired members and officers of the Brotherhood of Utility Workers. The present crisis was precipitated by the discharge of the president of the Brooklyn Edison Local of the Brotherhood.

The union declares that it will not stand by and watch its national organization be destroyed but will take "matters into our own hands and fight the case with every means at our disposal."

An ultimatum has been issued to the National Labor Board and if reinstatement of the official in question does not take place a strike will take place in the plant. Other utility workers in New York will be called upon to support the Brooklyn men.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

WE ARE IN A CRISIS

The readers of The Militant know that we are not in the habit of shouting "help" at any and all times. We realize that we are dealing not with wealthy magnates but with workers for whom a few paltry pennies mean a great deal.

But the facts force us to send out this S.O.S. and to be as candid as possible.

WE ARE IN A CRISIS.
Through a sheer miracle the present issue of The Militant will reach your home.

What held us up was the matter of a few measly dollars, enough to pay for the paper on which The Militant is printed.

It was precisely these few dollars that it was so difficult to get. Under these circumstances The Militant cannot appear next week.

We admit it quite frankly. Our activities in Minneapolis have drained our resources to the very bottom.

The members and sympathizers of the League have dug down and responded nobly to our Organization-Press Campaign.

But so great are our accumulated back debts and so much greater the tasks before us that this revenue has been insufficient.

No sooner did we release the pressure of debts that were dragging us down than we were faced with new bills, new burdens, and new tasks.

Here are the facts:
It is only a matter of days when the marshal will appear at our shop and move our printing equipment into the street. A dispossession has already been served.

And even if the landlord should be merciful for a few days, then we probably will be forced to stop operating anyway. An electric bill is long overdue; the lights and power will be turned off.

The gas company, the paper company and a host of other bills collectors are on our necks demanding payments.

This issue of The Militant is made possible by the prompt response and the heavy sacrifice of a few comrades.

There will be no next issue of The Militant unless there is an immediate response!

We need not stress its importance to you. With a general textile strike due to break, and a truckers strike impending in New York, the absence of The Militant will be a veritable calamity.

We are counting on you!

Every dollar, every dime is important!

Duplicate the contributions of the New York comrades and the appearance of the next issue will be guaranteed. More—the first hurdle of the crisis will be passed.

Comrades! Friends! Sympathizers!

If you want The Militant—and we are sure you do—rush your contribution to us at once.

Appeal to your shopmates and friends, inform them of the urgency of the situation and solicit donations from them. We are certain that if you impress them with the seriousness of the crisis their contributions will be immediate.

ACT NOW!
The life of The Militant is at stake!!
Don't delay! Send your contributions at once to 144 Second Ave., New York City.

CUBAN COMRADES NEED SUPPORT

From the Militant columns our readers have become acquainted with developments in Cuba and with the activities and conditions of the Cuban section of the International Communist League. We have described the difficulties under which this section is building up a serious revolutionary force. It is still suffering the persecution of the Wall Street puppet regime which has not at all abated under Mendieta. These comrades call upon us for assistance and such assistance should be given.

The problem of Cuba is to build the proletarian revolutionary force, to build up its press, to have available organizers, but insofar as our comrades are concerned, although their influence within the Cuban labor movement grows constantly, the means to carry on these activities of building are still entirely too insufficient. For a while they were compelled to suspend their weekly organ due to lack of funds. Publication will be resumed now if a little assistance can be given.

In general the developments in Cuba are again taking on a more intense character. Dissatisfaction with the Wall Street puppet government is growing and new struggles are impending. New and great possibilities are opening up for our Cuban section; but it must receive the support it asks for. Our members, sympathizers and friends should head this request and forward immediately to the Militant office their contributions to the Cuban Section.

—ARNE SWABECK
National Secretary, Communist League of America

tated by the discharge of the president of the Brooklyn Edison Local of the Brotherhood.

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Workers in Wool Trade Join Cotton

Not a loom in the nation will move today.

750,000 cotton mill workers will quit the factories in a strike that will stretch out from Maine to Alabama.

When the workers leave their benches and become "hands" no longer but upstanding, fighting men and women, they will write the history of the first national strike in this industry. For the first time a major battle of the class warfare will strike the south and cause the black reactionaries to turn white with fear.

Despite the statements of the timid, treacherous Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, that the textile strike is not against the government, the fact remains that it hits directly at the NRA.

The first of the slave codes to be adopted in the country was the textile code. Incidentally this code was agreed to and hailed by the present officials of the U.T.W. The code did not abolish the stretch-out, nor did it raise wages, nor did it grant union recognition. It was even powerless in enforcing its own innocuous provisions.

Not only did the code and the code authorities grant the workers nothing, but through a plan of 25% production curtailment thousands were forced out of jobs and into the unemployed army.

The bosses had no kick against this code. The NRA—they take it to their bosoms. But a union—never. So great is their fear for union organization that they refuse to sit at the same table with the most cowardly of labor leaders. So strong is their hate for the slaves on whom they thrive that God himself is called upon to refuse relief to them when they strike.

The Yellow Press Howls Again
"The public will suffer." "The business men will be ruined." "The holier brass-check journalists. This familiar cry to estrange sympathy from the textile workers and demoralize the strike is once again polluting the atmosphere.

For the textile workers who have suffered and starved and wanted for years, whose bodies have been stunted in the mills, whose children have been victims of pellagra, this cry will invoke nothing but a curse of contempt. The bosses and the mill owners—that "public" be damned!

This sentiment has poured into strike headquarters in Washington in the form of hundreds of telegrams from every textile center on the Atlantic seaboard pledging to go down the line with the union to the bitter end.

The 500,000 cotton cloth workers will not be alone when they strike. Some 200,000 men and women in the woolen and worsted industries will down tools simultaneously. Reports from Chicago state that 80,000 cotton garment workers under the International Ladies Garment Workers are preparing to strike. A walkout of 100,000 in the silk industry has been agreed upon, only the date remains to be set.

As one of the capitalist papers says, this strike is a major test for the NRA and all of labor is expectantly watching it.

Since the institution of the National Recovery Act there has been no strike of nation-wide proportions. The auto strike was sidetracked, the steel workers strike was scuttled. Textiles are the first opening wedge.

If the strike depends on militancy and a will to fight alone, then there can be no doubt of the outcome of the strike. The greatest danger to the textile strike, however, comes from within. Terror, intimidation, deputy thugs and all the other trimmings of democratic America will not stop the textile workers once they are aroused. If the strike is crushed or sold out we can say in advance it will be due to the Gormans, the McMahoons and the rest of that treacherous crew.

Sinister omens can be attached to any strike that starts with professions of loyalty to the government and violent denunciations of Communists by leading union officials.

Reports from Alabama where workers already are on strike, indicate that the battle will be fierce and the militancy surpassing anything seen in this industry before. The McMahoons and the Gormans will be forced to reckon with this stormy spirit and think twice before they pass off any rotten agreement on the textile workers.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Birthday Greetings

W. Z. Foster's birthday greetings to Bob Minor convince one that Foster must be very sick indeed. Almost as sick as the party that stages those disgusting birthday celebrations one after another.

Prosperity

Sloan of General Motors reports a golden age of prosperity right around the corner. Air conditioning of all buildings, fabricated houses and aerodynamic railroad equipment constitute the trinity that is to save capitalism from collapse and lead all of us to a luxurious life the like of which we have never dreamed. As the cockney said: "Gawd! Wot 'opes."

Drought and Snow

The faith of even the most holy must be sorely tried in our drought stricken area. First months of scorching heat burning up every growing plant and driving starving and thirsty cattle mad. Then after months of prayer by the faithful, snow and frost arrived. Many a preacher must feel like saying with the Negro parson: "Oh God! Don't make yourself ridiculous."

Another "Splinter"

From Detroit comes the report: Five members of the Lovestone group have resigned and made application to the Communist League. Just another "splinter", as Lovestone would say.

Duranty and Stalin, "Times" Correspondents

One of the favorite Stalinist yowls when argument falls them as it always does is "Trotsky writes for the capitalist press." However, I have never heard of Trotsky helping a capitalist press writer get out his copy. Duranty writes to the N. Y. Times from Moscow. "Stalin... once struck out from a dispatch of mine the phrase that he was the 'inheritor of Lenin's mantle' and replaced it with the words, 'Lenin's disciple and the carrier-on of his work.'" If we could conceive of Lenin correcting and collaborating in the dispatches of a bourgeois correspondent he would have changed it to read "a disloyal, arrogant, abuser of power, who is unfit for leadership who suppressed my last message to the party." The modest Stalin writes in his own picture of himself to be sent out to the capitalist world as the view of the "impartial" Times correspondent Duranty. And a Stalinist disciple in America says: "Even the capitalist press is forced to admit that Stalin is carrying on Lenin's work."

Blah! Blah!

An honest and truthful picture of the situation facing the German proletariat and a truthful picture of the great difficulties confronting the workers of the Soviet Union would serve the interests of the American working class and the workers of the world. Instead of that a vast stream of blah, blah is preached by Stalinist liars about the Soviet Union. In regard to Germany the same course is followed. Those who preached that the Hitler danger was past and the proletarian revolution on the order of the day every day since 1929 are now again out with the same old record. What kind of Communists are those who require "shots in the arm" to keep up their courage? Lies to the capitalists are sometimes necessary, to the workers the truth and nothing but the truth serves revolutionary aims.

Baseball, Wages and the Rising Cost of Living

Detroit Auto Workers are expected to be so excited with the success of Mickey Cochrane's Tigers and the pitching of "Schoolboy" Rowe that the bosses will be able to go through their pockets while they are cheering the victory of the team.

Living Costs and Profits Rise

Richberg reports—"Corporate profits rose from a deficit figure of 6.9 in the first quarter of 1933 to a profit figure of 13.2 in the second quarter of 1934" and "living costs have gone up slightly faster than the individual workers pay." To insure that "happy" picture some other consumption figures could be given, something like this: "Labor fakes schemes for selling out strikes have increased from 8.6 to 38.4 during the past year" and "the use of tear gas and vomit gas has shown an increase of several thousand percent. The number of killed and wounded strikers have also shown a huge increase." All the demagoguery of the most demagogic president in years, all the threats of and persuasive power of a corps of politicians and misleaders of labor, all the powers of the press plus tear gas, vomit gas, machine guns, rifles and bayonets to say nothing of police clubs and the blackjacks of hired thugs were needed to send corporate profits soaring and keep wages behind the cost of living. The workers are learning the power of demagoguery is subsidizing the decks are being cleared for great class battles. The NRA has shown its hand.

—BILL

Pledge Fund

TO ALL PLEDGERS:

Now that the Organization-Press Campaign is coming to a close, the main support of the Militant has to be transferred to our pledgers. No revolutionary paper can ever be self-sustaining. The income from subscriptions and bundle orders cannot possibly cover the full cost of production. We therefore have to depend on a subsidy of one kind or another.

Up to March of this year the income was all directed through the national office of the League. All deficits of the Militant were there covered by the special donations which were sent to the organization.

This method was found to be a handicap to the organization, as it kept the national office in a constant financial crisis and therefore hampered greatly the organization work. No funds left for field organizations; no funds for bulletins, etc. etc.

In March the National Committee decided to separate the income in an effort to put each department on a self-sustaining basis, and have the income used for the special purposes specified by donors.

The Pledge Fund was started as a help to the Militant.

We got a good response at first. But the response did not keep coming so as to enlarge this fund sufficiently to take care of the unavoidable weekly deficit of the paper.

We appeal now to all our pledgers to keep their payments up regularly.

If you are behind in your payments on the Pledge Fund, send in as much as you possibly can at once. The Militant finds itself in a precarious condition at this moment. We must not wait until we are faced with a crisis and have to skip an issue. The income from the organization-press campaign only helped to pay off back debts. If you cannot pledge a definite sum weekly, send a contribution for the Militant whenever you can.

The following are still on our Pledge Fund list. We need more.

New York Local Downtown Branch

P. King	\$1.00 monthly
E. Konikow	1.00 monthly
F. Victor	.50 monthly
M. Spithos	1.00 monthly
J. G. Wright	2.00 monthly
S. Gordon	2.00 monthly
E. Becker	1.00 monthly
M. Kling	2.00 monthly
S. Blecker	.50 monthly
I. Glade	1.00 monthly
L. Lewis	1.00 weekly
D. Morris	1.00 weekly
C. Nelson	1.00 weekly
C. Tomas	2.00 monthly
J. Weber	2.00 monthly
John Becker	1.00 monthly

Newark Branch

Lambert	1.00 monthly
Holley	.50 monthly
Kotz	1.00 monthly
Nagy	.50 monthly
A. Clerk	.50 monthly
A. Sympathizer	.50 monthly
A. Social Worker	1.00 monthly

Harlem Branch

T. Smith	2.00 monthly
Jerry Marsh	1.00 monthly
E. Beecher	.50 monthly
Cochrane	.50 monthly
Colay	.50 monthly

Bronx Branch

M. Lipschitz	1.00 monthly
S. Eckstadt	1.00 monthly

Boro Park Branch

A. McCabe	1.00 monthly
A. Toven	1.00 monthly

Boston Branch

E. Wiener	.50 monthly
C. Shechet	.50 monthly
W. Henderson	.50 monthly
J. Chiplowitz	.50 monthly

Others

A. Friend, Youngstown	2.00 monthly
A. Miner, W. Va.	
P. Miller, N. Y. C.	
City Subway Worker, N.Y.C.	
A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00 monthly
A. Teacher, Bronx	
E. Sher, Bronx	

CORRECTION

We have been asked from England to make a correction. In our issue of July 21, under the Question Box heading we listed the publications of the International Communist League and amongst them the Red Flag published in Great Britain. While the Red Flag is issued by a group of comrades who support the principles of the International Communists, it is not an official organ. There is not, at the present moment, an official national section in England of the International Communist League, but there do exist two groups of revolutionists functioning in that country, both of which adhere as sympathizing organizations to the International Secretariat of the I.C.L. One of them issues the Red Flag.

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Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector

Arne Swabeck

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Union Workers Appeal Against Terror

(Ed. Note.—The following letter by the Agricultural Workers Union of Ohio, now leading the several month's old union strike in that district, speaks for itself. It is a living protest against the conditions of peonage which prevail in that section of the country. For the first time in years these underpaid agricultural slaves have risen in their might and by their militancy shown that the lash of hunger produces the best rebels. Since the beginning of the strike, July 20th, more than 50 strikers have been railroaded to jail on the usual trumped up charge of "inciting to riot." Pitched battles have taken place between strikers and thugs. The union leader has been kidnapped and dragged by vigilantes. But the spirit of the workers is unbroken. Newspaper reports tell of the armed defense of Odell, president of the union, by women. The spirit of rebellion that lies latent in the most downtrodden wage slaves in this country has found a magnificent demonstration in the battle of the onlookers of McGuffey, Ohio. More power and all support to them.)

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF HARDIN COUNTY

Dear Neighbor:

On June 20th, in McGuffey, a group of men, women and children, living under the most servile and inhuman conditions existing anywhere in the U. S., banded together to increase their living standards. On this date, they were forced to use their constitutional right of withholding their labor in order to achieve their purpose. They struck their jobs, the right of all free men, and began a courageous fight to eliminate the disgraceful blot of slave conditions on the good name of Hardin County.

What is the fundamental cause of the barbaric conditions that exist here? In the union fields the average worker receives approximately \$36 for a season's labor (based upon the average pay of 10c per hour, a 10 hour day, 36 day season). Granted that several members in the family worked, the total income could never supply even the minimum human needs because no worker received more than an average wage of \$3 per week during the 3 months working season. A minimum decency level of existence is an obvious impossibility for these workers, hence, the lack of life's essentials have caused a permanent condition of starvation, malnourishment, undernourishment, improper housing, lack of sanitation, insufficient education, disease, mental derangements, etc.—all the sordid social evils bred by pauperism. Hardin County has one of the highest rates of tuberculosis in the state, unsanitary conditions are now indicating a possible typhoid epidemic—these are mere straws in the wind of our fertile bed for disease. Disease is no respecter of individuals, it attacks rich and poor alike.

What has been the answer to the union growers, the big land companies, who are directly responsible for these inhuman conditions? Blindly ignoring the social effects of their greed they are doing just as the feudal masters of old, using oppressive and brutal force to keep their slaves in serfdom and dark destitution. They are illegally attempting to use our county machinery—J.P.s, deputies, sheriff, courts and other county officials in their interests; actually having the brazen effrontery of making the citizens of Hardin Co. bear the expense of forcing the workers back to their jobs—and living death. Not satisfied with taking hundreds of thousands of dollars profit yearly, these masters are now seeking to use our county funds and officials to protect these profits. Over \$6,000 to date has been spent by Hardin County for special deputies (this does not include the thousands expended on court trials, etc.), more than enough to pay the small wage increase demanded by the strikers for many seasons. Think of the irony of paying deputies \$3 a day and expenses to physically force the strikers to work for \$3 a week! Think of the disgusting trickery of compelling starving, demoralized unemployed workers to run the risk of scabbing, so that these land companies can continue to pay starvation wages. The only answer of the land owning companies to this vital problem which affects every resident of Hardin Co. has been illegal methods and brutal force. Neither of these answers will solve the problem but both will inevitably bring on more trouble, dissension and greater hardships for everyone.

How long will this shameful condition last? Just so long as it takes the people of Hardin Co. (if necessary, the state and nation) to bring sufficient pressure from all sides and compel the land owning companies and large union growers to pay wages which will insure decent living conditions to their workers. These companies do not benefit our local community except to the extent of their payroll—the purchasing power of the resident employees. All excess profits realized by these companies and growers are deposited

in the large city banks where they have their central offices. Increased wages will bring increased purchasing power in our county—thus benefiting all types of local businesses, increasing living standards, the only method of raising the social level of our county.

Only through your help and immediate action can the floodlights of a national scandal be averted. Insist that all work in the fields cease and the companies negotiate with the strikers at once. Insist that the sheriff and courts are not to be used as agents of the employers. Demand that the special deputies be removed. Insist that the jailed strikers be released. Give the strikers your support and financial assistance. A victory for the strikers will be a victory for all Hardin County residents. Our community welfare is at stake. Do your part.

—Sub Committee For Adequate Living Standards, Agricultural Workers Union, McGuffey, O.

Court Outlaws Closed Shop in N. J.

A lower New Jersey court launched another offensive in the state-wide crusade against trade unionism. Vice chancellor Berry's decision outlawing closed shop contracts is the most reactionary in a chain of vicious anti-labor decrees designed to strip the workers of their elementary rights and stem the strike tide in the bud. Berry's action was preceded by a recent court ruling declaring illegal picketing during a New Jersey furniture workers' strike.

In a suit by union leaders against the Essex Reed and Fibre Co. of Newark for violation of a union agreement, the court ruled closed shop contracts "against public policy." After a prolonged fight last year, the bosses submitted to an agreement which included among others, a minimum wage scale and a closed shop clause. The NRA code had not yet gone into effect. Later, the code for this industry allowed lower wages than those specified in the contract. Accordingly, the bosses cut wages down to the NRA level but kept a closed shop. The workers demanded the minimum wage stipulated in the contract.

In court, neither union leaders nor the bosses raised the question of union control.

Union leaders are preparing to appeal the case to a higher court. Should the court of Appeals and Errors uphold Berry's ruling, the closed shop in this state will be outlawed.

The workers' most elementary rights are at stake. Only concerted mass action will repulse this government assault. The trade unions must wage a united struggle to smash these decrees.

Painters Strike Ends; Zausner Collects

Although the New York painters' strike is now over, and the settlement is hailed as a great victory for the painters, it is obvious, that the only ones who benefited by this strike—who came out of the struggle with any material gains are the boss-painters, Zausner and his lieutenants.

It was evident long before the strike was formally declared that the corrupt union leaders and the bosses had the whole thing in the bag; it had all the spontaneity of prearrangement. To the District Council, under Zausner's misleadership, the yearly pre-seasonal strike has become a habit and a necessity. The 50 cents a day work-tax has proved to be a substantial income for the Zausner machine. The politician, the gangster and the lackey, who had terrorized, intimidated and slugged the protesting painters, expects to collect now that the prearranged strike and the settlement is over and the tax money starts to roll into the union treasury in earnest. Last year more than \$180,000 was collected and spent inside of four months in this way.

Boss-Painters Also Wanted Strike

The boss-painters in their part also were crying for a strike for months, and they also came out of it with material gains. They knew from past experience with Zausner that they do not have to live up to any paper agreement with the District Council. The Master Painters Association admitted many times during the strike that they had always paid the workers below the scale and worked them longer hours: violations that were winked at by the union officials. But while the price of painting material showed a slight increase in the past summer, the contractors, in order to be justified in giving higher estimates for work, had to prevent the rich landlords and their real-estate concerns with a performance—with a painters strike. That is why the picket lines were concentrated on millionaire's row—on Park and Fifth Avenues; to impress the parasites there with boss-est impotency and the painters' insistent demands for more pay.

The settlement, which is hailed

as a great victory by both, Ben Golden, executive secretary of the Regional Labor Board, and Philip Zausner, will send the men back to work under the same conditions as before the strike: the seven-hour day and the nine dollars wage scale, neither of which conditions were enforced before, and will not be enforced now by the corrupt union officialdom. It will be up to the painters themselves to enforce these conditions.

Here the left wing, the class conscious element of the rank and file must take the initiative, in not only enforcing job conditions, but also in leading the fight inside the union against the illegal work-tax for the employed painters and the obnoxious twice-a-day reiteration for the unemployed, which Zausner expects to continue throughout the year. But here we come to this lamentable situation where the left wing, thanks to the Stalinist splitters, is isolated and expelled from the union, and the whole thing must be built up from the bottom once more.

Stalinists Wreck Left Wing

When the strike was called five weeks ago, the Stalinists impudently declared, that they did not recognize the District Council; that all dealings and communications must immediately end and a new strike center created which was to be Local 499—the one local out of thirteen in Stalinist control. But it is an everlasting pity that such heroic gestures result in nothingness. This policy was already theoretically a split. But let us see who gained and who lost by such action, the strikers or their misleaders?

Not only did the separation of the militants from the masses make it difficult for the membership as a whole to force desired action and demands upon the officials and the bosses, but the balance of union power lay so entirely with the officers that sentiment and protest, plus weak and small organization had little chance of winning these ends. All cards were heavily stacked against the Stalinists. A week later the charter of Local 499 was revoked, and their open supporters in other locals driven out. The few individuals who dared to protest were silenced by Zausner. The old leaders were not only corrupt but had caused corruption also in the membership. Zausner gained ground. The strike meetings were gradually driven compactly together and anyone who refused to follow the united strike action under the leadership of the District Council, was trampled under determined, angry feet.

Is Zausner's Charge True?

The Stalinists were charged by Zausner of forming a separate, new union—an accusation on which nobody is quite clear. But it is most sincerely to be hoped that Louis Weinstein, the courageous leader who has fallen into the Stalinist swamp, would not do such an assinine thing as lead his followers into a dual union.

The place to fight the bosses effectively is in a mass organization. But we must fight intelligently. Courage without consciousness leads to defeats. There is nothing but glibulous utility—the utility that surpasses understanding—in splitting knowingly with a mass trade-union.

The left wing must be reorganized in the painters' union. We must again become the pioneers in blazing the pathway of class struggle in the mass unions, and establish our organization's structure upon the foundation rock of Leninism, against which the waves of false policies, passion and reaction may dash and the winds of demagogues may blow, but the house founded on this rock, will not fall again.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

100 Brush Workers Strike in N. Y.

Last Wednesday (Aug. 22) about 100 brushmakers in the Hertzberg and Son brush factory went out on strike for union recognition and higher wages. The wage scale as established by the NRA was \$13. The strike was provoked by the firing of one of the active trade union members. The workers then decided to hurl back the challenge of the boss and struck solidly.

For a week now the picket lines have been militant and the fighting spirit of the young people involved is a true tribute to the abilities of the working class. Every day now there has been mass picketing around the shop which is located at University Place and 11th Street. The strikers realize that what is at stake is the recognition of their union which alone can defend against their economic gains. This sentiment is clearly expressed at their strike meetings, on the picket line and wherever they gather to discuss their strike.

Plug-Uglies to Break Strike

The employers are using the usual means to attempt to break the spirit of the workers and to get them back to work. They have hired scabs to fill the places of the union boys and girls as well as the customary line-up of tough-looking and ill meaning gangsters who hire themselves out as professional strike breakers. The scabs are giv-

ing all the protection by private detectives who drive them to and from the shop in private cars.

So far the police have not actively intervened, except in arresting one of the strikers, Sam Fox, when he clashed with some of the scabs. The striker has been released on a \$200 bond and faces trial on the charge of assault.

Every attempt on the part of the bosses to get the workers back to work by bribes has been met with the general response: "Call up the union." The Brushmakers Union, Local 16303 of the A. F. of L., decided at its last membership meeting to support the strike fully by physical and financial aid.

The workers can go back to their jobs victorious only if they stick together and gain the recognition of their union. This they realize fully and their militant spirit is testimony that they understand the meaning of the old axiom: In union there is strength.

—BRUSH WORKER.

Shovel Workers Rebel In West Virginia

Parkersburg, W. Va.—On July 20, Federal Labor Union 18,858 struck the Ames-Baldwin Wyoming shovel plant here. The main purpose of the strike was to force the company to deal with union representatives as prescribed by section 7a of the NRA, as well as to guarantee seniority rights to its employees.

"Law and Order" Terror

Until the state police arrived, the pickets were keeping the plant closed without any disorder. Nevertheless, Governor Kump, through his subordinates, called out the state police to restore "law and order," and to "protect the public's welfare." Such pretenses are common to all our public officials (from the President on down). The shooting and beating of workers, and the terrorizing of the inhabitants of the South Side, did not serve very well to maintain peace, but these tactics were good for strike-breaking, anyway. Such atrocities soon proved to the workers for what purpose the West Virginia State Police had been organized—namely, for strike-breaking and no other. These legal assassins would, without provocation from anyone, hurl tear gas bombs into the picket line, and into nearby restaurants where workers were congregated. Making sorties into the picket line, the police would ferociously swing their riot sticks, and knock down bystanders as well as pickets. These armed thugs shot a bystander, Mr. M. W. McMullen, and deliberately, without any cause, clubbed and beat to the ground, A. K. Summers, the union's president. Such brutal and heinous methods were adopted for the sole purpose of breaking the fighting spirit and smothering the militancy of the pickets.

Bosses Investigate Themselves

Kump's representative from the Department of Public Safety, sent to investigate the shooting of McMullen, forgot to interview the wounded man, or any of the witnesses to the shooting, or the man who conveyed Mr. McMullen to the hospital. The state investigator claimed that the state police were innocent on the basis that the wound was too small to be done by a calibre of gun used by the state police. However, this investigator for the bosses had never seen the wound, nor had he consulted the doctor as to the extent or dimension of the injury. In every way, in fact, the Governor and the state representatives clearly revealed that they were on the bosses' side, and that they were out to break the strike even if they had to kill the union's president and a couple of pickets to do it.

Like the Government, the local newspapers pitched their tents in the bosses' camp. As a result, the Parkersburg locals are editing a paper all their own, called the Wood County Labor News.

A Ruse Is Spied

President Harle of Ames-Baldwin Wyoming Co. tried to use the National Labor Relations Board to trick the workers into calling off the strike. Harle wrote a letter to the N.L.R.B., stating his position on the strike. He hoped that the workers would think this letter was an offer to the union for a settlement. The union members, however, wisely voted against terminating the strike on the basis of Harle's letter, stating "it is only a letter," and "not a specific contract." The letter, by the way, did not even mention the union, nor did it offer union recognition or seniority rights.

Federal Labor Union No. 18,858 presented mountains of evidence to the Federal Labor Relations Board (enforcement section of the NRA), proving that the Ames-Baldwin Wyoming agents had coerced the employees to vote for a company union. However, the union can expect little help from these people, unless the union, first, by the force of the strike weapon brings the bosses to their knees. In that case, the NRA is superfluous. The Federal government reated the NRA to turn labor discontent into peaceful channels, and either to prevent strikes or to keep strikes within limits harmless to the bosses. The workers, by relying on the committees and investigators of the NRA, can never attain better working conditions.

Roosevelt organized the NRA to

MARCH OF EVENTS

The United Front and the Defense of Trotsky

The burning question in those countries of Europe not yet under the iron heel of fascism, is the united front of the proletariat against fascism and imperialist war. The establishment of that united front of all working class parties and organizations willing to fight in this struggle, without discrimination, although not sufficient, is nevertheless a preliminary and absolutely essential condition for the defeat of reaction. The fate of France in this connection, the ability of the French workers to strike unitedly and decisively at the fascist forces, will decide immediately the fate of Belgium, Holland, Spain and England. Fascism triumphant in France would mean that European civilization would be thrown back into the Dark Ages with all its barbarism. It is the realization of this that causes the masses to exert an irresistible pressure on the bureaucracies of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals for unity in the struggle. The workers are compelling action.

The first task posed for such a united front is the defense of all the victims of fascism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, the defense of the working class fighters against fascism. Necessarily then the question of defending Trotsky poses itself for inclusion in such a program. The Stalinists cannot evade this issue, they are being pushed to the wall and forced to declare whether Trotsky is the victim of the attack of the French reactionary bourgeoisie or not.

The United Front in Belgium

In every country the best fighters come from the youth movement. Thus in Belgium the youth comrades show themselves the most advanced, the most serious and willing to learn. Recently the Socialist Young Guard (the Y.P.S.I.) of Brussels invited the Stalinist youth and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth to send representatives to debate the question of a united front for the defense of Trotsky. Naturally we presented the position that in case of the acceptance of a united front for the defense of the victims of fascist repression, the Socialist Young Guard should by no means concede anything to the special interests of Stalinism, but should demand the inclusion of Trotsky in the list of those to be defended. We added however, that naturally in case of a struggle against fascism which poses other questions too, such as the fight against decree laws and arbitrary government power, we do not lay down any ultimatum that we refuse to join the united front unless the defense of Trotsky is included. The Stalinist speaker evaded the entire issue by presenting the Stalinist program and attacking Trotsky. The reaction of the Young Guard showed that the Stalinists had failed utterly to carry conviction. This was demonstrated later in the acceptance in principle by the N. C. of the socialist youth of the offer for the united front by the Stalinist youth. The socialists, after accepting the task of defending Thaelmann, wrote: "We believe also that the defense of a militant like Trotsky is equally necessary and that we should place ourselves in the camp opposed to that of the French bourgeoisie. We think we should defend all the militant victims of international reaction, without distinction as to tendency." The Stalinists tried to minimize the entire issue of Trotsky but the socialist youth have thus far stuck to their guns and not permitted themselves to be put off.

The Movement Begins Here

All too slowly a campaign is getting under way for the defense of Trotsky here. Without comment we print the following letter sent to us by John Brooks Wheelwright. He writes: "A man far greater than Julius Caesar is in danger of being murdered. A man whose accomplishments are equivalent to those of Calvin, Cromwell and Clarendon, or of a Rousseau, who directed the course of Revolution wrote its history and worked to undo the work of Bonaparte and the Dynasts,—Leon Trotsky is in danger! Altho I doubt the wisdom of forming a 4th International, I beg you to bring the influence of your paper to bear upon the necessity of forming a United Front to defend the life and liberty of Leon Trotsky, whose security involves the future well-being of millions, and who worthily occupies the post of champion of civilization against barbarism. An age so rich in event and poor in character as ours could ill afford his loss." Comrade Wheelwright is right. The defense of comrade Trotsky is the task of every revolutionary worker and intellectual.

—JACK WEBER.

Induce the workers to resort to the governmental boards for help, so that these same workers would less efficiently use the power of their own unions, and less willingly use their strike weapon against the bosses. And only by the might of their own labor organizations will the workers bring their employers to terms.

—G. N.

International Youth Day

All the glorious traditions of the revolutionary youth in their struggle against capitalism, militarism and war are embodied in International Youth Day.

As the day of demonstration against these curses of present day society, the first Sunday of every September, was set aside by the revolutionary Socialist youth who met at the first international anti-war conference held during the World War. Who were more courageous than the handful of youth who assembled at Bern, Switzerland, in the dark days of April 1915?

Neither the mass chauvinistic spirit of the time fostered by the capitalist class and the official Social Democratic parties, nor the powerful coercive powers of the war governments could deter their struggle. Fired with revolutionary enthusiasm and a keen understanding of the imperialist character of the World War, their small numbers and their isolation from the mass of youth did not deter them from unfurling the banner of the Socialist struggle against war, of revolutionary internationalism.

These advanced youth had been taught by the Left wing in the old Second International. Above all Liebknecht and Luxemburg had fought for the organization of the youth. As early as the 1900 Paris Congress the Second International recognized the need for "the education and organization of the young people with the object of fighting militarism."

Origin of Socialist Youth Movement

In the period from the late '80's to 1907, Socialist youth organizations arose in all the important countries of Europe and America. In some, primarily as anti-militarist organizations (Belgium, Italy, Holland, South Germany, Spain, Switzerland and Norway), in others, as defenders of the apprentices and young workers (Austria, North Germany), in still others, for the Socialist education of the youth (England, the United States).

All reflected the growing importance of youth under imperialism, as wage slaves and cannon-fodder. The growing militarization of Europe at the turn of the last century focused the attention particularly of the revolutionary Socialists on the problem of winning the youth for socialism.

The process culminated at Stuttgart on August 24, 1907, where, under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht the Socialist youth leagues organized the first revolutionary youth international. The fate of the militant youth movement was inextricably bound up with that of the revolutionary Socialist wing of the Second International.

On the wave of the enthusiasm engendered by the heroic struggles of the Russian workers in 1905, the internationalists gained strength in Western Europe and America. On the crest of this wave the Socialist Youth International was founded. However, reaction soon set in. Shortly after the Stuttgart Congress the influence of the Left wing receded, not to be revived until the Russian working class revolution of November 1917. Thus came the decline of the world Socialist youth movement.

Nevertheless small groups of youth were trained in revolutionary Marxism. Those who had founded the Socialist Youth International joined, in the main, the Left wing in their respective country. While there was neither unanimity nor clarity among the revolutionary Marxists and though they were not well organized, the crucial test of a social crisis, the World War, found them united in defense of internationalism.

Anti-War Position at Bern

The Bern Youth Conference arose on this background. It denounced the Social Democratic war mongers who despite their repeated anti-war pledges, given at International Congresses and meetings, became bloodthirsty proponents of the imperialist slaughter. Uncertainty was displayed on the question of the centrists. But what was to be expected on such an occasion? Surely not a clear-cut, complete Marxist program!

Not until the Russian revolution of November 1917 and the creation of the Communist International did the youth movement again arise. The Young Communist International was thus organized in Berlin on November 20, 1919, nine months after the founding of the Comintern.

His genuine heir of the revolutionary Socialist youth traditions, endorsed the decision of the Bern Conference on International Youth Day. However, the struggle against centrism on the matter of the political subordination of the Young Communist League to the Communist parties was not solved until the Second Congress of the Y.C.I. in 1921.

The thriving militant youth movement was temporarily doomed with the victory of Stalinism in the Communist International, the defeat, once again, of the revolutionary Marxists. The revisionist and treacherous program and practices of the Stalinists could have no other effect than the collapse of the Young Communist International. The bureaucratic regime in the Communist parties, which took on even greater stultifying force among the youth, could not but be repugnant to the young workers and their need for self-education and development.

Steps Towards New Youth International

Arising from this situation the movement for a new world party of revolutionary Marxism, the Fourth International, is finding its reflection among the youth. The Luxemburg Youth Conference held last February, in organizing the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, marked an important step forward in this process. Unanimity does not exist. Many of the participating youth organizations do not understand the need for a decisive struggle against centrism. Are they less advanced than were the youth who assembled at Bern in 1915? Only the most patient discussion and constructive joint activities can win these youth to a full revolutionary program.

These are the considerations which we must recall on the nineteenth International Youth Day. Today when reaction is growing throughout the world, we must assemble the forces of revolution. The victory of Fascism in Germany, the Fascist danger in France, the spread of incipient Fascism in democratic United States, as well as the threatening war clouds which hover over the world, the growth of the militarization of the youth and the hopeless plight of the young workers and students under capitalism, challenge us to build a powerful youth movement—for the youth are the first victims of imperialist wars and Fascist demagogues.

Just as the revolutionary vanguard requires the youth, so the militant youth movement depends upon political guidance from the vanguard. Such should be the inseparable connection between the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League. Together we call upon the militant youth to demonstrate on September 2nd against wage slavery, militarism and imperialist war.

—JOS. CARTER.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances the regular "Question Box" does not appear in this column. However, we hope once again to be able to present our readers with this feature in the coming issues.

Trying to Turn the Clock Of History Back

Called by the national committee of the Socialist Party of Argentina, a congress of "Iberia-American democracy" is scheduled to take place in Buenos Aires in September. Invited to participate in this congress are "the democratic parties and central organizations of a democratic type" of Latin America.

The task of this congress, according to its callers, will be to unite the above described organizations on a common plan of action in favor of the following program:

1. Free interchange, commercially and culturally. (Free trade).
2. Pacific solution of international conflicts.
3. Defense of the republican and democratic forms of government.
4. Labor legislation.
5. Control of foreign capital (imperialist capital).
6. Compulsory, free, lay education.
7. Separation of church and state.

As yet it is unknown what response this call has had among the liberal, democratic and reformist groups of Latin America. This platform will, however, undoubtedly be attractive to such organizations as the Apra of Peru, Groves party in Chile the Socialist Parties of Uruguay and Brazil, Grau San Martin in Cuba, the Left wing of the National Revolutionary Party in Mexico and the Sandinist group in Nicaragua.

Even by an immense stretch of imagination we cannot picture the above program as issuing from a workers' party. It would be conservative even for a petty bourgeois liberal group. It is a twentieth century echo of English 19th century liberalism.

Caught in the scissors of big foreign financial capital, mainly invested in extractive industries (mining, rubber, cotton, coffee, meat, nitrate, fruit) and in railroad and power and the super-exploited proletariat slaving in these industries, the native industrial capitalists, tiny and impotent, in many cases little removed from artisanry, adopts a position in international politics analogous to their position in economics: in between, is the best description. By their very nature incapable of a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, they find solace in miserable impotent reactionary wallows.

The financial capitalists demand the uncontrolled exploitation of the semi-colonial countries and the workers and peasants in them. The proletariat demands freedom from all imperialism. The petty bourgeoisie wants to "control" foreign capital. (The fly on the cow's rump wants to control the cow!)

Dependent upon foreign capital for the machines and tools they use; upon railroads owned by foreign imperialists to transport their products; upon banks to finance their undertakings; upon laborers working for the foreign imperialists for their chief market—they are controlled by foreign capital and will become ever more dependent upon it instead of attaining the control over it they dream about.

South America is the arena for a free-for-all fight between various European and North American groups, with the late entrance of Japan into the fray. The chief batters are Great Britain and the United States. The conflicts in South America are in reality conflicts between countries sympathetic to British influence versus those sympathetic to North America. Governments are formed and overthrown, nations fight each other, international pacts are signed according to the dictates of the course of events in the struggles between these two countries.

At present we have the war in the Chaco. As the two little countries involved directly become exhausted both from the point of view of man power and economic strength, the powers behind these two governments of Paraguay and Bolivia, the United States and Great Britain, are obliged to call in other forces to decide the issue. The war in the Chaco is in acute danger of becoming continental, international. The prize of this enlarged war will not be a small piece of land in the Chaco, but entire South and Central America and world hegemony.

All the efforts at "pacific solution" are not only the phantasies of a class which lives on illusions. Not only will they not stop an imperialist war, but are also a great obstacle in the path of the revolutionary solution of an imperialist war by revolutionary methods. Between the imperialist war of the big financiers, and the revolutionary war of the proletariat we find the petty bourgeoisie dreaming of "pacific solutions" of all wars. In this matter also the middle class in-between nature of this all becomes clear.

Free trade? One rubs his eyes to find out if by some chance he has not reversed the position of the hero of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and instead of waking up in the 21st century, has awakened in the year 1850. To call for free trade—like the industrial capitalists of the latter years in England—in the year 1934, when the world is engaged in a war (at present concealed, but soon to be open) between the imperialists who are continually raising tariff wars against each other, and the proletariat, one of whose historic tasks is the freeing of world economy from its national barriers, shows definitely that this conference is representative of the hopeless petty bourgeoisie.

As in international politics (war) and in economics, so in national politics the middle class character of this call is clear. Between fascism and the proletarian dictatorship this call defends the form of government ideal for capitalism at the time it was small, progressive and democratic. There is no word of independent working class action of even a reformist type.

All of these things clearly prove that what we will have in Buenos Aires in September will be an international conference of representatives of a class left behind by the march of history: the Latin American industrial bourgeoisie. The ideas of this class are on par with its economic development: 1850.

The bourgeois United States of Europe was and is a utopia owing to the fact that European capitalism cannot overcome its inner differences that lead them to the building of ever higher tariff walls and the exciting of ever more frenzied nationalism. For the same reason—that European and North American imperialism cannot overcome their differences—the bourgeois United States of South and Central America is doomed to be still-born. Such is the nature of politics in the epoch of imperialism.

The proletariat lives in 1934. It needs an internationalism suitable to its epoch, a revolutionary internationalism that will carry society forward instead of backward.

For the Latin American countries the next step forward is the formation of the United Socialist Soviet States of Latin America. The main task of this union will be the defense and extension of the proletarian dictatorship of the various countries against the attacks of imperialism, chiefly Wall Street.

—C. C.

August 24, 1934

Muenzenberg in a Web Of Contradictions

In the July 31st issue of the *New Masses*, Willi Muenzenberg undertakes to explain the German events to the American workers.

It seems that there is very little agreement on this question even in the minds of the Stalinist historians, since each new pamphlet and article on the subject contradicts the laborious apologetics of its predecessors.

However that may be, we are presented by Muenzenberg with a brand new interpretation, which is to give the American workers the key to the German situation.

Unfortunately, space limitations do not permit us to deal adequately with each point raised. What we intend to do therefore, is to concentrate exclusively on the material presented by Muenzenberg, and show that even on the assumption that the premises laid down are true (which they are not)—the conclusions drawn are entirely at variance with the facts presented.

In an introduction where he attempts to give a picture of the conditions in Germany prior to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, Muenzenberg reveals in the most unmistakable manner the crass, unhistorical and un-Marxian approach of the Stalinist historians.

After recording the effects of the economic crisis in Germany from 1928, he goes on to attribute the success of the Fascists in winning a mass base (1) to the propaganda of Goebbels and (2) "by promising every group in the population what that group desired."

And what, pray, was the "revolutionary party" doing during that interval? "The Socialist Party," Muenzenberg continues, was "declining steadily" during 1930-1931 and: "The Communist Party in the ensuing winter of 1932-1933 began to win the masses at a rapid rate. It began to attain considerable success in its tactic of the united front (from below!)"

Under these conditions, granting for the moment that they are true, and that "when the Prussian Government was overthrown in the coup d'etat of July 20, 1932 . . . (the) Social Democracy's last iota of prestige disappeared", it should have been a comparatively easy task for the C. P. to rally the workers under its banner.

Make This Out—if You Can!

But, not! Despite the fact that the Social Democracy was completely discredited and that: "Its trade unions were losing members at a catastrophic pace" and; that the C. P. was attaining "considerable success in its policy of the united front"; and, that it was winning "the masses at a rapid rate"—despite all these favorable factors, says Muenzenberg, the reason "Hitler did not seize power in an open struggle against the working class", was because this same Social Democracy (which had already lost its influence), prevented the workers "from making a solid united front; (and) had been compelled to make a retreat."

How is one then to interpret all his statements about the success of the party's united front policy, its winning the masses at a rapid rate and the disintegration of the S.D.? Perhaps the editors of the *New Masses* will undertake to enlighten the American workers on this score!

And then to cap it all, he concludes this part of his article with this statement: "We will continue the tactics of the united front, as we have successfully up to now (1), together with the German workers, for a real revolution and not for another bourgeois-social democratic regime." Is this perhaps the same kind of united front that Browder is now so anxious to have the S. P. accept?

By this casuistry, the Stalinists hope to extricate themselves from their responsibility for the German defeat. But it is a difficult task. It was not so long ago that Muenzenberg spoke in a different vein. In February 1932, he had this to say about the united front: "A bloc or even an alliance, or even temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in Germany against National Socialism, would forever discredit the Communist Party among the broad masses of the workers."

"Then, it was the united front from below that would crush fascism, for as the great Stalin himself hath said, and all the little Muenzenbergs after him: 'The Social Democracy and Fascism are not antipodes but twins'. It was first necessary to defeat the S. P. before fascism could be destroyed. In a statement of the Central Committee of the German Communist party in July, 1932, it was even proclaimed that fascism already existed!"

"Before all, we must make it clear to the social democratic workers that what we have today is the Fascist dictatorship. . . . The same holds for the illusion that the S.D.P.G. or the General German Trade Union Alliance are also organizations of the anti-fascist struggle. Whoever would aim to build on the idea that by 'appeals' to the S.D.P.G. or other reformist organizations, a struggle would come about, would disarm the proletariat!" —Rote Fahne, July 26, 1932.

Muenzenberg, also cannot refrain from taking a poke at the Trotskyites. In a brilliant example of history written to order, he says: "The Trotskyites say we made a mistake in January, 1933 when we didn't declare a general strike ourselves (!?), with or without the Socialists (!?), when we didn't summon the workers to follow us into the streets for an armed uprising. We are ready to bear responsibility for what we did before the Communists of New York today, and before the coming World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. The events have shown that the line of Thaelmann and the German Party was correct."

The correct line which put Hitler into power and Thaelmann in jail, is now counter-posed to an invented one for the Trotskyites. The German L. O. which for years prior to Hitler's advent to power consistently advocated the united front between the S. D. and C. P., for which they were peremptorily castigated as "counter-revolutionists", are now accused of calling for an armed uprising without the S.D.! Needless to say, Muenzenberg does not quote chapter and verse to substantiate this fantastic proposition. His very ordinary mind, while it can invent unconscionable fabrications, cannot produce what does not exist.

While the World Congress of the Comintern—if it ever is held—can be depended on to whitewash the criminal betrayal of the German workers, the workers of N. Y. and the world over will soon give their answer to the Stalinist—organizer of defeats.

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WORLD OF LABOR

YOUTH UNITE IN BELGIUM

Belgian youth are showing the way of genuine united front action to the young workers and students of the world. An agreement for action against war and fascism has been arrived at between the three major youth organizations: The National Federation of Young Socialist Guards, the Young Communist League and the Young Leninists (the Belgian counterpart of the Young Spartacus). The three organizations will fight for the liberation of all class war prisoners irrespective of political affiliation and organize joint action of the workers against the dictatorial powers of the reactionary Belgian government. Further, the united organizations will combat the recent government decrees calling for the dissolution of the Young Socialist Guards and the Young Leninists. Independence of organization is to be maintained in the united struggle against the common foe.

Two features are of interest here. One is that the Stalinist youth organization have designed to enter a united front with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". And the other is the splendid attitude of the Young Socialists in the course of the negotiations with the Stalinists. The Belgian Y.C.L. addressed a proposal to the Young Socialists calling for united struggle in behalf of Thaelmann. To this the Y.S.G. replied in part:

"We believe that the defense of a militant like Trotsky is equally as important and that we should be in the camp opposing the French bourgeoisie. We think that every militant without regard to tendency hounded by international reaction should be defended by us."

NOTES ON THE UNITED FRONT

Czechoslovakia

A blanket refusal was the answer of the Czech Socialist party to the Stalinist request for a united front. They charge the Communist party with splitting the trade union movement and working for the destruction of the social democratic organizations. In years gone by, this argument would not have carried an ounce of water. But since the advent of Stalinism, with its theories of "social-fascism" and "red trade unions" not a few workers are affected by it and believe the reformists sincere in refusing the united front.

Britain

Here too the "Loyal Opposition of His Majesty King George", the chauvinists of the Labor Party have rejected unity of action with the C. P. In Britain the Communist Party is an insignificant sect. It has little or no support in the unions which could reinforce its demand. Then the whole policy of the last five years serves as a condemnation. Two outstanding reasons motivate the Labor Party refusal of the united front: it "would stimulate confusion in our own ranks and weaken our hold over public opinion." In other words, the united front would discredit the fakery in the eyes of the workers and compromise them in the opinion of the bourgeoisie. They forget, however, that this is the party of Stalin and not of Lenin.

Holland

The S. P. of Holland says "Nothing Doing." Go appeal to our International. That's how they answer the Stalinist appeal for the united front. They could never get away with such brazen cynicism if the offer were made by a real revolutionary party. They would have to answer to the workers for whom the danger of fascism is more important than the prestige of the bureaucrats, reformist or Stalinist.

Sweden

In Sweden the Social Democrats constitute the bourgeois government. Consequently they will have no truck with any proposition for united front. Because . . . it might lead to sad results for bourgeois society. And that, they wouldn't like at all. So they say to the C. P. "There is a gulf between the revolutionary line of Bolshevism and the peaceful road of Social Democracy. . . . The united front slogan is simply a slogan to increase the influence of Bolshevism at the expense of the Social Democrats and the trade unions."

CONDEMNATION AT ANY PRICE

In this column last week we wrote of the heavy toll taken by Kuo Min Tang terror of the Internationalists in China. In the course of the note we told of the plight of comrade Chen Du Hsin, founder of the Communist party of China and leader of the Communist League there. We said that due to the intervention of bourgeois admirers he was not subjected to the same treatment as other political prisoners. The statement was immediately seized upon by a certain scribbler for the *Daily Worker*, one Harry Gannes, who says that . . . "The main bourgeois admirer of Chen Du Hsin is Wang Chin Wei, one of the chief henchmen of Chiang Kai Shek." On what authority he makes this assertion he does not bother to say. Facts are least important in the Stalinist press. This different treatment (whatever it is, it means intense suffering for the Chinese revolutionist, who has now rounded out his seventieth year) is accorded Chen, according to Gannes, because of "his service to the executioners of the Chinese workers and peasants." Then why is he in jail altogether? Surely even the Chinese bourgeoisie has more use for such a "staunch friend" than to keep him cooped up in a foul dungeon. Or perhaps, as the argument went in regards to the "red" scare in Minneapolis, it is to make him more popular with the Chinese workers in order to be able to sell them out later?

But the stalwart loyalty of Chen to the revolutionary workers of China stands in glaring contrast to the craven capitulation and outright treachery of Stalinist leaders in China. Gannes says they are executed immediately upon apprehension. That might be true if they stuck to their guns. But the facts speak another story with most of them. Here is only a partial list of Gannes' heroes who have reneged on the proletariat, capitulated to the bourgeoisie and even betrayed their own comrades:

Tsang King-teh—secretary of the Chinese section of the International Red Aid.

Chen Yung-chao—head of the Chinese Communist party.

Chang Chi-yung—director of the Organizational Department of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist party.

Lin Wen Hsiang—a party member and secretary and executive member of the party-controlled Shanghai Labor Union.

Fung Yuen-ming—editor of the party's trade union organ.

These facts only partially exhaust the names of the real renegades from Communism, to say nothing of the scores of spies, the most ardent "Trotsky-baiters", that wormed their way into the leading councils of the party only later to betray the most militant and courageous workers to the police.

NEW INTERNATIONAL OFF THE PRESS

The August issue of the *New International* is now available to all readers. It is an anti-war number and the major part of its contents deal with the questions of imperialism and militarism in the last war and the war to come. Besides, there is highly interesting material on the united front in France, containing documents hitherto unavailable in the English language.

Stalin's Camp Followers on Latin America

This article is devoted to a discussion of the position of those apologists for the Stalinists, the Lovestonettes on Latin America. These people in their pitiable impotence to influence the course of events and because of the shameful ambition of their leaders to recapture important positions in the apparatus of the Stalinist party, defend or cover up the betrayals of the Stalinists.

In August 1933 the class struggle in Cuba reached the point at which the tension of the classes broke out into revolutionary struggle against the Machado dictatorship and American imperialism. The Lovestonettes maintained a profound and, for them, wise silence. When "revolutionists" do not understand that the revolution has arrived it is always wiser to keep quiet. A month later the masses struck again and raised the petty bourgeoisie to the seat of power, Martin supplanted DeCespedes as provisional president. The Lovestonettes still stepped themselves in silence. Wisdom had not been vouchsafed them. Four months later the revolution suffered a defeat with the reinstallation in power of the docile servants of American imperialism; this time it was Mendieta, who replaced Martin as president. The Lovestonettes reported a general strike. They were too busy reforming the Communist

parties of Germany and the United States to explain to the workers the significance of the Cuban revolution, what the Cuban workers were doing, what mistakes they were making, what was the role of the Communist party of Cuba in these events, what was still to be done in Cuba, what was to be done in the United States to help the Cuban workers. The same silence covered the infamous bargain Litvinov made with Roosevelt in its relation to the Cuban revolution, especially in the question of the fight against American imperialism. And on the war in the Gran Chaco the Lovestonettes observed the same policy of silence-is-golden.

But those in the Lovestonette camp who had faith were rewarded. In the July 15 issue of the *Workers Age* the Lovestonettes who, in their time "discovered" Latvia and Estonia, discovered the existence of the Cuban revolution. Those who seek light on the struggles which convulse the "Queen of the Caribbean" should read Ellen Ward's "Cuba in Turmoil". But remember as you read that this is the first pronouncement by these right wing Communists on the Cuban question. If you look for their position on the Cuban revolution you will look in vain. You will find, however, that Cuba's geographic position, population principal crops and size are set forth with

the precision and language of a tourist guide book.

One other aspect of Ward's curious approach deserves mention. Ward tells us that "In addition to our economic interest we have a very vital political interest in Cuba." (The interest of the international proletarian revolution? No.) "Its dominant position in the Caribbean and its closeness to the Panama Canal make the island a strategic point in the continental defense of the United States!" (Our emphasis). Ward writes like a patriot!

Ward attempts a chronological survey of the events covered by the period of the Lovestonettes' silence, that is to say, the first year of the present epoch of the Cuban revolution. It is a strange record which she compiles. According to Ward the "starving and wretched masses" overthrew Machado. But American imperialism was able to ease in DeCespedes who, Ward recognizes, "smelled so much of his former chief." How was this possible? Ward is discreetly silent. "The army and the students supported by another surge of the masses, took control of the government and put in Grau San Martin." Why weren't the masses able to take power? Ward does not tell us. The U. S. didn't recognize Grau. Wall Street was afraid of the big bad wolf. Grau who was carrying out repres-

sions against the workers and who dared to use troops to shoot down strikers and demonstrators, "appeared to take the demands of the masses too much in earnest." And so it goes with Hevia and Mendieta. The Cuban revolution is explained as a succession of presidential personalities in relation to American imperialism much as the school texts explain history as a succession of kings. The class struggle in this type of history, lurks somewhere in the background and makes its presence felt like the occasional rumble of a volcano.

On the role of the Communist party of Cuba Ward is as silent as the tomb. Grave charges have been laid at the door of this party. They have been substantiated with documents. A clear case of treachery has been made against the C. P. of Cuba. But Ward, like her confederates, finds it politic to pass this question by in silence. Eloquent testimony of the character of this movement!

Is this silence accidental? Not at all. Ward summarizes the statement of the Communist party of Cuba on the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. Did the Lovestonettes "discover" the literature of the Cuban Stalinists only yesterday? Strange and convenient ignorance of the statement of the Communist party of Cuba of the abrogation of (Continued on Page 4)

United Fruit Company Vs. United Banana Workers

A few weeks ago seven thousand Costa Rican banana workers went on strike. It was the biggest strike in Costa Rican history and was distinguished by several unique features that together made enough of an impact on the hide of the United Fruit Company to make the strike New York Times news.

In the first place, the workers went out on an all-inclusive, industrial union basis. Cutters, loaders, railroad and dock men stopped work, paralyzing the banana industry from the jungle to the water's edge.

The government gun-men, called in at once by the many United Fruit boys holding public office, were unable to make a dent in the strike—unable even to get near the armed, fighting workers, led by Communist Party members and backed by C. P. representatives in the Costa Rican legislature—men who, let us state with honest surprise, are making a consistent, intelligent fight against the United Fruit stronghold.

International Solidarity in Strike

A second remarkable feature about this strike was its close contact with Nicaraguan workers, and its solid support by Jamaican Negro workers in the Atlantic zone, in spite of the race-baited campaign carried on by the United Fruit and the smaller subsidiary planters. The Costa Rican government began deporting Nicaraguans shortly after the strike, accusing them of being "foreign trouble-makers," but at the root of this action was the fear of strike in Nicaragua too—also, like Costa Rica, a vast estate of the United Fruit. The workers might discover—they are learning rapidly—that the precious national boundaries are economically fictitious—that the Nicaraguans are not only suffering imperialist exploitation like themselves, but largely in the same industries and under the yoke of the same companies!

An international strike would be new in Latin America—and immensely dangerous to the United Fruit Company, whose huge empire includes most of Central America and the Caribbean zone, and spreads into South America, especially in Colombia and Venezuela. A huge industrial union embracing the fruit, sugar and coffee industry could paralyze not only the industry itself, but most of the railroad and water traffic in the Caribbean zone. Hence the alarm of the United Fruit at the fraternizing of Nicaraguan and Costa Rican workers.

Furthermore, international industrial unionism, cutting through national borders, would wipe away the big talking point of petty-bourgeois demagogic agitators and governments—at present a strong and typical Latin American product—for these knomintangists base their appeal on "anti-imperialist" super-nationalist "peasant and worker" demagoguery. The workers cutting bananas might find out their true class status—side by side with the railroad men and ship-workers, against native nationalist bourgeoisie and the United Fruit.

Strike Triumphs

So a third remarkable feature of the strike emerges: it was won. The workers got a raise, and virtual union recognition, since the strike was settled by a committee upon which were represented the union, the Communist Party, and the government—acting for United Fruit. This denouement contrasts sharply with the big United Fruit strike in Colombia several years ago, when the government sent in troops to crack down on the more or less marooned banana cutters, and broke the strike by means of brutality and terror. Many lives were lost, and the struggle finally degenerated into skirmish and sabotage, United Fruit losing, at its own estimate, a million dollars in fruit and property.

The Costa Rican C. P., one of the few Third International groups left in the world which actually pursues an intelligent trade union policy, and maintains a realistic political fight, has emerged from the struggle greatly strengthened and healthily growing. The workers have learned several lessons from this strike, which if followed up should make of it an enormously significant step forward in the history of American labor.

Lessons of Strike

First, the strength of the industrial union principle as applied to agricultural workers tied up in the same great colonial combine as marine workers, railroad men, etc. This should lead to a new and clearer concept of Latin-American

land-workers, for the most part no longer "peasants" but true proletarians.

Second, the strength of international industrial unionism, particularly clear in the Caribbean zone, where the great majority of workers are reduced to an identical class and industrial position in the employ of a few great companies, who have long since wiped out, economically, all trace of national borders.

Third, the strength of a strike led and supported by an active, intelligent, militant workers' party.

The fourth necessary step, dictated by economic reality, should be the linking, by means of industrial unionism and politically, of Latin-American workers to North Americans, for at that point a general strike in the banana industry, or coffee or sugar, would become a movement of enormous power and significance; and would reveal the true international nature of imperialism, and the necessity of international action, on a mass basis, against it. —JEAN MENDEZ.

Hopkins and Relief

(Continued from Page 1)

They, and they alone, are to decide how much of the dwindling relief funds will be given to strikers. Have they been sufficiently starved, is their need sufficiently desperate, are they properly grateful and amenable to reason?

There are insufficient funds on hand to take care of one-tenth of this country's starving. Who believes, then, that the local authorities can accept, if they would, the additional burden of the striking thousands?

John E. Edgerton need fear nothing. The government troops will be at his disposal to crush the strikers. Funds, unlimited government funds, are his to break the strike. Relief for the strikers remains a promissory note, unsigned and undated.

Meanwhile, will the government continue to pour its loans into the coffers of manufacturers engaged in breaking strikes and locking out workers? It will.

The Welton Company, arch-foe of organized labor, defiant of even the government's order to re-hire union men it had fired, is one of the chief beneficiaries of Roosevelt's generous administration, through loans and subsidies, through sums of money sufficient to feed every single striker in the textile industry.

Richberg Forgets

(Continued from Page 1)

over June 1933. Between June and July of this year however, (again an oversight on the part of Richberg) there was a decrease in employment of 300,000 workers in the manufacturing industries, and a like decrease of 342,000 in the non-manufacturing industries. This would bring the total increase of employment for private industry from last June to July of this year to the grand total of about 1,600,000 workers. In addition to the above about 1,000,000 men are being employed on the various relief jobs running anywhere from the one dollar a day of the C. C. C. to the 50 dollars a month of the P. W. A. workers.

The total applications for jobs at the federal and state employment agencies ran well over 15 million. Thus does this merry dance of figures continue. Between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 workers taken back to industry at the magnificent wage of about 15 dollars per week. Real wages go down. Profits rise anywhere from 200 to 600 percent.

Sinclair Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

of a demagogue—even an "honest" demagogue is to disarm oneself in advance. The very fact that Sinclair got so overwhelming a vote simply indicates that the issue of freeing Mooney in California is not the bugaboo that cowards in the labor movement have made it out to be.

We shall return to the election campaign in California, particularly as it revolves about Sinclair, in coming issues of the *Militant*. But in conclusion we want to repeat the words to Sinclair junior to his father: "Daddy, read your own books."

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor
2. Organization Principles Instructor to be Announced
3. History and Principles of the International Communists Max Shachtman
4. State and Revolution Jack Weber
5. American History Felix Morrow
6. Elementary Marxian Economics Alfred Weaver

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-5024.

LABOR DAY-1934

Labor Day, the first Monday in September, is not the holiday of labor.

Set aside as a national holiday by Congress on June 28, 1894 in direct opposition to the revolutionary celebration of May 1, it found its most direct support in the reactionaries of the American Federation of Labor.

The difference between May 1 and "Labor Day" is not as some of our reformist friends would have us believe: a foreign celebration versus an American holiday. Quite the contrary. Baptized with the blood of the Haymarket martyrs, May 1 was founded by the A. F. of L. itself, only later to be adopted by the European labor and Socialist movement.

The burning creed of the class struggle and the illusory shibboleth of class peace—there lies the significant opposition between May 1 and Labor Day.

An Offering of Capitalism
With the full blessings of the President of the United States, who drive their "help" with the whip of slave conditions, with the mock eulogies of the labor-hating capitalist press on "the dignity of labor," the working class is given a day off—without pay—to enjoy the full "harvest" of a year of toil.

Contrast this picture of super-hypocrisy with May 1, when the capitalist class trembles in fear of the "revolution," when the state and city authorities mass their armed minions to prevent "seizure of property," when the hired press screams with rumors of "bomb plots," "assassinations" and breathes

a sigh of relief when the demonstrations are over and they still remain in power.

We judge ourselves by what our enemies think and say of us.

For the American working class Labor Day of 1934 is no day of rejoicing, rest or recreation. Whether Bill Green, President Roosevelt or J. P. Morgan like it or not, it will be a day of struggle, of class war.

Cotton Mills Close on Labor Day

Labor Day 1934 will resound with the echo of the marching feet of nearly a million underpaid and over-exploited textile workers leaving their places of drudgery in a nation-wide general strike.

Labor Day 1934 will find the working class ranking with resentment at the broken promises of the self-appointed "savior" in Washington. They have learned much in this year—that the New Deal of the NRA has been a Raw Deal of Company Unions, starvation wages and charity pittance for the unemployed.

Labor Day 1934 finds the American proletariat scarred from many battles. Auto workers in Toledo, truck drivers in Minneapolis, longshoremen in San Francisco, coal miners in Alabama, furniture workers in the "model" village of Kohler have shed their blood in the cause of unionism.

They have faced and fought the clubs and bullets of the police, the tear gas and bayonets of the National Guard. Every strike has had its martyrs.

Labor Day 1934 is greeted with the announcement of the steel trust of a reduction in wages, the her-ald of the second big gun in the

capitalist onslaught on the working class. First the fire was trained on the unions and now a slashing attack on wages is being prepared.

Stronger and More Confident

But on the other hand, the working class is stronger and more militant on Labor Day 1934 than it was a year ago. Membership in unions has grown by leaps and bounds. In more than one industry the left-wing workers are for the first time challenging the corrupt bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. Labor, slowly but surely, is beginning to feel its power. Let the bosses and their servants awe the day when the workers rise to their full stature.

For when that day comes not a few shams will be punctured. And outstanding among them, is the sham of capitalism itself. The rising profits concurrent with the lower standard of living for the working class, the destruction of essentials of life alongside with appalling hunger, the waste, the anarchy, the insanity of this system—all of this we can say is more firmly impressed in the minds of thousands today who were oblivious to the meaning of the present set-up of things on Labor Day 1933.

That is the significance of Labor Day 1934. It is not a day of celebration—no holiday ever granted by the bosses can be that—but a day for the workers to reflect over the momentous happenings of the past year. And when the reflections are transformed into action, then there will be real holidays—workers holidays.

Stalin Followers on Latin America

(Continued from Page 3)

the fight against American imperialism!

What are the perspectives of the Cuban revolution? Can the Communist party of Cuba be "restored to a Leninist basis (we assume that the Lovestonites will not dare to maintain that the Cuban Stalinists have been pursuing a Leninist policy although they have yet to analyze their "mistakes")? For the answers to these questions you look in vain in Ward's Baedeker of the Cuban revolution.

But perhaps we demand too much of Ward. After all, judging by the *Workers Age* she is only a tyro in the subtle art of covering up the traces of the Stalinists. We must look to the maestros of the Lovestonite fold for more expert performances. Those who read Ward will turn with a sigh of anticipation to the radio speech of Wolfe on Latin America which is reported in the same issue of the *Workers Age*. Wolfe's subject was "Voice of the Americas" and no one will doubt that his two precipitate visits to Mexico together with many other attributes highly qualifies him to deal with this subject.

Wolfe spoke from a capitalist radio station and could not, in all probability, have used the forthright language of the revolutionary movement. This circumstance imposed on him a severe restriction in the use of his language, but only in his language. No other restriction is permissible for a revolutionist. Better to give up the opportunity to speak than accommodate the content of your speech to the demands of the capitalist radio censors. Let us note at once that Wolfe seized the occasion to cover himself with the mantle of a modest patriot. "As an American speaking to Americans," said Wolfe, "I do not feel it appropriate here to make suggestions to those south of the Rio Grande." The language of her master. Nay more! It is apparently the language of the Lovestonite movement. Tomorrow it will take on the flesh and blood of national chauvinism.

Why was it not appropriate to "make suggestions" to an audience of thousands? Where is it more appropriate? In the *Workers Age* which reaches far fewer workers? What do revolutionists want the radio for if not to make suggestions on the solution of their problems to the toiling masses of the entire world, north and south of the Rio Grande and everywhere else?

Wolfe wanted "rather to say a few words about what we Americans should do as a people if we wish to promote better relations with our neighbors to the South." (Our emphasis.) And Wolfe proceeded to make a speech which any bourgeois demagogue looking for petty bourgeois and working class votes could have made in its entirety daily.

Moreover Roosevelt appears to be achieving the very solution Wolfe advocated. He granted "independence" to the Philippines; he abrogated the Platt amendment; he withdrew marines from Haiti. A revolutionist speaking over the radio on the Latin American question has a clear duty to expose the hypocritical, demagogic, anti-working class nature of these maneuvers by the leading imperialist power of the world to deceive the Latin American workers into thinking that U. S. capitalism is friendly to them with resulting trade advan-

tages for it at the expense of its imperialist rivals. But a worker listening to Wolfe over the radio, or reading his speech in the *Workers Age* could draw only one conclusion in this respect: that Wolfe's policy was not different from Roosevelt's! In this way Wolfe, the *Workers Age*, which prints the speech without comment and apparently agrees with it in toto, and the Lovestonites as a movement give objective assistance to the class enemy and help "the strongest power on the continent" to fasten its bloody yoke around the necks of millions of our fellow workers.

Wolfe said that there cannot be equality and free cooperation among the peoples of the American continents "while there exists any intervention or any threat of intervention, any economic or political or military pressure by the strongest power on this continent to influence the form of government or the internal affairs and economic life of any other land." This is said abstractly without reference to the necessity for fighting political and military intervention in Cuba both in Cuba and the United States; or to the shambles in the Gran Chaco which is engineered by the two strongest powers in the world without any overt governmental, political, economic or military intervention or pressure whatsoever. On this remarkable development which foreshadows the coming world war as the Balkan war of 1912 rehearsed the World War which burst forth two years later, Wolfe who had the opportunity to speak loudly and clearly, was silent.

Wolfe told his audience that the cooperation he spoke for was possible "only when the destinies of each land are directly ruled by the great majority, the workers, farmers, peasants and producers generally." True enough; but abstract enough to win the enthusiastic support of Darrow who has joined the Baptist church, or the Farmer Labor party which makes even more radical declarations and Governor Olson himself. In short, Wolfe's formulations are correct in the abstract but are not filled by him with a revolutionary working class content. And that is the inevitable mark of the opportunist.

As for his patriotism and Ward's, an organization which tolerates such people in its ranks and prints their speeches and articles without even any comment is rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie and the greatest harm to the working class.

One is no wiser after reading Ward and Wolfe than before. The Lovestonites will not solve the problems of the Latin American and American revolutions. But they can muddle the thinking of a number of sincere and revolutionary workers. The quicker the American section of the Fourth International is launched and comes to grips with these problems the sooner will we be able to settle accounts with these right wing Stalinists.

—JOHN COATES.
San Luis Potosi, Mexico, Aug. 18

OPEN FORUM

"Literature and Revolution"

Speaker:

GEORGE MARLEN

(Author: "The Road")

Friday, Sept. 7, at 8 P.M.

144 Second Avenue, N.Y.C.

QUESTIONS :: DISCUSSION
Admission Free

Auspices: Downtown Branch Communist League of America

Onion Workers Battle Terror

McGuffey, O.—Two months ago some 500 men, women and children working in the largest onion fields in the country went out on strike. On numerous occasions prior to the walkout they had requested better working conditions and an increase in wages. The employers refused to grant any concessions and began to systematically fire the most active.

A committee representing the workers demanded that those fired be put back to work. The employers refused and threatened to fire all of them. This incident on top of the miserable wages they were receiving precipitated the strike.

Demand 35 Cents an Hour

The strikers immediately organized and applied for a charter from the A. F. of L. They demanded recognition of the union, an eight hour day and 35 cents an hour. They had been working 12 and 15 hours a day for 10 cents per hour and children for 5 cents an hour.

Up until a few days ago the strike had succeeded in crippling production. The entire population gave the strikers sympathy and support.

The strikers were evicted from their homes and relief refused. All kinds of provocations were attempted and as many as 30 strikers were in jail at one time in connection with activities attending the strike. To no avail. The strikers held their ranks. The employers became frantic and resorted to every means to smash the strike.

Then an epidemic of fires and bombings started. Strange to say, only old, dilapidated barns were burned and no lives lost or serious property damage resulted. It was obvious that this was the work of the bosses in an attempt to smash the strike and arouse public opinion against the workers.

Mayor's Home Bombed

These provocations culminated in the bombing of Mayor Ott's home a few days ago. Immediately, O'Dell, president of the union, was brought to the county sheriff's barracks for questioning. Present at the inquiry was Sheriff Mitchell and six special deputies.

Suddenly, a crowd of some three hundred "Citizen Vigilantes" crashed through the barracks' door and, taking the forces of "law and order" by "surprise," captured O'Dell. They dragged him outside, beat him up and threw him in a truck which was rapidly driven away.

Late that night O'Dell appeared at his home suffering from numerous wounds. He had been taken across the county line, terribly beaten and told to get out of the county on pain of death. He was warned that his child would be killed and his home destroyed if he dared return.

The strikers immediately organized a defense group and prepared for the threatened return of the Vigilantes.

O'Dell, in behalf of the union said, concerning a return of the Vigilantes, "Let them come. We'd give \$500 a head for anyone who gets away alive."

The workers are determined to defend their rights with their lives. The entire labor movement in this territory is up in arms and ready to support the onion strikers until the strike is won.

—HARRY MILTON.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

Tom Mooney Appeals to Labor for Assistance

MY DEAR FRIENDS, COMRADES AND FELLOW UNIONISTS:

As I write this letter San Francisco Bay District is tied up tighter than a knot from one of the greatest demonstrations of working class solidarity ever manifested in the whole history of this entire country.

For the past two months the International Longshoremen's Association, along with nine other Marine Workers Unions, have been conducting one of the finest and bravest militant labor strikes ever fought in this country. These same corrupt and all-powerful forces that FRAMED and RAILROADED me to this living hell for LIFE are the ones now trying to break this strike. They ordered their murderous police to shoot these strikers down in cold blood without the least provocation—it was wanton, wilful murder. Then they had the State militia called in to help break this wonderful labor solidarity.

These acts of violence and the unjustified appearance of the militia into the strike zone was like touching a match to a powder magazine. Like one man the entire labor movement in a marvelous spontaneous working class gesture called a general strike; and this in spite of the powerful opposition from all labor leaders who were swept aside, immediately upon the consummation of this foul treacherous betrayal of the striking longshoremen and maritime workers unions, the henchmen of these misleaders of labor, together with thugs from the American Legion, formed wrecking crews and destroyed all literature, furniture, records and other equipment in a dozen radical workers' headquarters. The police were conveniently absent until the wrecking was finished, then they appeared on the scene and arrested every one as Communists and threw them into prison. Over 600 arrests were made. Mayor Rossi said, "I will drive every radical and Communist out of San Francisco." A campaign of terror is now in full swing; first the Communist then the unions will be crushed under its heel—that is real unions, willing to fight for its members; these militant workers were the spark-plug in the longshoremen's and general strike.

Nothing that I might try to say could begin to do justice to the history-making events that are taking place in this region. Suffice to say, that this is the beginning of the end of the old order of things. It may take months—maybe a few years—but the end is inevitable.

These militant workers, who have found themselves and are not afraid to fight for their rights will soon realize that I too fought their fight 18 years ago, and lost. They will soon be making the fight for my freedom. I want you to help me bring this struggle forcefully and dramatically before all workers and their unions.

The entire country should be plastered with the enclosed Poster. No labor or working class event should be allowed to pass without putting the Mooney Case on its map. The only reason that I am in prison is because of my militant, loyal devotion to the cause of the workers, and the further fear, that if released I would again become active in the labor movement.

In this present industrial upheaval I see real hopes or my freedom, and very little hopes for same from the capitalist courts and politicians in public office. But I am availing myself of every opportunity to ask for my freedom just to prove to the workers what they can expect from the courts and other public officials doing the dirty work for capitalism.

On July 27, my 18th anniversary, I begin my nineteenth year in prison. August Second marks my 32nd anniversary of membership into the International Molders' Union. These dates should be exploited to signal attention to this monstrous frame-up. Labor Day, in every city in the country should afford a wonderful opportunity for a brave and daring exploitation of this case. I hope every one of my real friends, comrades and fellow unionists will not forget me on that day.

The prices of these posters, 24x 38 inches, are reasonable, 15c for a single copy; 10 for \$1.00; 25 copies for \$2.00; 50 copies for \$3.50; 100 copies for \$6.00; 500 copies for \$27.50; 1,000 copies for \$50.00, payable in advance to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475x San Francisco, California.

able in advance to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475x San Francisco, California.

The posters can be used in connection with advertising Mooney Mass Protest meetings. They can be carried in parades on wooden frames, hung in union offices and halls and workers' headquarters, placed in friendly store windows and pasted up in places where great crowds pass. These banners should be carried in all Labor Day parades, and also May Day parades. In fact there are a thousand different very valuable uses to which they can be put.

We are desperately hard up for funds to carry on our fight on three fronts—in the capitalist courts, before the capitalist governors, and to the workers—where our real hopes are. We are enclosing a coin card with the hope that you will at least enclose a small coin to meet the expense of printing and mailing this to you; and if fortune smiles more kindly upon you now than it does on many millions of starving workers we will not be angry with you for disregarding the coin card and substituting a check, postal or express money order to enable us to prosecute this case all the more vigorously.

We shall be very happy to have an order from you for a large bundle of these posters to be used in your city, now or at a later date. We are sending out 25,000 of these circular letters and posters, and that in itself is an item which, we hope you will consider when passing upon this urgent plea.

U. S. District Judge St. Sure not only refused to grant my writ of habeas corpus, but also refused to issue a certificate of probable cause, which would entitle us to appeal from his decision. He said we should seek relief in the State Supreme Court, where we have three times sought and been denied said relief. We have asked the U. S. Circuit Court to grant a certificate of probable cause and to hear our original application for a writ of habeas corpus. This court promised us a decision on the certificate of probable cause by the middle of July, which has already passed.

Your continued loyal and faithful assistance in this desperate uneven uphill 18-year old struggle against the most powerful odds, will be everlastingly cherished. May we hope for your early reply? Again I give thanks from the depths of a grateful heart, and send you warmest personal regards with firm proletarian greetings.

Fraternally and sincerely yours,
(Signed) TOM MOONEY
1921

Food Prices Up

(Continued from Page 1)

this winter when the effects of the drought will be felt with full force. The thousands of small farmers and agricultural workers forced off the land will be compelled to seek employment in the industrial centers which are now glutted with millions of unemployed.

The demand for social insurance will be raised by tens of thousands of new voices. The organization of the unemployed will take on new meaning and will necessitate a new orientation by the unions and unemployed organizations as the unity of employed and unemployed will become an even greater necessity in the face of the developing strike struggles.

These perspectives place great tasks before the revolutionary workers. The burning need of a new Communist Party to lead the oncoming struggles is being revealed by each new event. It brooks no delay!

LECTURE

THE U. S. S. R. AND JAPAN

(Is the Conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railroad the Signal for a New World War?)

by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, Sept. 7th at 8 P.M.

at 1776 Pitkin Avenue

ADMISSION 15c

Auspices: Brownsville Branch Communist League of America

Off the Press: August Number of

The New International

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The Twentieth Anniversary of the World War—

The Second International and the War

America and the War in the Pacific

Lenin on the "Disarmament" Slogan

Diplomacy in the World War

The Stalinists and Pacifism

The War in the Chaco

The Crisis in Fascism—

Hitler's Triumph

Mussolini's Triumph

The United Front in France—

Should the Socialists and Communists Unite in One Single Party?

And other interesting and educational features.

PRICE: 15 CENTS

Can be obtained at any headquarters of the Communist League, Pioneer Publishers or write for it to The New International, Station D, P. O. Box 119, New York City.



Minneapolis Drivers Win In Elections

The elections in the Minneapolis trucking industry, held under the terms of the strike settlement, resulted in a sweeping victory for the union in nearly all of the larger houses. According to latest reports the elections in the 22 market houses—the heart of the struggle in the places involving the control of inside workers—showed that the union carried the elections in 19 out of the 22 houses.

Virtually the same proportion prevailed also in the larger transfer companies. With few exceptions the union carried these also.

According to the terms of the strike settlement the employers are now obliged to recognize the union in all those places where it secured a majority in the elections and to deal with it directly in wage and other negotiations. The union leadership has already formulated its schedule of wage demands and has presented them to the employers. If agreement is not reached the wage dispute will then go to arbitration within ten days.

The capitalist press reports of the elections were misleading. The 165 firms represented in the Employers Advisory Committee all conducted elections. Many of these are small one-horse concerns. The superficial result showed the union carried approximately one half and lost the other half while a dozen or so others are in contest. What the reports neglected to state is that the union carried the market and the big transfer companies and comes out of the contest more strongly entrenched than ever before.

With this firm base in the heart of the industry the task of eventually lining up the smaller firms is greatly simplified, and the union has already announced a campaign of education and organization to this end.

Labor Leaders Say 'No War on War'

The perfect flunky does not wait for his master's orders, but anticipates the unspoken desire. By the same token, no one offers his services to the enemy more eagerly than the renegade.

Thus Stanley Baldwin calls for increased air forces to "defend" Great Britain's enlarged borders. "Our frontier is now the Rhine,"—and his flunkies among the so-called leaders of British labor fall over their heels in their haste to offer up the workers to the slaughter.

Only a year ago, the British Labor Party issued a ringing call for a General Strike in the event of war. But that was a year ago, and they have since been tipped off by Baldwin that war is really imminent. That changes the situation, of course.

"It is our duty unflinchingly to support our government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take action against a peace-breaker," reads the statement of the National Executive of the Labor Party.

And the general strike as an anti-war weapon is now officially condemned by the Trade Union Council.

"It is not at all likely that this country will ever be the aggressor." Thus plausibly George Gimson defends the Council's betrayal.

Having agreed to support a defensive war, these labor-skates now proceed to place a definition upon "defensive" generous enough to placate the most ardent imperialist, the most vicious warlord.

"The British frontiers today is the Rhine," says Baldwin, and the labor flunkies call for the defense of British frontiers (defensive war). But the warlords demand even more. Great Britain knows no frontiers; the sun never sets on the British Empire. What of war in the Far East, what of Japan, India, Mongolia?

"We will distinguish," the labor flunkies answer gravely, "between a war of aggressive character, and a war undertaken in defense of the collective peace system . . . duty to take action against a peace-breaker."

What greater assurance could Britain's imperialists demand? This is more than an offer of support, it is an open invitation to war.

Major Angas Arrives With Big "Boom"

Along with all the reports of strikes, lockouts and shootings of striking pickets etc., the press has been carrying during the last few weeks flamboyant reports of a certain book published by the British business analyst, Major L. L. B. Angas, "The Coming American Boom".

By itself the book is scarcely worthy of the attention of a labor weekly, but the peculiar way in which the press extolled it and the fact that the other day the *World-Telegram*, of the Scripps-Howard chain, began publishing the volume in installments, with a headline "The Coming American Boom" on its first page, gives us a very strong premonition that this is the beginning of a great press-agent campaign to boost the already discredited New Deal and to plug up with halcyon some of the holes which have been torn into it by continuing unemployment, rising prices and profits and stationary wages.

Few Suckers This Time

The New Dealers and their hired press agents will miss their mark this time, we fear. The striking textile workers who have had their wages of 12 and 13 dollars fixed by "New Deal" law, and who have been beaten and shot by new deal guards will not suddenly take up a new honeymoon with the NRA, when they learn of Major Angas that the devaluation of the dollar will enable the bunks "to increase

(Continued on Page 4)

CLIMBING OUT

We are happy to announce to the readers of the *Militant* that the response to our S.O.S. has helped us raise one foot out of the financial rut.

The contributions which kept us above the water line of bankruptcy came entirely from New York. The names of those who threw us the life-line follow:

Downtown Branch	\$10.00
Anon.	10.00
M. M.	9.00
Harlem Branch	4.00
Anonymous, Brooklyn	3.00
Novack and Rice	2.00
Becker	2.00
Kim	1.00
A. Tobin	1.00
N. Bernum	1.00
P. S. N.	1.00

This is just the smallest beginning, comrades. It has helped pay for paper and keep the sheriff at a healthy distance. But it is nothing permanent. Given the same conditions we will be in the same jam next week.

As we go to press we have not yet heard from our out of town branches and sympathizers. We hope they will make the grade in as fine style as New York.

Donations were called for this week because of the emergency. We don't want to continue alarming our readers with distress signals. There are ways this can be avoided:

1. Pledgers should immediately pay up on the obligations they undertook.

2. All outstanding bundle accounts held by branches or individuals should immediately be straightened out and the money forwarded.

3. In another column we publish the details of the closing of the Organizational Press Campaign. Those holding coupon books should make a final effort to dispose of them within the next two weeks and turn in books and receipts.

If comrades and friends of the *Militant* work hard to carry out the details outlined above we will be a long way towards stability in the issuance of the paper.

A little perspiration and a little sacrifice is needed. The example of comrade M. M. from the Bronx who turned over \$9.00 in the face of an eviction notice from his home should be an inspiration to everyone. Other comrades not in such straitened circumstances will please take note.

In closing: We are making valiant efforts to make the *Militant* readable and understandable to the average worker. The opportunities are now at hand to spread the *Militant* in every shop, factory and worker's home. A few extra pounds of energy and the *Militant* circulation can take a big leap.

Let's go!

Lid Comes off In Armaments Disclosures

"Oh, my dear, what a stench! And to think, that cat has been dead for only forty-two years. Why does it stink so?"

"Oswald! Replace that cover this very instant, and don't you dare take another peep!"

The arms investigation committee is under way, and think of what they discovered. "THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL ARMS COMBINE!"

It seems that there is in the United States a submarine building company that goes by the shocking title of "Electric Boat Co." (Ownership is as yet undisclosed—see if you can guess, Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, Guggenheim?) This "Electric Boat Co." sold submarines all over the world. Wherever some foreign company did the actual building of the submarine the American company got a rake off—for the use of its patents. Whenever the American company got the contract, the foreign "Boat Building" companies were entitled to a cut in the profits—for the use of their patents.

The business worked out something like this.

Busy with Death

Seven years ago, when relations between Chile and Peru were far from harmonious and the controversy involving Tacna-Arica was still boiling, the Electric Boat Co., it was shown, was working day and night for contracts to arm Peru. Representatives of Vickers Ltd. (the British arms manufacturer), ally of the Americans, were just as busy on the other side trying to convince the Chileans to invest in a submarine flotilla or two.

In the meantime the two companies were giving each other advice as to how to proceed, and of course were getting a cut in each other's profits.

About this time the United States Navy enters the scene. The details are too gory, but it seems that an American naval commission was sent down to Peru to help build up the Peruvian navy. Some submarines were sold by the Electric Boat Co., and the admiral's wife took a free trip to Europe.

The "Admiral," Captain Alfred G. Howe, head of the Peruvian naval mission, is busy about who paid for the trip. It might have been the Electric Boat Co., but "I have forgotten the details. I don't see anything of color about it."

Sir Basil Cleans Up

Sir Basil Zaharoff, notorious international arms manufacturer, is reported to have received about two million dollars in commissions for "business" sent to the American company. The introduction of the name of this multi-millionaire mystery man created rather a furor. He was noted for his impartiality in aiding in the armaments of both the allies and the central powers during the latest world slaughter.

As a result of this international tie-up American patent secrets "leaked" to Germany during the war, and were used in the designing and the building of U-boats that preyed on American ships during the war.

How far the investigation will go it is yet difficult to say. Already several government departments have asked that testimony given by them be kept secret—to avoid complications!

The Fire Behind the Smoke

What has thus far been revealed has been common knowledge for many years. The reasons for their disclosure at the present time is not difficult to see. They will become more clear tomorrow, when the investigation committee turns its eyes to the sale of airplane motors and scrap iron to Japan. Will the evidence produced result in legislation forbidding the shipment of all arms to foreign countries? We hardly think so. All that is being required of the American armament manufacturers is "not to be hogwash." "Sell if you must, but for God's sake, don't sell too many guns and ammunition to our direct enemies!"

EDUCATIONAL MEETING

The United States Youth Congress

(Report by One of Delegates)

Why Did the Rooseveltians Split It?

What Was Accomplished?

Thursday, Sept. 13 at 8:30 P.M.

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Aspirants: Spartacus Youth League

Textile Strike Sweeps Over Nation; 10 Killed as Workers Defy Thugs, Armed Scabs, Troops; South in Fore

Flying Squads Strike Fear Into Bosses

From out of nowhere thick into the heart of struggle, striking terror in the hearts of scabs, dispersing mill guards like chaff; swift, hard, hurricane-like—the Flying Picket Squads.

For this new weapon in the textile strike struggle, as terrifying to the bosses as were the tanks when first they made their appearance in the World War, the workers are indebted to the heroic truck-drivers of Minneapolis.

In Minneapolis the truckmen's flying squads halted traffic one hundred percent until the town was placed under martial law—a desperate remedy for the bosses to use, and one they will live to regret. Telephone communications sent the pickets speeding to the strategic points, to strike and disappear.

And now, with almost equal effectiveness, the Flying Picket Squads have made their appearance in the textile strike, with what result, let George Sloan, president of the Cotton Textile Institute, testify.

"A flying squadron of 1,500 workers is going from mill to mill and preventing workers from entering the mills," Sloan complains. "In face of coercion and intimidation by persons coming in by fleets of automobiles the workers do not dare enter the mills."

For the rest, let the news reports speak for themselves:

"High Point (North Carolina) police arrested 30 members of a flying squadron but not before five plants had been closed by them. . . Barriers of bayonets withstood the assaults of flying squadrons upon two Greenville mills. . . Time after time the strikers surged forward. . . The mills finally decided to close."

"Flying squadrons of strike shock troops ran rampant through the industrial South and there were calls for Federal military intervention. Mill after mill surrendered before the knife-like thrusts of numerous squadrons."

If Minneapolis did not originate this terrific tactic, it developed it to a point of perfection. It emphasized dramatically for the whole labor movement the value of the squads as a weapon to counteract the new strike weapons of the employers, vomit gas, riot cars and

(Continued on Page 4)

Dern Deplores But Workers Are Shot

"The gentlemen may cry 'peace! peace!' but there is no peace."

Secretary of War Dern deplores the use of the militia in industrial conflicts; there is a growing feeling of resentment against it, he admits. But the militia continues to shoot down textile workers, the Governor of South Carolina threatens to proclaim martial law, factories are protected with a ring of bayonets. And the cry is "more troops! more troops!"

How reconcile Dern's pacific utterances with the increasing use of militia in the textile strike, with these blazing headlines:

"Guns Blaze in South Carolina! Helmeted Troops Move to Strike Battle Fronts! 10 Killed, 40 Injured as Deputies Open Fire!"

Stop issuing liberal statements, Mr. Secretary, and stop your troops from killing workers.

Latest reports indicate that (textile workers have been removed from the picket line and sent into strike duty on the militia. This scoundrelly effort to convert honest strikers into scab-protecting gunmen will inevitably fail. The results will recoil upon the heads of the bosses who ordered it. Take heed when you draw the battle-lines too clearly: Government against the Workers. The workers will not fire upon their own.

South Awakens; "Mill Hands" Become Fighting Legions

Only last week, on Sept. 1, a thunderous chorus of "amens" greeted R. R. Lawrence, the president of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, as he addressed a meeting of 1,000 delegates of textile locals out at Charlotte, North Carolina.

"We fight for the lord and our families," he exclaimed. "The first strike on record was the strike in which Moses led the children of Israel out of slavery from Egypt . . . but it won't take us forty years to win our strike."

The delegates went wild when Lisk, organizer out at Concord, belabored: "I fervently believe God is with us in this struggle for ourselves and our families." Again, there arose a wild, chanting chorus of "Amens."

What Do the Prayers Mean?

Does this scene, religiously ecstatic, signify perhaps, that the strike, as far as the south is concerned, is essentially a religious movement, an outlet for pent-up emotions? Events have proved otherwise.

Ever since the Civil War, the ruling classes have been inculcating religion into the "mill hands," as they early "recognized the value of religion as an aid to discipline."

The southern workers are but a generation removed from the "poor whites" who eked out a miserable existence on their tobacco and corn patches in the hills of the interior, or the tenant farmers of the lowlands, who shared their crops with their employers. Suddenly they were huddled into narrow, filthy "mill towns," built so, that if you see one mill town in Charlotte, North Carolina, you know the looks of every mill town from Carolina to Georgia. Compelled to live in these, they were completely secluded from the rest of the world and continually under the beck and call of the mill owner.

The Mill Town

The mill town is private property. The land belongs to the mill owner. The church belongs to the mill owner. The school house belongs to the mill owner. So does the saloon, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the brothel. The school teacher and the preacher are hired and receive their salaries from the mill owner.

The keeper of "law and order" is the company policeman, who is deputized by the county sheriff and is paid a salary by the company. The ruling class has been teaching the "mill hands" loyalty, obedience, and the joys of life after death, for fifty years and has fostered upon them all the age-old superstitions and prejudices against "Yankees," "niggers" and "furriners."

That is why, since 1900, textile capital has steadily been drifting south. The south was the country of "cheap and contented labor."

The chambers of Commerce appealed to Northern manufacturers to move southward where "native born, Anglo-Saxon labor is cheap, loyal and plentiful."

"Labor in Spartanburg is free, unchangeable, and contented. Strikes are unknown . . . it is faithful and efficient," writes the local Chamber of Commerce in its prospectus.

That was written back in 1927. But the next year the southern ruling class had to fight at Gastonia.

"Cheap" But Not "Contented"

And today the southern textile worker, still living in mill towns where no halls can be hired for meetings and no union organizers are allowed to enter, have shown their backwardness in the labor struggle and labor history of America is a thing of the past.

"Labor is still cheap in the south," wrote a northern correspondent, just before the strike, "but it is no longer contented."

The "free, unchangeable and contented labor" of Spartanburg where "strikes are unknown" has organized fifty strike squads, despite the opposition of the union leaders, has obliterated the line

between the two Carolinas and working on a 110-mile front, has closed over 350 mills in the two states. They have garrisoned the towns "captured" and proceeding southward, are closing down all plants.

Some 650 pickets of a "flying squadron" pushed into Greenville after gaining complete control of Gastonia and all of Gaston county, and are engaged at present in "tying up" the mills in the battle which is destined to be historic in American labor history, "The Siege of Greenville."

The Changing South

The class struggle has swept through the "cotton south" and has mobilized the southern workers along with his prejudices and bigotry of a bygone age. What if some southern textile workers chant "Amen" when their picket leader is addressing them. That is but a remnant of the past imposing itself upon their newly awakened class-consciousness, their courage and heroism. They are displaying again that the American worker, once aroused, sweeps aside all "law" and "constitutional formalities" when questions of life are at stake.

The south is the backbone of this historic textile strike.

President Roosevelt may appoint a new board and Hopkins may issue statements that the strikers can starve as far as the federal government is concerned, but the southern worker will have a second thought before he entrusts his life to the care of mediation boards, preachers or the government. Today the south takes its place in the forefront of the class struggle with San Francisco, Portland, Minneapolis and Toledo.

George A. Sloan, President of the Cotton Textile Institute, Inc., who is a very wise man, said, "I am not in a mood to smile. This thing is getting worse by the hour." Worse for Sloan but improving for the workers.

Kensington Strike In Militant Start

Philadelphia, Sept. 3.—The textile strike which is sweeping the country has reached Kensington, the battle-ground of many a bitter struggle between capital and labor.

A demonstration of about 1,000 textile workers took place on MacPherson Square on Labor Day.

There was no holiday spirit. The workers present realized that any concessions granted by the bosses would have to be won in bitter struggle.

Of particular interest was the applause which greeted Alice Hanson's remark . . . "that this was a strike against the government, for the industrialists have taken over the government." She went on to explain life—if it can be called that—in company owned mill villages.

B. Levinson spoke on the right to picket and prevent scabs from working while lawyer Shines denounced the bosses for chiseling.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:15 P.M. Many of the workers left to picket the Concordia Silk Mill.

Negro-baiters, Anglo-Saxons, Pure Whites take note:

"Before many centuries have elapsed there will not be a single person in America without a certain portion of negro blood."

Not a communist or a "nigger lover" said this but a blue-blooded Englishman, Lord Raglan, chairman of the Anthropological Society.

And those who think that miscegenation is not the best American custom will please look to the skeletons in their closet and those of the most ancestral homes of Georgia and they will find what they didn't expect to find.

Shady Deal Looms in New Negotiations

BULLETIN

The Federal Mediation Board has initiated a peace conference in an effort to end the strike in the textile industry. Francis Gorman, head of the strike committee, has accepted the peace overture of the Board despite his earlier statement that he would refuse arbitration until every mill was closed. George A. Sloan, spokesman for the textile bosses, also agreed to a conference.

Previously, Gorman announced he was going to ask for Federal "troops to protect strikers". Ten have already been killed and scores injured under the "protection" of National Guardsmen.

These latest developments should cause every textile worker to watch any and all moves of the leadership. Vigilance must be the motto when the Gormans begin to make deals with the bosses.

Thousands of armed scabs, brutal deputies, the greatest military display since the World War, the killing of ten strikers and the wounding of scores, have failed to dam the irresistible strike wave that has flooded the textile industry and stopped the looms from Maine to Mississippi.

One half million workers are out on strike, with the flying picket squads swooping down and closing mill after mill, town after town.

Pressed forward by a militant rank and file, ready to brave tear gas and bayonets, prepared to fight to the finish, even the diffident top leadership has been forced to issue bold statements.

"We shall agree to arbitration only after we have closed all mills in all divisions of the industry," says Francis J. Gorman, heading the strike committee.

Every Loom Idle Is Aim

But the matter has passed out of his hands. The workers will not stop until they have closed every mill in the textile industry.

Far from being dismayed by the blast of gun fire that left ten strikers dead, the Flying Picket Squads have since pressed on to fresh victories.

"The strike is far more serious today than at any time since it began," Arthur G. Besse, spokesman for the woolen textile manufacturers, admitted. The number of mills closing has been "tremendous," he added.

Rendered frantic by the successful onslaughts of the workers, the manufacturers in South Carolina have petitioned Governor Blackwood to declare martial law. The State militia, scabs armed illegally with revolvers, with the full knowledge of the authorities, thousands of special deputies, all these are insufficient.

Can't Get Enough Soldiers

In reply, Blackwood indicated that he might declare sections of South Carolina in a state of insurrection, but, he asserted, he did not have sufficient troops at his disposal to take care of the whole situation.

There are 1,000 Guardsmen on duty in Greenville, S. C. alone. The Governor said it would take three or four thousand troops to enforce a martial law order, and that he did not have that number of troops. In North Carolina there are more soldiers under arms than at any time since the World War. These include 23 militia units (numbering 1,300 men) with 30 more ready for a strike-breaking activities, armed with gas bombs, machine guns, rifles and bayonets.

Nor is this situation confined to the South alone. The Northern manufacturers are mustering their armies of thugs as the workers prepare to descend upon Lawrence, Mass., Dighton, and other centers of scab industry. Their efforts, as they themselves are beginning to admit, will prove of no avail.

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Hope Diamond

Mrs. McLeon of Washington, famous as the anti-Red snicker who paid out \$50,000 smackers to Gaston B. Means in an attempt to prove that Moscow and the Communist International had kidnapped the Lindbergh baby, is just back from Moscow. She brings word that must thrill every housewife from Maine to California and especially those who are on relief. Yes, this heroic woman reports that she wore the Hope diamond right in the face of the Russian Bolsheviks "and though they hated me for it they had to put up with it. From now on American women can safely wear their diamonds in Russia." So if you save enough of the \$4.00 a week which "generous" America allows you to feed a family of four, to take a trip to Moscow, have no fear, take your diamond tiara with you. Mrs. Edward McLeon, that sterling American patriot has made Russia safe for American diamonds.

The U.T.W. Strike

Ponderously and impressively the textile workers of America mobilize for war. Starting with 200,000 the capitalist press were forced to raise their figures day by day as section after section of the industry joined in preparation for struggle. Today, Labor Day, they speak of close to a million being involved. What a tremendous force that is! And what a mighty army American labor will throw into battle after it has broken the stranglehold of Green, Lewis and company. And by the way, has anyone seen or heard of the revolutionary textile workers union of the T.U.U.L.? Or do the "revolutionary" unions, like the League Against War and Fascism, disappear from the scene when real action starts?

Unemployment and Cost of Living

While food prices rose, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins announces that next winter will see the largest numbers ever on federal relief. Bill Green says that next winter will be the worst yet. Falling off in employment and soaring living costs mark the second year of the "New Deal". Strike struggles develop into general strikes—as in California, or spread to an entire industry as in textile. Here dying capitalism and its grave diggers are both revealed.

Upton Sinclair

In 1928—"the great engineer," rallied the scissorblades. In 1932 the "New Deal" promises to the "forgotten man" turned the trick. In 1934 something else is required and from California and from other states it emerges. The "new democracy", the "extension of the new deal", "end poverty" and a "socialistic" Democrat piles up the votes. It was to be expected that the state of Alameda Semple McPherson would furnish the newest new dealer. The fasting vegetarian, socialist democrat with his "epic" plan is just the latest but not the last of the distractions of the American working class on its road to class awakening. The Stalinist heretic cult of birthday celebrating, harking, whirling dervishes have helped to bedevil the minds of the workers. On with our task—the building of a Communist party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and carrying out the strategy and tactics tested in struggle by the masters of revolutionary tactics and strategy. Lenin and Trotsky. That and that alone is the way to overcome the demagogues and the class they represent.

Labor Day Speeches

One of our foremost statesmen, Mr. Blah-Blah congratulated the unemployed of this great country for the patience they had shown the past four years, while they were being stripped of everything they possessed. "We took your job, your life insurance, your bank deposits, your car and your home. We turned you out on the streets by the tens of thousands but you still have faith in our demagogic institutions. Your dumbness—I mean your patriotism—gives us confidence to go forward to bigger and better things in the future. Stand by the President who stands by you. Communists, alien to our shores, will preach the foreign doctrines of revolt, let us all rise together and give them our answer. 'My Country 'tis of Thee'". Loud applause. Several collapse from hunger.

Speech by Mr. Flea:

Mr. Flea congratulated the dog for the patience he had shown during this trying period. "There are those who will tell you that you should get rid of fleas," declared Mr. Flea. "But I want to tell you that fleas and dogs have always gone together, when the flea goes hungry the dog must be in a very bad way. Our interests are the same. Trouble makers and agitators are trying to turn you against us. You should chase those enemies down an alley. They are reds and opposed to the principles of our constitution which recognizes and regulates the rights and duties of both fleas and dogs." —RILL.

Stalin's Praise for Kemal, Oppressor of Turkish Workers

The degeneration of Stalinism in the direction of class collaboration proceeds rapidly. The latest development in this connection is this Soviet news-film, "Soviets Greet the New Turkey". The film was produced by the Soviet government in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Education in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish republic headed by Kemal Pasha.

On this occasion a special Soviet delegation consisting of Voroshilov, Commissar of War, Karakhan, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, General Budenny, and Bubnov, Commissar of Education, journeyed to Angora to take part in the celebration, where they were given an enthusiastic reception.

Old and "New" Turkey

The Soviet film, taking on the form of a travelogue of such Turkish cities as Stambul, Smyrna, Adana and Angora, paints in glowing colors, the differences between the old and new Turkey. It seeks to depict the advances which Turkey has made under the dictatorship of President Kemal Pasha, Premier Ismet Pasha and their Popular Party which is the only legal party in Turkey. From the above account, a worker looking at the film might possibly imagine that the Kemal regime has become a workers' republic! Banish the thought!

In Turkey the Communist Party and all other workers' political groups have been suppressed for years. Several years ago numbers were killed by firing squads and others sent to jail for political activity which is legal in such capitalist countries as the United States, England, France, etc.

Trade Unions Banned

Genuine trade unions organized by the workers themselves are prohibited. The Popular Party, the creature of Kemal Pasha, has organized company unions under its own control which have only a paper existence but which the capitalist regime uses for propaganda purposes to create the impression that the Turkish workers exercise their right to organize. Even according to such capitalist sources as the International Labor Review, (1932) published by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, the Turkish worker is permitted to bargain only individually with his employers and the open shop prevails almost everywhere. In general the Turkish workers possess neither civil liberties nor economic rights.

There exists no factory or labor protective legislation of any kind. And although a draft of a labor code has been drawn up by the government it has remained only a draft. In July 1932 an act passed by the National Assembly prohibited foreign born workers from obtaining employment in most manual and non-manual trades. Foreigners already engaged in occupations covered by the act were required to abandon jobs within a year. Thousands of Greek and Jewish and other workers were thrown out of jobs.

Minorities Oppressed

The rights of minority nationalities, of which there are a number, are not recognized by the Turkish government. It follows a chauvinist policy of compulsory assimilation of all minorities into Turkish culture. In this Soviet film nothing, of course, is said of these miserable conditions under which the Turkish workers and the minority nationalities live. Neither is anything said concerning the white slave traffic of Stambul which is the world's largest center of this nefarious industry. Prostitution is more rampant in this city than in any other place in the world.

Since Turkey is primarily an agricultural country the nationalistic dictatorship of Kemal Pasha has undertaken an industrial development along the lines of state capitalism, backed partly by a loan of eight million gold roubles from the Soviet Government. The principal agent in this policy is "The State Industrial Bank" (Sumerian Bank) which directly manages some undertakings and is a share holder in others. And it is in these undertakings that the workers are denied the right of trade union organization!

What would the suppressed workers of Turkey, deprived of all rights, have to say concerning the paeans of praise heaped upon their oppressors by a group that calls itself a "Bolshevik workers' party"? "Why," they would ask, "has the Soviet Republic become a propaganda agency for the Turkish National State?" The answer which a real Bolshevik would have to give lies in the foreign policy of the Stalinist regime which is ready to betray the interests of the poor peasants and workers of Turkey for the sake of a trade agreement with their oppressors. —BROWN

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

N.Y. Upholsterers on Strike

The upholsterers of Greater New York are now on a general strike. The strike officially began September 4. Nine of the union shops signed an agreement on the first day of the strike. Several other union shops have settled since.

In customary fashion the Stalinists are on the scene with their hypocritical offers of "unity". But they fall on deaf ears. They have established a reputation of settling shops regardless of union conditions so long as the Industrial Union is recognized. Their influence among the upholsterers is negligible.

The agreement of Local 76 calls for a 35-hour week and \$1.15 per hour. This is the same as the previous agreement with the exception that springers and operators received one dollar an hour previously. None of the open shops have settled as yet. And the reason for this is because only a few of them are being picketed. The union membership shows no spirit of militancy in spite of the pleas of the leadership. These are the fruits of last year's strike when a chance for complete organization of the industry was missed due to inexcusable mistakes.

The upholsterers can still be aroused into some real fighting action if a plan of organization of the open shops is presented by the officials in charge. The report of negotiations with an association which claims to represent the open shops bosses will not at all meet the situation. What is needed is a show of strength by striking several of the key open shops of the industry. That will give courage to the other workers who have not yet responded to the strike call and bring them into line.

If the strike is not merely to be a reaffirmation of the terms of the agreement and is to make some serious gains for the upholsterers, systematic efforts must be made to strike every open shop in the city. The conclusion of the strike, if pro-

perly conducted, should see every shop in the city closed and every worker a union member.

Dental Mechanics in National Drive

On the national scene the conditions of the dental mechanics describe many interesting features. The general situation is ripe for a real organizational drive that can bring into existence a powerful nation-wide union.

With the exception of the cities in which the well established Dental Technicians Equity exists, the standard of living of the mechanics is almost unbelievable. Generally thought of by the public as a "profession", mechanical dentistry is in extremely poor shape. In a huge city like Chicago mechanics are still putting in six days a week at bottom living wages. Skilled men with ten and fifteen years of experience, continue to work for the miserable wage of \$20-25 per week. The semi-skilled and apprentices get even less.

1. New York is witnessing the beginning of a determined drive to tighten up the organization. Newark, with a fine group of union men is taking steps to unionize the industry in every sense of the word. Shops and individual cases in both cities are under a campaign that will clean up every loose spot that exists.

2. Baltimore soon will face the expiration of its agreement made in the last strike. Serious preparation is under way to obtain the full demands of the new agreement. This time there will be a crew of men who have already been through the mill. They face the new test with the firm conviction born of experience; of having stood up under a stiff grind that was totally unexpected when it first came.

With Baltimore will stand the solid bunch of technicians of Washington with the lesson of solidarity and collaboration learned in the last strike. Now Washington looks at its own problems and aims at the solution of its own situation. The strike weapon will

have to be extended to include the workers in the capitol of the U. S. 3. Philadelphia has its agreement. What is necessary is to defend every last letter of it. Consideration of future national activities requires the strengthening of this link.

4. Boston, Providence, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Little Rock—all the way to Portland, Oregon the name and influence of the National Council has made itself felt. The dental mechanic is tired of taking it on the chin all these years of crisis. A little punch will bring him to his feet fighting mad. Drive ahead for the National! This must become the slogan of the Equity now. —DENTAL MECHANIC.

N. Y. Truckers Win Demands

With only the threat of a strike the largest group of New York truckers won their demand for a restoration of a five dollar wage cut which they voluntarily took a year ago. Local 807, affiliated to the International Teamsters, sent its ultimatum to the Master Truckers Bureau, the bosses' association, demanding that at the expiration of the agreement September 1 they receive an increase in wages. The bosses whined that they were paying higher wages than anywhere else and could not meet competition. They urged the workers to be loyal and bear with them until the endless "depression" was over. These antics were without effect on the drivers. They prepared their strike immediately and the bosses forgot about competition and gave in.

Several independent firms held out. The union struck and inside two or three days these bosses capitulated also. Now that the demands have been granted and the union thus solidified it has the opportunity of beginning an intensive organizational drive to broaden the membership to include all drivers, helpers and others connected with this industry in New York.

Minneapolis shows that it can be done.

Vancouver Activities

The Vancouver Branch of the League was formed some two months ago and since that time has doubled its membership. During this period two mass meetings have been held with approximately 100 present at each meeting. The speaker at both these meetings put forward the necessity for a new international. Though we failed to draw any new members from those meetings, we did succeed in making neutral some of the hostile elements. Our main work has consisted in pushing the sales of the literature of the League, by attending various meetings and asking questions relative to the 4th International, and by making connections with individuals who are not yet decided on which way to go.

Other Organizations in B. C.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. This organization, the Canadian prototype of European Social Democracy was formed two years ago and since then has taken part in the Provincial elections where they succeeded in having seven candidates elected. However, we must not forget to mention that the B.C. section of the C.C.F. is more radical than the other sections in Canada. At the time the C.C.F. was first formed there was a split in the Socialist Party of Canada, the biggest part of which affiliated to the C.C.F. Other radical elements who up to this time had been at loose end also flocked into the ranks of the C.C.F. and in this way a strong left wing has developed which has forced the bureaucracy to take action on the economic field.

In fact the C.C.F. has practically seized control of the Stalinist unemployed councils. Two days ago the Parliamentary Committee working in conjunction with the relevant committee forced the relevant authorities to close one of the pokey, and give the men who were incarcerated their bed and meal tickets in places of their own choosing. Of course the Stalinists are trying to make believe that they were the means of closing the pokey.

The C.C.F. at the present time has one weekly newspaper with a circulation of 12,000 and still growing. You will hear more from the left wing of this organization in the future. The probability is that there will be a split.

The Stalinists

The counterpart of this organization can be found on any part of the continent, with perhaps one exception, the "Lumber Workers Industrial Union". The L.W.I.U. between the months of February and May carried on a strike for an increase in wages and recognition of the union. The strike was passive all the way through. They succeeded in gaining a slight increase in wages, but failed to secure recognition of the union. Many of the loggers who took part in the strike are being fired on any pretext.

There are about 1,600 paid up members in the organization at the present time which is a drop of 800. The Stalinist press at this time consists of the *Unemployed Worker*, a mimeographed sheet with a circulation of three hundred, and two more shop papers, the circulation of which is unknown.

The American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. has control of all the trade unions in this district, and although there are a few radical workers inside they are very weak at the present time.

All Canadian Congress of Labor

There are a few organizations affiliated to this body, but they are very weak and are very seldom heard from.

The Unemployed

All single unemployed men (fit) are sent to relief camps where they work building roads for seventy cents per day with board and work clothes. There are 8,000 men in the camp at the present time. Single unemployed (unfit) are given \$4 for meals and \$2.10 every two weeks all in script. Single girls are given the same as single unfit men less fifty cents. We have no data on hand at the present time regarding the correct amount that the married unemployed are receiving.

General Remarks

The main industries in B. C. are mining, smelting, fishing, lumbering and canning. The Stalinists claim to have groups working in all of those industries, but with the exception of the lumbering industry it is all hokey. —M. A.

International Bulletin Out Price Reduced

The International Bulletin No. 2 is now off the press and can be obtained by ordering it from the Militant office. The price has been reduced to five cents a copy. Material appearing in this issue of the International Bulletin has not been previously published elsewhere and from among the items contained, we emphasize the following:

- 1) Contribution Toward a Discussion on the Basic Conceptions of the International Communist League.
- 2) Toward a Conference of the Latin-American Sections.
- 3) The German Section of the International Communist League.
- 4) The Trade Union Thesis of the O.S.P. and R.S.P. of Holland.
- 5) In the Belgian Section (a) our attempt to fuse with the Henaut group (b) a letter from comrade Gaurou.
- 6) Extracts from a speech of comrade Sneevliet, deputy in the Dutch Parliament, and other items.

League branches should make sure to secure a sufficient supply of the International Bulletin No. 2 for all members and for sympathetic workers who are interested. It will be furnished, however, only on the condition that cash is advanced with the order. The price, formerly ten cents a copy, is now reduced to five cents a copy. Send your orders to the Militant office.

Lovestone Group Cracks in Detroit; 5 Join League

Five members of the Detroit Branch of the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestone group) have resigned and made application for membership to the Communist League, this marking another long step in the disintegration of this group of fawning apologists for Stalinism.

In their statement of resignation from the Lovestone group, Herman Beck, Sam Garrett, Joseph Brock, Fern Prockup, and William Schindler take a clear-cut position on two of the fundamental issues causing the crisis in international Communism in the last ten years—"socialism in one country" and the question of a Farmer-Labor party (two class party).

The idea of a Farmer-Labor party is properly condemned by them as a reactionary policy fostered on the Comintern by the Right wing in the 1923-1926 period. Although today rejected by the Stalinist C. I. (at least temporarily) and by Brandler, the propagation of the concept of a two class party is still a fundamental part of Lovestone's program.

Condemn "Socialism in 1 Country"

"This abandonment," says the statement pointing out the fallacy of the theory of socialism in one country, "of the permanent and international character of the proletarian revolution has led to the bankruptcy of the Communist International, its extreme weakening and with that the weakening of the Soviet Union which is part of the international movement."

Lovestone's misrepresentation of the position of the Communist League, twisting quotations and lying about facts is vehemently branded in the statement. They take the slick lawyers for Stalinism to task on their distortion of the stand of the League on the "thermidor" in Russia, and the trade unions. On the latter question they declare: "To read this policy in the columns of the Militant, to see it carried out as in Minneapolis and then to compare it with the sectarian trade union position which Lovestone ascribed to the C.I.A. is a realization of the depths of misrepresentation to which the C.P.O. leadership can go."

Lovestone's "Democracy"

Prior to joining the C.P.O., the five comrades concerned were members of the Proletarian Party. They entered the C.P.O. with misgivings on the question of reforming the Stalinist party. They were told that these would be threshed out within the organization. First the treatment of Herbert Zam and the "extraordinary" restrictions on discussion and then the experience of Comrade Bock who was sent to the National Training School of the C.P.O. in New York served to completely disillusion them in the Lovestone group.

This "training" consisted of Stalinist rubbish as dished out by the Lovestonites—constituting the "theoretical" end—and lectures by Julius Hochman, right wing trade union skate in the N. Y. needle trades and three outdoor meetings—the "practical" end.

The statement of the Detroit comrades closes with an endorsement of the declaration of the League for a new party as published in the Militant on September 30, 1933 and a pledge to work loyally for its creation as a section of the Fourth International.

We welcome the entrance of these comrades into our ranks and hope that their step will be the herald for similar moves on the part of other workers who have been sidetracked into some blind alley of Stalinism.

proceeds on this continent as he has done elsewhere, President Roosevelt should take care of his health for the defunct president Donner of France was assassinated in Rothschild's home in Paris. There you have it. Those of you who want to see the great revolutionist in this country, not in a nightmare of the Fascists but in actuality, will apply yourself to the job of making the demagogues a reality. Let's begin the campaign for asylum for Leon Trotsky in the United States now!

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
2. Organization Principles Instructor to be Announced Every Thursday at 8:00 P.M.
3. History and Principles of the International Communists Max Shachtman Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
4. State and Revolution Jack Weber Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
5. American History Felix Morrow Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
6. Elementary Marxist Economics Alfred Weaver Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-9624.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Shifting Class Relations

The American masses have apparently been slow and backward thus far in responding in politically radical fashion to the devastation wrought in their lives by the general crisis. No one need doubt however that the deep-going economic changes in the livelihoods of millions of workers, farmers and the middle class, has resulted in a tremendous straining and tearing of the ties of class interrelationships. The impoverished petty bourgeoisie no longer feel bound closely in submissive dependence to the big bourgeoisie. The old populist revolt of the farmers against monopoly capitalism is shaping itself anew. The drift to the left is visible, even if not expressed in political organization as yet. In this process the nomination of Upton Sinclair for governor of California is merely a symptom. Still another symptom of the greatest import is the crossing of the major party lines in the formation of the conservative-reactionary American Liberty League. A break-up of the two party system of capitalist rule in America in the near future would be fraught with the greatest significance for the working class. It would be the final result of the molecular changes in class relations taking place slowly but with increasing momentum under our eyes.

The NRA as Precipitant

The NRA, designed by Roosevelt to act as the life-line for capitalist profits, is nevertheless acting as a precipitant in separating out the two major class interests. Roosevelt's philosophy of liberalism assigns to the state—and primarily to himself as the state executive, the state "embodied"—the role of mediator between the capitalists and the working class. To preserve the illusion of fairness Roosevelt at one moment makes a decision favorable to the bosses, at the next one apparently benefiting the workers. At all times Roosevelt is concerned with hiding the real nature of the state and making it appear to the masses to be above "special interest", above the classes. In the present crisis the state has concentrated tremendous powers in its hands and has focused the attention of the masses on its functioning. Under such circumstances, the very role that Roosevelt has assigned to himself will in the end help to disillusion the masses, for Roosevelt will be forced in every major conflict to give the real substance to the capitalists and only the shadow to the workers. The working class is forced as a matter of its very existence to struggle for decent living conditions, to resort to ever greater strikes. In building up through the NRA an apparatus to forestall and break strikes, to accustom the workers to submitting disputes to this apparatus so that after it has been given flesh and blood it may be transformed into a mechanism of compulsory arbitration. Sooner or later Roosevelt will be forced to resort to more open methods of "bridling" the rebellious workers, possibly to martial law and the use of federal troops. Meantime the two major contenders for power, the capitalists and the workers, will begin to feel ever greater dissatisfaction with the "mediating" state which balks the workers and yet does not go far enough to suit the bosses.

Middle Class a Decisive Factor

The middle class, including the major part of the farmers, is a decisive element in the coming struggle for power. This class is won to the workers' side not merely by the correctness of policy of the vanguard party of the workers and the courage and ability to lead shown by this vanguard, but also by the programs designed specifically to solve under the leadership of the workers, the problems confronting the middle class. The bourgeoisie rallies the petty bourgeoisie to its side through the use of all the conceivable forms of demagoguery. At the present time Roosevelt and his supporters are concerned with preventing the middle class and the workers under the influence of middle class "radicals" from going left and joining their forces with those of the proletariat. That they feel a distinct need for a clearer policy in line with this purpose is shown by the statement of Secretary of the Interior Ickes concerning the American Liberty League: "I've been hoping ever since 1912 that we'd have political parties divided on real issues. It looks as if it's working out that way at least. Today we have different groups in each party. I'd like to see all the progressives together and all the conservatives together.—We would get a clear-cut platform and not be afraid to state the issues." The issues would be those appealing to the middle class.

An Interesting Note

The letter sent us by John Brooks Wheelwright on the need for creating a united front for the defense of comrade Trotsky was likewise sent the Socialist publication, the American Guardian, and published therein.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

G. S., Los Angeles—

Question: What is the program of the "Weisbordists" and where do they differ from the Communist League?

Answer: A complete answer to this question is outside of the limits of this column. The matter can only be skimmed over here.

Weisbord's viewpoint and statements are in such a state of flux that it is not always easy to tell just where he disagrees with anybody. Among other things we believe his present attitude toward the class nature of the Soviet state is false and contradictory; we disagree with his ridiculous approach to the question of the general strike; and we decidedly object to his falsifying and distorting our position in general. Whether or not he disagrees with us on the Negro question cannot be stated right now since latest reports indicate that he is changing his former position, and, of course, our position will become official only after the end of our coming National Convention.

However, the main differences between us and Weisbord springs from the fact that he is an individual with whom the League finds it impossible to deal. One must have had the experience of the New York comrades during the past four years to quite appreciate this. The latest expression of this is in Weisbord's characterization of us as "Left, fake, centrists." Even if there were no differences of a programmatic nature, it would be difficult to have harmonious relations with an individual whose entire attitude towards us is marked by disloyalty.

To relieve us of any possible charge of having distorted Weisbord's viewpoint, it would be best, if the question is of sufficient importance to you, that you get his approach first hand.

Question: How was the vote for the settlement of the first Minneapolis truck drivers' strike taken?

Answer: We are informed by comrades who were in Minneapolis at the time that the following took place: The terms of the settlement were introduced by the strike leadership with a recommendation for acceptance, the first vote being taken by shouting "aye" or "no." There was some opposition to the terms proposed and as a result of the method of voting and the ensuing confusion, it was difficult to determine how the matter stood. After a thorough check up on union membership by elected tellers the workers who had been sent out to secure complete authenticity of the ballot were requested to return where a hand vote was taken.

Question: Was the agreement about union recognition written or verbal?

Answer: Written.

Question: Did Local 574 consult the other unions, some of whom were still coming out on strike before calling off the strike?

Answer: There were no unions coming out at the time the settlement was made, the building trades having come out some time before. There was no consultation of the unions by local 574 and none was needed, the matter resting entirely with 574.

A.M.D., Bronx—

Question: What is the truth of the statement made by Stalinists that it was necessary to support Chiang Kai-shek in the Chinese revolution of 1927 because he fought against imperialism?

Answer: This is the official Stalinist alibi. Trotsky long ago replied to this as follows ("Draft Program of the C. I., a Criticism of Fundamentals"): "... Chiang Kai-shek, says the E.C.C.I. . . fought against imperialism. To imagine this means to see facts in too brilliant a light. Chiang Kai-shek waged war against the Chinese militarists, the agents of ONE of the imperialist powers. This is not quite the same as to wage a war against imperialism. Even Tang Pin-san understood this. In his report to the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (it was at the end of 1926) Tang Pin-san characterized the policy of the Kuomintang center headed by Chiang Kai-shek as follows:

"In the sphere of international policy it occupies a passive position in the full meaning of that word. It is inclined to fight only against British imperialism; so far as the Japanese imperialists, however are concerned, it is under certain conditions ready to make a compromise with them." (Stenographic Report of the Seventh Plenum.)

"The attitude of the Kuomintang to imperialism was from the very outset not revolutionary but opportunistic through and through. It endeavored to drive out the agents of some imperialist powers so as to compromise later with the same or other imperialist powers on more favorable terms for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is all. . ."

Your letter indicates that you have not read either the above-quoted work or the "Problems of the Chinese Revolution." Read these by all means for a clear picture and understanding of this great historical event.

Question: What is the basis for the Stalinist assertion that the practical organization of the October Revolution was in the hands of Stalin, since such statement contradicts practically all the known facts?

Answer: It is almost incredible that such a contention should be advanced and yet Stalin does it in order to support his fable of the Russian Revolution "headed by Lenin and Stalin." As proof reference is made to the Bolshevik Party Central Committee minutes of October 16, 1917 which nobody remembered up to 1924. At this meeting it was voted to create a military revolutionary center, which included Stalin, and which was to become a part of the revolutionary Soviet committee which organized the insurrection. This latter body, under the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee, was headed by Trotsky. By leaving off that part of the resolution which made the committee to which he was elected a subordinate one, Stalin attempts to make it appear that he was the "practical" organizer of the insurrection since Trotsky was not a member of this lower body. In actuality this committee did not function, even in a subordinate role, the military Revolutionary Committee doing all the work.

For a detailed account of this and other falsifications by Stalin see the appendix to the third volume of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution", where the minutes of the above-mentioned meeting and other documentary evidence are presented.

PIONEER NOTES

The latest moves by Japan in the Far East; its threatened seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railroad; its recurrent threats to the Soviet Union indicate again how imminent the next war is. With the wealth of experience left us by the events of 1914-1918 there is no need for any revolutionist to be caught off guard when it comes. The terrest and at the same time the most comprehensive statement of the Marxist position on War and the fight against it is contained in that invaluable little pamphlet—"War and the Fourth International." We can say without fear of contradiction that this is the work in all the volumes written on the subject in recent times that throws a searchlight over the whole problem and points the way to the working class. No revolutionary, no class conscious worker can afford to be without it. It sells for 10 cents a copy, 7 cents in bundles of five or more. It can be obtained at Pioneer Publishers 84 E 10th Street, N. Y. C.

To the Bolshevik-Leninists of the U.S.S.R.

Dear Comrades,

For a long time the Stalinists prepared Rakovsky's capitulation as a decisive blow. And now, only several months later, it is proved that the blow has miscarried; among the thousands, in the U.S.S.R., who are imprisoned, exiled, expelled from the party and deprived of bread, two or three tired veterans followed Rakovsky; in the rest of the world—not a single man. And that despite the extraordinarily difficult situation of the Bolshevik-Leninists against whom the Stalinists unite with world reaction in order to pursue and wound them.

The principal argument of the capitulation is at the same time the principal proof of the political inconsistency of the capitulators. The victorious offensive of Fascism, requires, according to Rakovsky, the unity of "all forces" for the defense of the Soviet power. But the question is: how to resist the victorious offensive of the reaction and how to safeguard the Soviet power? Stalin declared that the social democracy and fascism were siamese twins. On this basis the united front was irrevocably condemned. Two days before the victory of Hitler the C. I. stated that the proletarian revolution in Germany was travelling full steam ahead to victory. It presented the uncontested establishment of the fascist dictatorship in the most industrialized nation of Europe as "the acceleration of the proletarian revolution." The policy of the German Communist Party before, during and after the Fascist coup d'état was declared beyond reproach. By means of such deception and such crimes a situation chock full of revolutionary possibilities was lost in Germany. During the years 1929 and 1933 the C. I. prepared and struck such a blow to Soviet power and to the world revolution that in comparison, the economic successes of the U.S.S.R. are relegated to second and third place. Rakovsky did not even attempt to answer the question: was the policy of Stalin-Thaelmann in the great class battles correct or fatal? Whoever substitutes fawning before the bureaucracy, its errors and crimes, for the defense of the historic in-

terests of the revolution can hope for nothing from the Bolshevik-Leninists but well deserved scorn.

When the waters of Fascism rose up to the C. I.'s neck in France, frightened, it accomplished in several days, if not in several hours a turn unprecedented in political history, cast off the theory of social fascism like a dirty rag, recognized—and in a vulgar menshevik form!—the defense of democracy, the united front with the social democracy, proclaimed not only as a superior but as a unique precept, in which they tacitly sacrifice the revolutionary tasks and the criticism of reformism. With an appalling cynical attitude towards ideas, these gentlemen no longer accuse us of advocating the "counter revolution" any united front with the tops" but of lacking a "loyal" regard for the leadership by attempting to utilize the united front in order to strengthen the revolutionary wing at the expense of the social democracy. What can this "plunge into the void" signify?

Moscow, understands, it seems, that the increase of tractor alone, not only does not solve the problems of socialism, but does not even assure the existence of the Soviet state. Even if one were to believe for a moment that a complete socialist society will be built in the U.S.S.R. in the next four or five years, it is still impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that fascism obtains its cannibal victories in increasingly shorter intervals. It is unnecessary to explain the consequences that the fascization of all Europe would have on "socialism in one country" during the next twelve or twenty-four months. Hence the panic among the leaders of the bureaucracy. Hence the telegraphic order: perform a 180 degree turn, and camouflage it with a new barrage of slander-gas against the "Trotskyists".

By means of such procedure the bureaucracy now has an unlimited domination over the C. I.; but at the same time the C. I. is losing the esteem and confidence of the working masses. The turn in France was accomplished without a semblance of discussion or criticism. The members of the French

party simply awoke to find out that today it was necessary to call the truth what had yesterday been called a lie. Such a regime, declare the Rakovskys and the Sosnovskys, is to the "credit" of Stalin! We think that such a regime is the misfortune of the revolution. In any case the capitulators should, at least, make clear to what extent they have capitulated: to yesterday's policy of Stalin-Thaelmann, which brought such happy results? or before the directly opposite policy of Stalin-Cachin in France today? But the capitulators do not dare make a choice. They have capitulated not to a policy, but to the bureaucracy!

In the last ten years the policy of the C. I. permitted the Second International to retrieve its dominant position in the working class. Of course, the crisis, misery, reactionary gangsterism, the approach of a new war, violently push different groups of workers towards the sections of the C. I. But these superficial and ephemeral "successes" caused by the situation do not at all correspond to the political situation and to its gigantic tasks. The German Communist party had incomparably greater "successes" up to the end of its legal existence but that did not save it from an ignominious collapse.

Within the parties of the Second International, whose leadership is a reflection of its miserable and infamous orientation, there is at this moment a process of radicalization of the masses. The regime of the C. I., the "somersaults" of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the cynicism of its means and methods, constitute now the principle obstacle on the road to the revolutionary education and self-education of the proletarian vanguard. However, without the mobilization of the workers—not only for parades and meetings, but for decisive struggle, without correct leadership, facing revolutionary intransigence with Leninist realism, the victory of Fascism will come in France with the same inevitability as in Germany. What will remain then of the theory of "socialism in one country"? No more than remains today of the theory of "social fascism".

The Bolshevik-Leninists will not

capitulate, but on the contrary, will redouble their efforts. The socialist workers ought now to become the principle arena of their activity. It is necessary to explain the issues to them; more precisely to side by side with them to find a road to the revolution. It is only thus that the Communist workers can be born from the vise of the bureaucracy and not only unity of action in the struggle against fascism be assured but also the creation of a truly revolutionary party of the masses, a section of the Fourth International which will lead the proletariat to the conquest of power.

Dear Friends! Your comrades in arms in all the countries of the world know the difficult, inhuman conditions you endure under the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have only respect for the firmness which the majority of you have shown in the face of new repressions, new autumns, new betrayals. No, you have not capitulated in spite of everything. On the contrary, you have before you a grand revolutionary mission to perform. You have a duty to place, insofar as possible, before the advanced workers of the U.S.S.R. the problems of the international revolution now monopolized by the Manniskys, the Khusnens, the Piatnitskys, the Losovskys and the other third and fifth rate irresponsible functionaries.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The development of Europe and the entire world is now entering a critical stage, in which the fate of Europe and the international revolution will be decided for a whole historical epoch. We will now bring to the masses the revolutionary lessons that we assimilated in a dozen years of struggle against the centrist bureaucracy (Stalinism). Step by step, we will point the way to them.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R.!

FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

—Foreign Representatives of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

Herbert Zam Quits the Lovestone Group

The Lovestone group, both internationally and at home, marches from triumph to triumph! As a world-wide Right wing reaction to the more obvious follies of the Stalinist "third period", it first swept along thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands, of Communist workers, and not the worst among them. Its hopeless position determined its own disintegration.

Its powerful Czechoslovakian section capitulated miserably to the 2nd International, while a small section in the German-speaking lands moved to the Bolshevik-Leninists. Its Italian "section" (Serra) went the way of the Czech. Its Hollanders, under Wijnkoop, crawled back to the Stalinist fleshpots. Its white hope in France established the "Party of Proletarian Unity" for the capture of parliamentary sinecures, and the Brandlerites had to know them, too. Its white hope in Spain, Maurin, was too wily to tie his cart to a shooting star. The big prestige and following it enjoyed in the Scandinavian countries completely disappeared, following the break with the strong Swedish section. All that remains of the so-called I.C.O. ("International Communist Opposition") is the broken frame of the Brandler group in Germany, begging piteously for readmission into the Stalinists, and the American Lovestonettes.

Life has been no bed of roses for the latter. Starting out with hundreds of members and functionaries from the official party in New York alone, it has dwindled to an essentially local movement with no influence outside the city. Capitulation to Stalinism has vied with splits and splittings in other directions. The notorious Bert Miller and his friends eventually landed in the camp of Father Cox's Liberty party. Others went over to the American Workers Party. Gitlow, second-in-command, broke away with a group of followers, took a big step forward from Stalinism by advocating a new revolutionary party, and then fell victim of the contradictions in his position carried over from Lovestonism.

Now another break has occurred. Herbert Zam, founding member of the Communist party, Young Communist League, and in 1929, of the Lovestone group, a member of its leading committee all the time, has sent in his resignation with an open letter to the membership explaining his position. Having taken a stand in favor of new parties throughout the world (except in the Soviet Union!) after the shocking collapse of Stalinism in Germany, Zam met with the furious resistance of the group's Elders, whose perspectives is bounded on every side by an artificial hope of grace at the hand of Stalinism. If he was not expelled, it was only to "avoid a scandal"; he was sup-

pressed, however, thus permitting the Elders to boast so loudly about the "unanimity of the group". Zam's departure followed. Excerpts from the statement which he is circulating show some of the reasons for the disintegration and inevitable suicide of the Lovestone group.

"I write this after hearing the report of our International representative that the Alsation section of the I.C.O., the Communist Party of Alsace, has been expelled. This was the strongest section of the I.C.O. after the Swedish party, which was similarly expelled some months ago. The expulsion of the Alsation section marks one of the major steps in the disintegration of the I.C.O., which has today been reduced practically to the German and American groups, thus giving substance to the charge of our opponents that the I.C.O. is only a 'Brandler-Lovestone faction'. The I.C.O. as an international factor no longer exists. Starting out with such great promise, it has passed into history, a victim of wrong methods of work and of leadership, of inability to reorientate itself, and when new contradictions and new problems came to the fore."

After showing that the prevalent view in his group was that some great event would bring the Stalinists to sanity, that this event occurred in Germany but produced no effect upon the bureaucracy, that the only way genuine revolutionary unity can be effected is by assembling the revolutionists outside the 3rd International, Zam continues:

"In the last year the group has moved backward, not forward, in its political orientation. It is not accidental that on all new questions the I.C.O. finds itself in substantial agreement with the Comintern. The I.C.O. and the Comintern agree in the condemnation of all groups desiring new Communist parties as 'Centrist' and 'counter-revolutionary'; the I.C.O. and the Comintern agree that only the Russian C.P.'s adherence can make a revolutionary international genuine. (Even if there were a new Communist party in every capitalist country there could not be a new international without the Russian party—'Wolfe'; the I.C.O. has retreated from its previous estimate of the Trotsky movement and today agrees with the Comintern as to its 'counter-revolutionary' character; the I.C.O. and the Comintern are in complete agreement in their condemnation of the Left wing inside the Socialist movement as 'fake'; the German group (but not the American group) approves the shameful hero-cult which is being developed in the Soviet Union and throughout the Comintern; the American group (but not the German group) has become one of the most mil-

litant apologists for the failure of the German C.P. to organize a real fight against Hitler's assumption of power; the German group (but not the American group) agrees with the Comintern in its opposition to the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in the United States; the I.C.O. and the Comintern both agree in their sectarian attitude to the 'Centrist' parties and organizations and on the necessity of working for their destruction rather than their conversion to Communism. The I.C.O. developed for the Comintern the 'August Block' theory which grants the Comintern the monopoly on revolutionary integrity."

Zam's notes on the internal regime in this "international" of crusaders for party democracy reveal that Brandler-Thaelheimer, in Berlin or in exile, differ little from the Stalin Secretariat. In the American group, the picture is no more alluring:

"In our own group discussion before the last convention (whatever discussion there was) name-calling became the main weapon of the majority ('Centrist', 'Trotskyist', 'social democrat', etc.); the leadership was anxious not to convince the membership of the proposed policies, but to stumpe or even intimidate it, into accepting them. Cheap political trickery was resorted to at the convention itself, and the new National Committee was elected on a most factional basis, practically excluding all but a single representative of the minority from participation in the leadership of the group. A practice was developed of presenting new policies first to the outside world as the policies of the group, and then asking the group to pass upon them when the group had already been committed to them. Leading spokesmen of the group took it upon themselves, as individuals, to expound views which had been formally rejected by the group (Lovestone at open meeting on Socialist party convention). Comrades who were in agreement with the minority, or otherwise in discord with the Bureau majority, were squeezed out of work in the group, or out of the group altogether (Rubenstein, Conner, Jones). Of internal party democracy, only the form remained, the substance was discarded just as surely as had been the case in 1929."

"All this was done because the majority of the leadership of the group stood in deadly fear of a rejection of its policies by the membership, and because it was desirous of making a 'clean' appearance in the eyes of the official C. P. and Comintern leadership." He is leaving his group, concludes Zam, "because I am a revolutionist, because I want to continue to work effectively for revolutionary working class unity; because I want to help build a real, world-wide, united Communist International. . ."

To the Marxist, politics finds expression only through organization. How, by what instrument, does Zam propose to effect the estab-

lishment of the genuine Communist International? On this score, not a word is uttered. If the Gitlow incident has more than a fleet importance, it lies not so much in his break with the Lovestone group, as in the brief and futile career of the group which Gitlow formed after the break, the existence of which—never more than shadowy—is now a matter of concern only to a political corner. Because a revolutionist is not an adventurer, his choice in politics is extremely restricted. After his breach with Lovestone, Gitlow thought he could avoid making the choice. He failed to draw the logical conclusions of the advance he made. His inability to think the problem out to the very end, manifested itself in his quaking fear of "Trotskyism", that is, of the bold, consistent principles of revolutionary Marxism. After the first few gingerly approaches, he leaped back. He has been moving to the right ever since. On a different scale, but essentially of the same gender, the Frenchman Doriot has travelled the same road, with the result that he too is now bogging down the Centrist slide to the camp of the Right wing. It is worth while pondering over such lessons. . .

Zam is now at the crossing of the currents. He is free to strike out vigorously to one side or another. In view of the direction from which he has come, there are really but two currents with which he can go. One will relentlessly impel him to the social democracy, and his resistance will only be diminished and eventually eliminated by the illusion that, as a single revolutionist, sailing without banner or rudder, unsupported by the collective physical and ideological collaboration of co-thinkers, he will be able to achieve his goal (the new international) on reformist shores. The other will bring him to the camp of organized Marxism, which, whatever the marching route that objective conditions may indicate to it, always proceeds with a banner collectively worked out and borne aloft, a clearly understood strategic goal, a trained army and staff—all of which make its blows a hundred times more effective.

There is the choice. It is not the easiest one in the world to make. The genuine revolutionist, however, will not choose wrongly. —M. S.

P.S. As this goes to press, we learn from what appears to be an authoritative source that Zam, and it is added, Gitlow, are about to join the Socialist party. Having landed in a blind alley, they have taken the counsel of desperation. Confronted with the choice which a revolution would not have found difficult to make, they have taken the wrong course. We record it and pass on.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

WORLD OF LABOR

WELCOME! POLISH YOUTH

Greetings to the Young Leninists of Poland. We have learned through the organ of our Belgian Youth Section, la Voix des Jeunes, of the adherence of an important group of young revolutionaries to the youth section of the International Communist League. Up till July they were an opposition force within the Stalinist organization. A fundamental discussion on the basic problems of the workers' movement took place within their ranks and after a national conference of the group they decided in favor of a new revolutionary youth international for the youth and a Fourth International. The following is part of a letter to the International Secretariat of the Young Leninists in which they apply for admission:

"Our conference has unanimously decided in favor of the Fourth International and has changed the name of the organization. . . Our organization numbers around 130 militants in Warsaw and several groups in other cities. . . Our organization is for the most part composed of Jews because we have had our origin in the Stalinist organization which in Warsaw is in large majority composed of Jews. . . We also have a group of intellectuals (30 comrades). . . We hope, and doubtless you do too, that your collaboration becomes a lever for the development of our section. . . We hope that with your aid we will become the vanguard of the young workers of Poland."

MENSHEVICS IN THE OPEN WITH THE GRACE OF STALIN

Every new event serves to prove that Stalinism weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The latest is the publication in l'Humanité, C. P. organ, and Le Populaire, S. P. organ in France of a letter from a group of Russian mensheviks in Kazan greeting the united front. This letter could not have appeared outside of Russia without the authorization of the Soviet Government and therefore of the political bureau of the Communist party. It is the first legal manifestation of a menshevik group in the U.S.S.R. In the early days of the Soviet Republic the Mensheviks placed themselves on the side of the white guards and the imperialist intervention. They sided with the counter-revolution and therefore were outlawed on Soviet soil. Since that time there was the trial of the Mensheviks for aiding and abetting the interventionists in 1932. Nothing since that time has appeared to prove that these Mensheviks are less hostile or less an enemy to the Soviet Union than they were a few years back.

Stalin, who used every means of state coercion against the proletarian wing of the party, to the extent of the destruction of the party itself, who has destroyed all democracy within the soviets and the trade unions now becomes lenient—to the enemies of the Soviet regime.

In connection with this letter a dispute arose between the Stalinists and the Socialists, the latter maintaining their usual attitude. Instead of denouncing the counter-revolutionary (the Stalinists have so abused this term that they don't know a real one when they see him) Mensheviks and taking full responsibility for making this party illegal under the proletarian dictatorship they speak like liberals of the most lukewarm variety. "The Soviet revolution has always defended itself against counter-revolutionary acts in which the Mensheviks have unfortunately taken part."

"Unfortunately!" Lenin would turn over in his grave if he could hear the conscious anti-Soviet acts of the Mensheviks described thus. The Bolshevik-Leninists are expelled, exiled, persecuted and their leader hounded from one end of the globe to the other; the party is destroyed; the soviets are made into caricatures; the world revolution is sacrificed in the interests of a reactionary utopia . . . and now the Mensheviks are given the right to legal expression. What next?

DOOM TO FAILURE

The Labor Day issue of the New Leader reports that a new move is under way to organize an between, two-and-one-half international. First the Executive Committee of the British Independent Labor party is instructed to communicate with the French and Austrian Socialist and Communist parties and propose a world unity congress to them. Second, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Swedish Socialist party, the Independent Socialist party of Holland, the I.L.P. and the German Workers Party are preparing a call for a world congress.

Not for the first time is such an attempt being made to organize a centrist international. And not the first time it will be wrecked on the rocks of reality. Such a half-way house was organized in Vienna in 1921. It tried to reconcile both internationalists and ended by returning to the Vanderveldes and the Scheidemanns of the Second International. In 1933 a similar movement began in Paris which included all of the above-mentioned parties. They did not divide on a new international but on joint action on an international scale. To date their record is a complete blank in both fields.

The Dutch Independents and the Socialist Workers Party forsook the cause of the Fourth International for the sake of these dubious allies. Even if a successful centrist international is formed, it will linger on a while and then return to the bosom of reformism.

Should the movement towards organic unity take an international turn, it cannot establish a revolutionary organization of the world's working class. Without a clear Marxist program—at least such a minimum as established in the past of Four—no revolutionary international is possible. Issues are posed too sharply today to permit any straddling. The danger of Fascism and war are so acute and so pressing that any party and any international which cannot provide a clear answer must come to grief. The I.L.P. tried it and its ranks have melted away, leaving only a skeleton of the party it once was. The same fate awaits the other centrists.

Off the Press: August Number of

The New International

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Text of the United Front Youth Pact in Belgium

Editorial Note

Below is the text of the united front pact in Belgium between the Socialist, Stalinist and our own youth organization. We wish to call the attention of the readers to two facts:

1. The overwhelming preponderance of the Socialist youth organization, which is six or seven times the size of the other two organizations, determines many of the features of the pact.

2. The changing times have forced the Stalinists into a united front with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and to sign their names to a pact calling for the right of asylum especially for comrade Trotsky. We would welcome and print letters from any young Stalinist who would make so bold as to explain this fact or reconcile it with previous policy.

Brussels, August 18, 1934.

The National Committee of the Young Socialist Guard, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Youth and the National Committee of the Leninist Youth (Trotskyists) declare their agreement to devote the greatest possible efforts towards the aim of achieving workers unity on the basis of revolutionary action.

2. Having come to agreement on this principle the three organizations decide to sign a pact of common action on the following bases:

a) Common action of solidarity for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, without distinction of tendencies; for the liberation of Thaelmann and Paula Wallach, symbols of the anti-fascist struggle in Germany and Austria; for the right of asylum in all capitalist countries for all the victims of international capitalist reaction, and above all, for Trotsky.

b) Struggle against repression in Belgium, for the freedom of the imprisoned militants, such as Boby, Beelen, and all workers persecuted for their participation in strikes.

1—Against all steps tending towards dictatorial measures taken in 1933, against the unemployed youth.

2—Against all decrees that may have their origin in these dictatorial measures.

3—Against all projects directed towards eventual prohibition of organizations such as the Young Socialist Guard, the Communist Youth, and the Trotskyist Youth.

4—Against the dissolution of Labor Defense organizations.

—For the active defense of all liberties and reforms that have been won by the working class.

d) Struggle against war, in concert with common action within the army.

e) Active organization of the defense of the Socialist Soviet Republics, without thereby meaning the elimination of the freedom of criticism, independent of the common action, with regard to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reservation is made by the Young Socialist Guard and the Trotskyist Youth.

3. This campaign will be carried out by means of monster common demonstrations followed by meetings in a series of important localities, to be indicated in the appendix to this pact.

If in the course of the joint action, the members of one or another organization, clash with fascist opponents, the militants of the other organizations will be under obligation to lend them the most decided assistance.

4. The three organizations consider it logical and elementary to solemnly promise to establish a truce in their quarrels and cease reciprocal attacks in the course of the common action.

Each organization promises not to attempt any maneuver for the purpose of winning away adherents from one another.

It is understood that for the duration of the pact the organizations shall refrain from all insults, even outside of the joint action.

However, outside of the joint action itself, each organization reserves its complete independence for the carrying on of its doctrinal propaganda.

5. The mentioned organizations promise to condemn any weakness and passivity which may appear within their own organization in any way touching on the joint action commenced.

A coordinating committee is established consisting of two delegates from the Communist Youth, two from the Trotskyist Youth and four from the Socialist Young Guards, for the purpose of working out joint plans and the character of the joint demonstrations. This committee will take charge of all conflicts which may arise between the contracting organizations.

In order to carry out any given action, unanimity within the committee is necessary.

The last speaker on the list in the meetings will always be a Socialist Young Guard.

—Young Socialist Guard
—Young Communist League
—Leninist Youth League

The Meaning of the Textile Strike

The powerful textile strike is stirring the ranks of labor everywhere and is bringing to its highest point the second strike wave since the inception of the New Deal. Turbulent from the start, militant in all of its aspects, this strike has rallied hundreds of thousands of new union recruits, involving gradually all branches of the industry on a national scale in the effort to put an end to the abominable slave conditions under which the textile workers toil and to establish the union as their recognized spokesman and defender.

Little effort is made by the owners of the industry to dispute the completeness of the strike or the completeness of the union adhesion by the workers. Nor would that be to much avail. The facts are there. The verification is contained in the solid workers' ranks.

The textile workers have made good their vote to tie-up every mill. Mass action is finding a new and splendid expression, and with military precision the "flying squadrons" are heading the battles.

Strike Will Awaken Workers

It is the greatest struggle of recent times, both from the point of view of numbers involved, large scale actions and the sacrifices it has already claimed. One of its outstanding features is the way in which it has penetrated deeply into the ranks of the new proletarian recruits in the industrial south. Unquestionably this strike will go a long way towards the further awakening of the American workers and begin to instill into their minds the feeling of a class.

Posed as a strong motive force in this strike stands the economic background of the textile workers. Wages in many mills range below a ten dollars weekly rate. Added to this is the abominable stretch-out system by which the combination of machinery improvements and intensified speed-up says the physical strength of the workers beyond human endurance. Compared to this kind of a wage rate, statistics by the U. S. government inform us laconically that the "average housekeeper is now paying 23 1/2 per cent more to the grocer and butcher than she paid in April of last year." It is no wonder that labor is stirring everywhere. There will be more and greater struggles in the near future.

Union Organization Is Issue

However, above all other issues posed the question of union organization. That is the main issue. The first strike wave at the inception of the New Deal struck with a sudden force and in many respects the employers and the reactionary trade union officials alike were taken aback. To the equal surprise in both of these camps the workers took the collective bargaining promise seriously and streamed into the union ranks. Once inside they began to insist on fulfillment of the promise and, as it appeared, the surprise found the employers not yet fully prepared to resist.

Now matters are different insofar as the employers are concerned. They are now not only prepared for the stiffest resistance to further union advance, but they are determined to make a head-on fight. That fact has been particularly well illustrated in the strikes of Toledo, San Francisco and Minneapolis.

Company unions are instituted by sheer coercion. Federal and state authorities are working with police and military force. Red baiting campaigns are followed up with the organization of special vigilantes. These are the first conditions met by practically every strike today. But the employers have only begun their attacks. A much more intensified campaign to head off the growth of unionism can be expected. For them it is a matter of restoring profits at the expense of the workers. Naturally they are also out to bring all possible pressure to bear upon their agents within labor's ranks and they are beginning to force their hands.

Officials Under Pressure

The reactionary trade union officials are still in a dilemma, feeling the pressure from below of the forward moving ranks, fearing that unless the trade unions can measure up to what all the new recruits expect from them new leadership will arise inside the unions or new unions will emerge. On the other side there is the pressure from the employers and their government. Which side they will head has already been made abundantly clear. The decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to start a campaign against the "reds" in the unions only foreshadows the new forms of combination of employers and the reactionary trade union officials under these new conditions. Every militant worker will be labeled "red" in justification for the crushing of strike movements. The textile workers will not at all be immune from such attacks.

The United Textile Workers Union is itself a picture of the recent trade union evolution. Formerly there were several unions in the industry, and not so very long ago it could be said that they were all equally impotent and discredited. All of them were not much more than shells of organizations.

N.T.W.—A Name of the Past

In 1929 the National Textile Workers Union, which now has nothing but its name left, led the turbulent strike in Gastonia. That was the time when the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain featured its famous editorial addressed to the A. F. of L. convention calling its leaders "swivel chair artists" who were sitting comfortably in their luxurious offices while it was left to the Communists to do the job in the south. It was a command to the A. F. of L. to get busy and organize the workers lest other, and the most feared forces, would do it. In this instance, however, as in so many others, the Stalinists, waving the banner of Communism, proved themselves equally incapable of the task.

But the A. F. of L. did not get busy. Even the opportunity and stimulus given by the NRA collective bargaining clause failed to galvanize it into action. Yet the workers by the hundreds of thousands fell into the lap of its unions where they had to be accepted on the penalty of other, more aggressive and more militant forces doing the job. Today we witness the anomaly which is not uncommon for many of the A. F. of L.

unions, that the formerly so decrepit U.T.W. has actually united within its ranks the majority of the workers of the industry in the country. It would be preposterous indeed should the employers wheel into motion also in this instance their celebrated proposal for an election amongst these workers as to choice of who and which organization is to represent them. The union represents the masses of the workers in the industry. Living, dynamic proof of that is given in this strike. For the American working class as a whole this one example—and we repeat, it is not uncommon among the A. F. of L. unions—signifies enormous progress.

Mass Unions Beginning

While the American working class is as yet far from being really organized it is clear where the beginnings of mass unions are today. The workers are joining the American Federation of Labor. Its new recruits can be expected to continue to give a good account of themselves, not merely in the strikes they engage in, in the fights for the establishment of mass unions, but also insofar as the future policy and direction of the unions are concerned. They will have something to say about the campaign against the "reds" and take a hand in the defense of the unions against all attacks.

The issue of the defense of the unions and the building and extension of the unions is now paramount. The struggle for its realization reaches ever higher levels. During this short span, through the first and the second strike wave, after the beginning of the New Deal the history of union organization is written in blood. Every strike has been turbulent, but it must also be said that every strike has brought forward constantly more magnificent examples of working class solidarity and militancy. Every strike has brought forward new proofs of working class vitality and of ingenuity in devising ways and methods of meeting the violent onslaughts by the forces of the employers and their government. They will in time also bring forward proof of the working class ability to circumvent the scheming and cunning of the reactionary bureaucrats.

New Period Opening

Without doubt we have entered a period in this country of awakening of new working class strata. That is the period when the militants forge ahead to lead the movements, to put their slogans and ideas to the test in the fire of struggle. Out of every experience it is possible to record lessons which can mean positive gains for the struggles to come.

The American working class may thus be able to learn and to assimilate in abridged form the revolutionary lessons that elsewhere stretched over a protracted period of time. The strikes of today all carry their important preliminary lessons. The Minneapolis strike, especially in view of its victory won despite almost superhuman obstacles, can serve as a great teacher in this present stage. Tactics and strategy of strikes should therefore be given a particularly attentive study by the militants.

—ARNE SWABECK

Bill Green Gets Radical; The Old Game—New Cards

With 20,000,000 people of the working classes poverty stricken, wards of the government and labor on the march in textiles and elsewhere, William Green is constrained to be radical in his Labor Day utterances.

"Shall we," declares Mr. Green, "plan for future production of abundance for all, or shall we try to curb mass production into scarcity channels with luxury for the few and poverty for the many?"

Put a pin there! as Daniel De Leon was wont to say. Capitalist waste or Socialist planning. But that's not the way the Baptist president looks at the problem.

The facts be recognized. The present system is outmoded. It was built for the handicraft and

not the machine age. This results in a few millionaires and millions of paupers. Every year sees an increase in this inequality. Output per worker increased 4 percent every year, prosperity or depression, and yet incomes to parasites increased 66 percent while incomes to producers (workers) but 5 percent. During the acute years of the crisis (1929-1932) workers' income dropped 58 percent and bosses' increment only 30 percent.

From Him Who Hath Not Shall Be Taken

In simple English: the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. The harder the worker slaves, the more profits he makes for the boss. The nearer he gets to the poor house and Potters Field. Remember what they told you in school: work hard, don't drink, gamble or play and someday you'll be rich as Rockefeller. Tell that to the mur-ines!

In 1929 everyone but a handful thought that things were swell—hunky-dory. Today anywhere you go you'll find people saying, something's wrong and something has to be done about it. But what? A nut plan like Sinclair's which combines the New Deal with a watered-out Socialism? Or Bill Green's proposal, which is no proposal at all? Green is a weather vane, sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, but sticking to the capitalist system all the time. It's treating I'm pretty well.

The solution is simple says Green. All you have to do is "to increase the amount of national income going into wages and small salaries so as to maintain a balance between production and consumption that will use products and services for a higher standard of living; and legal and economic institutions that recognize and protect the interests of producing workers equally with the owners of these products and other property."

There's a Catch to It

Sounds good, doesn't it? But there's a joker in the deck. Labor and capital cannot live together peacefully or be protected equally. Judging by the way the bosses club and murder workers to keep them from getting a ten cents increase in wages it seems they wouldn't be very much in agreement with this plan. Every penny the boss makes comes out of the workers' hide. Every wage increase comes out of the bosses' profits. When new machinery is installed less skill is required, less labor power is used and therefore lower wages are paid.

Now, Green wants economic institutions to protect "producers" and "property owners." What he really means is: Throw the slaves another crumb because they're becoming too dissatisfied.

The partnership of labor and capital won't work this time, Mr. Green. The workers are in a fighting mood and so are the bosses. Look out! or you'll be swept aside in the rush together with your friends, the parasites.

Flying Squads

(Continued from Page 1)

A First Class Weapon

It pressed into service the automobile. How simple, and yet how effective. Concentration of forces at the right place at the right time, mobility and surprise—these important strategic elements are now made available to the workers in the class struggle for the first time.

No longer need workers present a heroic but stolid, inert and helpless mass in front of shop or factory, to be trapped by machine gun fire, or dispersed by thugs.

The use of automobile picket squads has transformed all that. There is no longer one front but a thousand fronts for the bosses to guard. Hired thugs no longer suffice; hence, the increased use of State militia; and even these will prove—have proved—inadequate.

INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL & DANCE

SATURDAY, OCT. 20, at 8 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA (Victoria Hall)

15th St. & Irving Place

Music : Dancing Refreshments Entertainment

Admission 35c

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The First Thousand Years Are Hardest

Some months ago, Hitler, forsaking for the moment his role as political leader, and donning the mantle of the prophet, predicted that National Socialism would rule Germany for the next thousand years.

Immediately things began to happen. Certain of his restless followers took alarm at the prospect and instituted a revolt that was drowned in blood. And the opposition, braving almost certain exposure and the consequent prison camp torture, registered 4,000,000 votes against Hitler as President.

Daily Hitler's tenure in office grows less secure. The opposition mounts and grows bolder. German industrialists pant after war, but dare not drink—the water, they well know, is poisoned. Their economic crisis deepens, German workers are driven further to hunger and desperation, Austria is lost for the time being, and the Saar shows strange reluctance to tie up with the Nazi millennium.

Hitler clings desperately to the tiger's tail, and dares not let go for a moment. Whirled and buffeted, he cries out again, even as he spins dizzily:

"There will not be another revolution in Germany for a thousand years."

But now he is neither political leader nor prophet. He has reverted to his earlier role of comedian. For Hitler stands today exposed before the whole world as a stooge with a trick moustache. Gone is the last ounce of bluster, the threats to finance capital, the promise of national socialism.

"The promise of National Socialism has been fulfilled," he says obediently: this mountebank, who, with the cruelty that comes from the most abject cowardice condemned to slaughter his nearest, his dearest followers, so that at least his own life might be spared.

For Hitler lives today by the sufferance of the German industrialists, who may tomorrow abandon him to the infuriated people, in order that they, in turn, might be spared. Let them but draw off the Reichswehr and Hitler's own cheated following would rend him limb from limb.

"National Socialism will endure for 1,000 years." It must already seem like a thousand years to the German people. In this sense, perhaps, Hitler's prophecy may indeed be fulfilled.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Major Angas Here With Big "Boom"

(Continued from Page 1)

their investments and their loans to industry."

Is that what is ailing the country, and causing the mass unemployment and the mass misery and poverty? Oh no! The American banks have been in marvelously liquid condition for months; they have had their coffers stuffed with gold. They did not extend loans, because there was no demand for commodities, and there was no demand for commodities because the mass of workers and farmers could not afford to buy.

That will work out all right, Major Angas assures us in effect, the P.W.A. will take care of that; bankers will be induced to lend, business will increase, securities will rise. This will make "people feel richer on paper (let the Major try feeding his family on paper!)—and therefore more willing to spend their surplus bank balances."

"Richer"—How? Whom?

The language here is a bit impressive, but the question arises, just what is the Major talking about? People will "feel richer and so will spend more? What "people" is the Major talking about; the workers? How will the workers grow richer when food prices are rising and all other necessary commodities are rising, and the miserable wages that have been guaranteed them by "law" are chiselled under by the steel barons and the cotton kings: when they are constantly being displaced by machines and "efficiency methods?"

Is the Major perhaps thinking of the bankers, the industrialists, the wealthy widows and orphans who clip coupons? These "people" are spending all they will ever spend, and the more money they gain, the more will be reinvested into industry, and a further profit out of the American workers will be demanded.

No! The World-Telegram has missed its mark this time. The American workers are beginning to realize that if their necks are still sore from looking under the corner, they will die of starvation and disease if they wait for the "American Boom."

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT

Bound volumes of the Militant for the year 1933 can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10 St., New York City at the phenomenally low price of \$1.50 per copy.

An Interview with the Managing Editor of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Strike Bulletin

In an interview given to the Militant on his arrival in New York City, Herbert Solow, journalist, and managing editor of the Minneapolis Organizer, daily strike bulletin of Local 574, characterized the outcome of the drivers' strike as "a signal victory which should serve as an inspiration to every union in the country."

"Still nursing the wounds of the May strike," said Solow, "the union was forced into another struggle in July to fight for its very existence. The bosses were out to smash 574 as the first step in a general union busting drive. Their attitude on the questions of arbitration and the right of the union to represent inside workers was calculated to force a strike in which they hoped to destroy the foremost union of the city."

Says Union Won on Main Issues

The strike editor stated that the union, by getting a settlement which sets a minimum wage with arbitration possible only in an upward direction, and which recognizes the right of the union to represent market inside workers, won on the issues on which the strike was forced.

"This is not the full extent of the victory, however," said Solow. "In the middle of the strike the bosses extended their offensive. They swore on a stack of bibles that they would never settle with the union on any terms as long as its leadership included Trotskyists. They also vowed never to relieve anybody charged with violence—and that meant a couple of hundred of the best union men."

"On both these issues, for the advertising of which the employers spent thousands of dollars in their press and for radio time, the bosses have taken a thorough beating."

Asked for a forecast of the outcome of the elections, Solow stated that "the union has nothing to worry about." He derided reports in the boss press that the first elec-

Sinclair Finds His Mentor in F.D.R.

Sinclair had a parley with Roosevelt and discovered there isn't a new trick in the deck. "I found that after talking with Mr. Roosevelt, that I didn't have as many original ideas as I thought I had."

So don't waste your time pondering over E.P.I.C. It's just the California version of the Raw Deal, a little sugar-coated, but its made of the same rotten stuff inside.

Like any ordinary valet, Sinclair went ga-ga when that cunning politician, Jim Farley parted him on the back. "Call me Jim," "Jim" cut the wages of the Postal employees but he gave Sinclair a glad hand so he says, "I like him very much."

Roosevelt can break strikes, keep wages at the minimum and profits at the maximum but for Sinclair who declares "I am a Democrat, and not a Socialist" that is a sign that Roosevelt can run the country and Sinclair can "sleep like a baby."

Any man that can sleep like a baby while policies are being pursued that lead to the murder of striking workers and starvation for millions won't be very helpful to the working class whatever his schemes may be.

All we know about the conversation between Roosevelt and Sinclair is what Sinclair tells us in his interview. He says he came to the President to solicit aid for his "self-help," barter plan; to get funds from Hopkins to institute a primitive system in California.

Behind closed doors, the vegetarian-patriot-mental-healing quack must have told the grinning messiah that he would do anything to get national support so he can "run" California like Roosevelt is "running" the country.

"Run" it to the dogs as far as the workers are concerned.

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Communist League And A.W.P. Move To Form New Party

Both Organizations Declare Desire
To Hasten Union of Forces

(See Editorial on Page 4)
Decisive steps were taken in the past week by the National Committee of the Communist League and the Provisional Organization Committee of the American Workers Party for the fusion of the two organizations and the launching of a new revolutionary political party at an early date.

Following protracted negotiations and discussions between the two committees, and the publication of a revised draft program of the A.W.P., the National Committee of the League, through Arne Swabeck, Secretary, addressed a letter to the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P. which was meeting with an active workers' conference of the latter organization at Pittsburgh over the week-end. In this letter the N. C. of the League asked the A.W.P. to take a positive position on the question of uniting the forces of the two organizations without delay, and expressed the opinion that "the basis for fusion into one united party becomes increasingly substantial, the fusion itself more possible and desirable, and awaits essentially a definite expression of opinion by you which would facilitate the necessary political and organizational preparations for unity."

Prior to the receipt of this letter the active workers' conference of the A. W. P. had devoted an entire day to a consideration of the question and had also come to the conclusion that immediate fusion of the two organizations is desirable and necessary. Thereupon, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P., sent the following letter to the National Committee of the League:

"Dear Comrades:

"Your communication dated September 7 reached us at our meeting at Valencia, Pa. on Monday, September 10. On the previous day we had completed an exhaustive analysis of the same problem of unity of the revolutionary forces in this country with which your letter deals. Since we had reached the same conclusion about the need for definite steps to achieve organic unity if possible, we were deeply gratified to receive your letter."

"A more detailed communication dealing with the questions of program, etc., embodying the result of our P.O.C. decisions, is now being prepared and will be in your hands in the course of a few days."

A general membership meeting of the New York branches of the Communist League, held last Sunday at the headquarters, after an all day discussion of the question of fusion, led by Max Shachtman as reporter for the National Committee, voted unanimously to endorse the course followed by the N. C. in the negotiations and expressed a firm will to proceed with the unification and the launching of the new Party as soon as possible.

In informal discussions between representatives of both committees, which followed the exchange of letters, it was agreed that the negotiations, which hitherto have been devoted entirely to general discussions of program questions, shall now be put on a concrete basis and that an attempt be made to come to agreement on all questions involved in the problem of fusion, political and organizational, point by point, with the object of preparing the basis for unification in the shortest possible time. The surging movement of the working masses of the country and the burning need of a revolutionary party that would be able to aid this movement to find a conscious direction on the path of the class struggle will undoubtedly exert a powerful influence on both organizations to remove all unnecessary obstacles and push in the direction of a speedy unification which will make the launching of the new party possible.

Leading representatives of both organizations have expressed the desire to proceed with the negotiations from this point of view. The merger of the League and the A.W.P., by itself, would provide the new party at its inception with a considerable membership and the framework of a national organization, as well as a strong nucleus for a new revolutionary youth movement. Both organizations have recorded substantial gains in membership during the past year and have also extended their influence by effective participation in the class struggle in various fields—Minneapolis, Toledo, Unemployment work, etc.

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MILL WORKERS SLAIN BY GUARDS; GOVERNOR RAISES «RED» SCARE

The Truth About the Morro Fire

The burning of the Morro Castle, with the ensuing tremendous loss of life, is more than a major disaster of the sea. It is a working class issue.

Who is responsible for the tragedy? Who is usually responsible for such tragedies?

Contemptible efforts have been made, a scoundrelly plot is afoot, to shift the blame to "labor agitators". A "Red Scare" has been started in the reactionary press, and broadcast over the radio.

The Ward Line, backed by Havana's brutal police chief, have charged Cuban Communists with starting the fire abroad the Morro Castle as an act of sabotage and terrorism. Their proof they keep darkly to themselves.

Railroading Testimony Wanted

If such "proof" could be established; that is to say, if a satisfactory frame-up could be concocted, the Ward Line and officers of the Morro Castle would be released of criminal responsibility, and the company would be saved millions of dollars in claims.

Moreover, a crushing blow could be delivered to organized labor at sea and on the waterfront. A new pretext would be afforded for fresh terror against radicals in Cuba and the United States. Labor leaders could be further hounded, jailed and murdered, and the bosses be free to enforce their starvation wages with an air of virtue.

The temptation is too great, the opportunity too inviting for the bosses to overlook. A frame-up will be attempted; it is already being planned.

George I. Alagna, third assistant radio operator on the Morro Castle, and one of the outstanding heroes of the disaster, who stuck to his post to the end, who saved the life of the chief operator and many others, who behaved throughout with extraordinary coolness and courage, is being held on bail that he cannot raise, as a "material witness".

Amidst the cowardice and indecision that prevailed on the quarterdeck, his conduct shines like a beacon light. Yet he, and he alone among the officers, is brought before the Board of Inquiry handcuffed like a common criminal.

Alagna's Crime
For Alagna, understand you, is a "labor agitator". He was guilty of trying to organize the men aboard ship in protest against rotten food and worse labor conditions. He was on the Captain's blacklist. No other evidence is needed, to keep him in jail.

Other circumstances make it imperative to review the story of the disaster, as so far revealed. ET

forts are being made to whitewash the owners and officers of the Morro Castle, and to blame the crew for the tremendous loss of life. This last, by the way, has become one of the established traditions of the sea. The officers are heroes, the crew has to be driven at gunpoint to perform its duty. Remember the Vestris!

Here, however, are the unchallenged facts.

The Morro Castle caught afire off the New Jersey coast, about six miles out at sea from Asbury Park, 20 miles south of Scotland Light, on the return trip from Havana. The time was variously reported, in conflicting testimony, at 12:25, 1:30, 2:45 and 3 A.M. A light gale was blowing, with increasing intensity, the sea was running high.

The fire spread with extraordinary rapidity, according to the officers, who set the time of the blaze far ahead of the time reported by numerous passengers and members of the crew. By 3:45 the entire superstructure was a mass of flames.

Passengers amidship were trapped. Some managed to make their way through the smoke-filled corridors to gain the decks. A few wriggled through the small port-holes into the open sea, exchanging death by drowning for death by fire.

Workers Are Disarmed by Spanish Gov't

Further indications of the active preparations for civil war on the part of the Fascists, Socialists as well as Basque and Catalonian Nationalists can be seen in the recent seizures by the government of several important shipments of contraband armaments.

Seventy-three large boxes containing 200,000 rounds of ammunition and many revolvers and rifles were seized on Sept. 12 at the little port of San Estaban de Pravia on the Asturias coast.

Prominent members of the Socialist party including Indalecio Prieto, parliamentary leader are implicated in the affair and 24 arrests have been made including the mayors and employees of several municipalities.

The Governor of Asturias has arbitrarily removed all Socialist mayors and aldermen in the province, replacing them with republicans.

It is also claimed that a large amount of dynamite and armaments was discovered in the People's House (trade union headquarters) of San Estaban de Pravia.

It is a patent fact to every worker that Spain is headed for civil war, that arming of the labor movement must proceed swiftly if destruction at the hands of the Fascists is to be avoided. The present government, making pretenses at delivering blows at Gil Robles' hands is in reality striking hardest at the working class. This "discovery" and raid on Socialist organizations only points to this: disarm the proletariat while making pretenses at disarming the Fascists and the Spanish Hitler will have his thrust at power.

But Spain is not Germany if only for the fact that the workers there have had the opportunity to learn from Germany.

INDIAN SUMMER FESTIVAL
The International Workers School has completed its plans for an Indian Summer Festival and Dance. The winter courses of the school begin the 15th of October and it is the purpose of this affair to bring together those who will take advantage of the excellent courses this season. We are arranging for an exciting and entertaining program, which will include a well known dance orchestra. The complete program will be announced in a future edition of the Militant. Remember the time and place! Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Saturday evening, October 27th.

Whose "Law and Order"
"Law and order must be preserved." How often has this cry come from the lips of a frightened bourgeoisie. Here we see what "law and order" is referred to. The "law" of the capitalist class, the "order" of the hired thug and the

deputizing of the strikers. He received the only reply that the capitalist class could give. Refusal, laughter and abuse.

The New York Times editorial writers literally foam at the mouth in discussing the proposal. The strikers are compared to "burglars and murderers". Their entire wrath is loosed against the flying squadrons that have been so effective in closing many of the mills. "As for the proposal to let the strikers picket and safeguard mill property, it is too grotesque for discussion."

Breaking forth in a sarcastic tone the editorial continues: "The lawful officers of the law are to be superseded by representatives of breakers of the law. These are to enforce against them the higher law, the law that transcends the statute books, 'law' made by strikers for strikers."

(Continued on Page 4)

Strike Ranks Firm; New Mills Close in the North and South

Two strikers murdered, scores injured. National Guards in wild retreat before the infuriated pickets, a "red" scare raised by the Governor of Rhode Island and an appeal for Federal troops is the balance sheet of the second week of the textile strike.

The ranks are firm, however. The hosiery workers, 10,000 strong, have walked out in sympathy with their brothers in the cotton, silk and woolen industries. New mills are closing and the picket lines are keeping those factory gates already closed from opening.

While "twist-the-facts" Sloan continues to make his optimistic statements that more and more mills are beginning operations with scab labor, the state officials serving the textile barons have been forced to call upon the National Guard in five States to protect the right of scabbary.

But the National Guard, just as the deputies and the thugs, have proved inadequate to cope with the strikers. The battleground, shifting from the Carolinas to Rhode Island, has shown the undying heroism of the mill workers.

In the teeth of gas and bullets the strikers advanced, ripping up tombstones for ammunition and routing the guards or seriously demoralizing them in the battles of Saylesville and Woonsocket. They will be written on the pages of American labor history and their martyrs will forever be enshrined in the hearts of the working class.

Such spirit, courage and heroism, cannot be broken by the troops. The thousands of Guardsmen, some of them mill workers and others fresh out of high school, are frightened or demoralized. One incident in Rhode Island, the arrest of two strikers by a Captain Strong because they called him "boy scout", speaks volumes for this fact.

But if the National Guard met with an unexpected reception at the hands of the strikers, the Rhode Island Governor got the shock of his life. So much so that he immediately set up the holler for Federal troops. "There is a Communist uprising in Rhode Island and not a textile strike."

What constitutes a strike according to this marionette of the mill owners is a folded arms demonstration in which the workers lie supinely on their backs while scabs and gunmen trample all over them. If the strikers seize whatever weapons are at hand to defend themselves, that is a "Communist uprising".

Shall R. I. Follow Frisco?
"We must put the Communists down here," says Mr. Green, all in a rage, "as they were put down in San Francisco when the longshoremen went on strike. There must be a distinction between the legitimate actions of the real strikers and the riotous acts of the Communist agitators."

How is this distinction made? Orders to Guardsmen to fire point blank into picket lines. No questions are asked as to who is a striker and who is a red because for the textile barons every worker who dares demand a better life in this world is a "Red" and a "Bolshevik".

So the governor proposed two methods to deal with the insurrection (read: textile strike): Appeal to Roosevelt through the state legislature to bring the army to Woonsocket and the other strike-bound points and get an appropriation of \$100,000 to arm 1,000 war veterans for use against the workers.

Arrangements were all completed to march 1,500 Federal troops to march from New York to "overawe" the strikers. (Roosevelt, according to Green, gave his assent. But the Rhode Island Democrats balked, the whole plan was a little too raw and politically dangerous for them. The Guards would do, they thought.)

War Veterans Or Thugs?
On the other hand, the R. I. legislature voted the \$100,000 appropriation to arm "world war veterans" as auxiliary police. Any gangster from New York or Chicago, any pool room hoodlum—for that matter anyone willing to accept pay breaking the strike—will now become a "world war veteran".

Unable to get the legislature to issue the call for federal troops, Green now "rescinds" his appeal but continues to rave about Communist plotters, dynamite, and deporting "alien reds". The stage is being set for a frame up which can only be facilitated by such cowardly and treacherous statements as that of a New England U.T.W. organizer, Silvin. The latter places the blame for the riots on the

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What a brazen mockery! Look over the history of the contracts flouted and trampled under foot by capitalists over the country. They

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R. I. Solons Save Roosevelt From Sending Federal Troops

Only political considerations on the part of the Rhode Island Legislature saved Roosevelt from a pretorian guard, they desisted in calling for the Federal troops.

But Roosevelt... who has been regarded by most workers as the man who held out the helping hand to labor with his famous section 7-a was ready to put the Rhode Island strike to the sword.

What becomes of all his vaunted friendliness to the working man? Time was when he could claim that the deputy sheriffs, or the police, or the National Guard over whom he had no jurisdiction were murdering workers and smashing strikes.

Now he took a stand. There is no escape. Hoover deployed the troops against the ragged army of houseless and that put the finishing touches on his reputation with American labor. Roosevelt offered to use the army against the Rhode Island strikers. The legislature saved him for the moment, but other occasions will arise and he has already indicated what he will do.

Let the American workers learn the truth of this incident and that will help to polish off Mr. Roosevelt forever in their eyes.

Governor Green—who must have broken a couple of blood vessels searching for Communists under his bed—had a telephone conversation with the grinning messiah in Washington pleading with him for martial aid. Roosevelt, now in Hyde Park, said to Green that he was getting in touch with Washington "to make all preparations to respond to any call the state might make in this emergency."

The stage was all set for an expedition of the army into New England to crush the strike ranks. Green hollered for it. Roosevelt gave his assent. But the Rhode Island democrats dissented. Their

constituents are in Woonsocket. And while they voted \$100,000 for a pretorian guard, they desisted in calling for the Federal troops.

Only political considerations on the part of the Rhode Island Legislature saved Roosevelt from a pretorian guard, they desisted in calling for the Federal troops.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Dern, the National Guard and the Workers

Secretary of War Dern is worried and he speaks right out for everyone to hear. The popularity of the army is being impaired by the increasing use of the National Guard in strikes. Dern thinks that the National Guard is being called to murder strikers that the local police or company gunmen could attend to themselves. The National Guard should only be called out as a last resort, said the amiable New Dealer. In other words, they should be held in reserve and only sent into action when the strikers are getting the best of the local thugs. It is an interesting subject for discussion: What is the best way to murder striking workers and still retain the popularity of the army? The question thus posed by Dern proves him to be a real Rooseveltian "friend of labor" and should earn him the praise of all "labor leaders" from Green down.

Nazi Gems

Hitler:—"The Nazi regime will endure for 1,000 years!"

Alfred Rosenberg:—"Hitler is the greatest political impulse for 150 years and also the most potent stimulus for art and culture."

Reichsbishop Mueller: "Hitler is God's gift to the German people."

Mussolini and the Stork

Mussolini has a plan for raising cannon fodder. Here it is as reported to the N. Y. Times: Fire all women workers and put men in their places. Home life and starvation encourage women to marry. Give the jobs to the men. Work makes for virility in men. The bachelor tax encourages marriage. Reports from Italy of earlier efforts for a "managed birthrate" indicate that similar "encouragements" of fruitfulness have failed. Cupid it seems can be speeded up by such means but the stork refuses to be rushed.

Tears from a Crocodile

Mr. Sloan of the Textile Manufacturers: "I am deeply distressed that blood was shed in Georgia. These and events make it plain, the forces unleashed by the strike leaders are now out of control." So by calling a strike the strike leaders become responsible for the unleashing of the army of strike breaking thugs, National Guards and deputy sheriffs who are now playing their profession of murder, in the interests of Mr. Sloan and his associates.

The Workers Bookstore

To place a young communist in the workers' bookstore in Chicago, apparently dooms him to Trotskyism. At least so it seems to Sam Hammersmark, as one after another of his valued assistants goes "renegade". You see, there are books, and time to study, and Sam especially chooses an intelligent Y.C.L.er. Put the three together and you have a Young Spartacist member in the making. District Organizer Kling insists that only dumbbells be allowed to take the job in the future and reports from Y.C.L. contacts in Chicago indicate that he himself will soon be free to apply. You see, the Chicago Y.C.L. has made such "progress" that scapegoats are needed and the finger points Klingward.

The Munitions Inquiry

The munition companies opposed a Senate inquiry on the high patriotic grounds that such an inquiry might divulge military secrets and so weaken the country. The inquiry shows that all Uncle Sam's arms and munitions, naval and military were on display like a street peddler's fruit to any country from Bolivia to Japan who might be a possible customer for the Du Ponts. That these countries were possible and even likely "enemies" made no difference as long as the munition companies made bloody profits. Like old J. P. Morgan who cleaned up a tidy amount of blood money selling defective rifles to "his" government during the civil war, the modern American munitions maker is deeply interested in the welfare of his country just so long as that coincides with the welfare of his pocket.

The American Legion

To those workers who wonder how the American Legion and the vigilantes got that way, the following War Department figures may be of interest. Of those who were drafted into the army during the war—24 percent were illiterate and 10 percent morons.

Strike Statistics a la T.U.U.L.

Figures issued by the "Pen and Anvil" show the growing strength of the T.U.U.L. unions. In one day of last week 50 percent of all strikes were called by the T.U.U.L. and 50 percent by the A. F. of L. Figures show that two (2) strikes were called—one (1) by the A. F. of L. involving 500,000 textile workers and one (1) by the T.U.U.L. While the A. F. of L. strike is still on the T.U.U.L. strike, due to its splendid leadership is settled. This strike involved two (2) workers and was settled when recognition of the Revolutionary Union was granted. The boss is a member of the I.W.O.

Embarrassing Questions

A supporter of the I.L.D. in Boston sent the following letter to the national office of that organization:

Boston, Mass.
Sept. 9, 1934
International Labor Defense
80 East 11th Street
N. Y. C.
Comrades,

I read on an orange-colored "Scottsboro-Herndon-Thaelmann Application Card", given me at the Scottsboro-Herndon meeting in Boston last night, that the I.L.D. organizes for mass struggle against capitalist class justice in all its forms.

Is not one form of capitalist class justice the branding of Trotsky by the French Government? Have you been organizing for mass struggle against this form of capitalist class justice?

Your card says also that the I. L. D. "fights for the right of political asylum". Is not Trotsky denied by the U. S. Government the right of political asylum, and is not this denial another form of capitalist class justice? Are you therefore fighting for Trotsky's right of political asylum?

Your card further states that the I.L.D. "utilizes the entire labor press . . . for the mobilization of mass support for its program," and its program, as stated above, includes "struggle against capitalist class justice in all its forms" and "for the right of political asylum". Are you therefore utilizing the entire labor press for the mobilization of mass support to force the French Government to stop molesting Trotsky and to force the U. S. Government to grant him the right of political asylum?

I believe that you are not in these instances living up to what your card claims. Why not? Surely capitalism likes to divide and rule, and is particularly pleased when its enemies do not defend each other as against the common foe. I believe I have a right to an answer from you. I have many times contributed through the I.L.D. such sums and efforts as I could. I enclose 30c more for the Scottsboro-Herndon campaign, and a 3c stamp for your reply.

Sincerely,

Meeting to Defy Nazis in Yorkville

In the past six months the Nazis in Yorkville have been doing things pretty much as they please. Although their only show of force thus far has been the singing of the Horst Wessel song in beer gardens and strutting around in their Brown shirted uniforms, the working class organizations have not yet dared to lift their heads openly in a concentrated effort to get rid of them.

Some time ago LaGuardia closed 86th Street to political meetings because the Nazis broke up working class street meetings. Now the Democrats and Fusionists are allowed to hold meetings while working class organizations are discriminated against. The Stalinists, while boasting of "forging ahead in the fight against Fascism", have confined the talk of agitating the Nazis to their own United Front (League Against War and Fascism) and petitions to the Mayor to open 86th Street. When asked to join in a real united front by the S. Y. L. the Y. C. L. countered with an invitation to join the League Against War and Fascism.

The Harlem Branch of the S.Y.L. and Circles 6 and 9 (Yorkville and Harlem) of the Y.P.S.L., realizing that only by a united effort could they ward off the Nazis and rid Yorkville of their poisonous propaganda, have formed a United Front Committee against Fascism in Yorkville. This United Front has as its objectives the holding of joint street meetings in Yorkville, the opening up of 86th Street to all working class organizations, and the building up of a powerful movement against Fascism. The first joint outdoor street meeting will take place on Monday, Sept. 17th on 85th Street & 3rd Ave. at 3 P.M. All workers are urged to attend.

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Salem, Lawrence Workers Confused

Salem, Mass., Sept. 10.—In the Pequot Mills in this town the loomfixers, numbering about a hundred, were the only ones to answer the strike call of the U. T. W.

Although the rest of the workers voted unanimously not to strike, some 20 have quit in sympathy. Because the loomfixers struck solidly, half the looms are not working. At first the bosses had three scabs, including the son of the local Sheriff, but they failed to show up this week, and all the bosses are trying to become loomfixers. They can't do the job, however, and the second shift is shut down entirely.

McMahon Responsible

If the weavers and other workers struck the whole mill would shut down. The reason they have not done so, however, is not that they love their bosses or "their" country, but because of the treatment they have received from the U.T.W. Last year there was a strike here, but McMahon "outlawed" it, and stopped the payment of strike benefits from the money paid in by these workers in dues. All but the loomfixers joined a new union called the Independent Sheet Metal Workers Union, which finally negotiated a settlement.

The Independent is headed by one Levesque, who uses this background to keep the workers divided, while he hollers for police to "protect" the Independents.

No flying squads have visited Salem, and the picket captain declares that the Salem workers are "not interested" in Lawrence.

Lawrence Suffers from Old Wounds

In Lawrence the situation is worse. This city, the scene of many militant strikes in the past has, until the past few days been as silent as a tomb. The reason for this is that Lawrence has been a concentration point for the Stalinists. One strike a few years ago was actually led, while it lasted, by the Stalinists Edith Berkman, Bill Mardock and Pat Devine.

These enemies of the A. F. of L. brand of bureaucracy refused to share control of the strike with the rank and file, so when they were arrested on telegraphic deportation warrants, the strike was broken and the workers utterly demoralized. June Croll was in Lawrence as a disorganizer, and after she got the workers completely disorganized she left. How successful she was is attested by the fact that so far not one single worker has come out on strike. If they do come out it will be in response to the U.T.W. and not the "Industrial" Union of the Stalinists.

—STANTON.

Textile Strike in Connecticut

Allington, Conn.—The American Mills plant was struck here for the second time in five months. The first strike, four months ago, was a complete success. The union was recognized and wages were raised. At present 35% of the employees are out, and every morning and evening sees five bus loads of scabs enter and leave. They are preceded and followed by an automobile full of detectives and in the middle is a big sedan full of thugs—scum obviously picked up from the dregs of the city. The majority of scabs are carried in from Waterbury every day, expenses paid by the bosses.

The main complaint of the workers, here as elsewhere, is the stretch-out system. One person operating one loom earns \$12 per week; and in order to make enough to support their families the operators are forced to run two looms at least—for which they receive \$21 per week. Needless to say, it is beyond the capacity of one person to continually run two or more looms at the proscribed speed without a breakdown in health.

There is picketing morning and night, the scabs eating their lunch within the plant confines. As the majority of strikers are girls and women there is plenty of noise whenever a scab sticks his head out the window.

—JAY HARDE.

Hoover vs. Roosevelt

Herbert Hoover delivered a broadside at the Recovery program of the Roosevelt administration in a series of articles appearing in the reactionary Saturday Evening Post. These articles are excerpts from a book to be published this month. Under the slogan of "The Challenge to Liberty", Hoover defends the sanctity of private capitalist property.

Around a few half truths and a series of bourgeois catch phrases about liberty and justice Hoover has built up a structure of lies and misstatements. Breaking the silence maintained since his defeat, the statements of the former President represent more than merely a battle of the "outs" against the "ins". The attack is not only an attempt of the conservative Hoover wing of the Republican party to assert its leadership in the present stage of flux and confusion, in preparation for political realignment. It is also the platform for the struggle of a powerful contending group of American imperialists who were swept out of office in the Roosevelt landslide and replaced by another group of imperialists.

"Tories" Still Alive

The role of the American "Tories" is not over just because the "liberalism" of the Roosevelt administration has become so predominant. This struggle within the camp of the capitalist class, in its ebb and flow, reflects the veering of the ruling class with the changing class relations, and class pressures both internally and internationally. The rapid spread of Fascism in Europe and its effect upon world conditions is a challenge to the parliamentary form of bourgeois rule that cannot be ignored by any group of American capitalist politicians. In this case both the conservative and progressive wing of capitalist politicians can continue their prattle about "liberty".

Hoover does not take his cue from the American Stalinists who say the New Deal is leading toward Fascism and already is partly Fascist. No, Hoover says the present government policy of "National Regeneration" is leading toward Socialism and is already partly Socialism. Of course both views are wrong because the economic system in its present decay stage has the earmarks of both. A decisive question for the working class is to know how to gain the fruits of its own pressure upon the capitalist class, and not allow any group of capitalist rulers, either in the name of Socialism or Fascism to snatch the fruit of its growing might and pressure from its hands.

Half-Truths

Hoover is correct when he says, "Not only in the United States but throughout the world, the whole philosophy of individual liberty (bourgeois individual liberty—H. O.) is under attack. He is also correct when he refers to the NRA without naming it, and says, "All this, in fact, the greatest legal mechanism ever devised for squeezing the small competitor out of action, easily and by the majesty of the law." However, Darrow, speak-

ing for the middle class, said the same thing much more elegantly. Likewise when he says, "The first step of economic regeneration is a vast centralization of the power in the Executive." He is also correct. Naturally none of these truths are explained, or developed to their logical conclusion, because as such they could not be used as ammunition against the Democrats but rather, they would be an indictment against all forms of capitalist rule and all kinds of bourgeois politicians, and against the capitalist system as a whole.

In a blast against the monetary policy of the Roosevelt administration, Hoover has the nerve to draw the following correct conclusion about the shift from policy holder to stockholder. "Thus the rich become richer, and the poor poorer." This is bait for political saps to vote Republican—who will "defend" the poor.

Facts vs. Conclusions

But these economic facts, pointed out by Hoover's group, against the Roosevelt group in the inner struggle of the imperialists for power and wealth, contradicts his conclusions. This man, whom the yellow press praises so highly for his economic education and ability, turns out to be the worst kind of vulgar economist. If it is true, as Hoover says, that under the New Deal, concentration of wealth and centralization of government continues, that the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer, that smaller units of production are being squeezed out under the code set-up that the "Managed currency" is to enable the Government to change from time to time the purchasing power of the currency for all commodities, wages salaries and incomes. This means that prices can be sent upward and real wages downward with the greatest of ease any time their ruling class so desires once the straightjacket of the monetary policy and the NRA is secure around the working class.

These economic facts that Hoover points out run counter to his whole thesis and conclusions—that the present government policies are leading toward socialism and that the government has already taken certain steps along the path of socialism.

The "Liberty" Racket

At least Hoover's economics is not as vulgar as the economics of many Socialists, who see Socialism in the New Deal, or the Stalinists who see Fascism in it. Hoover is not serious in his charge that the Government policies are socialistic. This is bait for conservative saps to vote within both parties. Hoover is serious about liberty, but not the kind of liberty he speaks about in his article. Such prattle about liberty, abstract pure liberty, is merely the age-old propaganda to catch the uninitiated. Bourgeois liberty in its most favorable form means complete freedom to exploit labor power and natural resources with the least possible amount of government regulations. Whole pages are devoted to abstract talk

The Middle Class Backing of Sinclair

San Francisco, Aug. 31.—A semi-Social Democratic bloc was formed within the California Democratic party (hence the national party as well) when Upton Sinclair, erstwhile Utopian Socialist, won the Democratic nomination for Governor of California in the primary election of August 28. He polled approximately 407,710 votes as compared to 268,720 cast for his closest opponent, the war-time propagandist, George C. C. The acting governor, strike-breaking Frank Merriam, won the Republican nomination with approximately 339,500 votes.

Sinclair, in addition to freeing Tom Mooney, proposes to establish state land colonies for the unemployed; acquire idle factories for the unemployed to work; issue scrip for the wages and products of this cooperative system; repeal the present sales tax; increase the income tax; increase taxes on public utility corporations; exempt from taxation all small homes and ranches assessed at less than \$3,000; add additional taxes on unimproved land; pension the aged, the blind and disabled, and widows.

The reformist nature of this program is evident. The basic contradictions between capital and labor are unresolved. There arises furthermore the new contradiction of unemployed workers producing cheap goods competitively in competition with goods produced for profit by exploited labor.

The social elements that nominated Sinclair in the primary election are the type common to Social Democracy: a number of the marginal middle-class such as independent grocers, shoe makers, cigar makers, and small farmers—in fact, almost all those elements that compete with chain stores, trusts, or corporations; the intellectuals supporting Sinclair were mainly teachers and ministers; finally, not a few trade unionists and unemployed supported the EPIC plan.

The greatest organized support came from the Utopian Society, a group that is essentially middle-class. By correctly interpreting the demands of these elements Sinclair has successfully developed a Social Democratic faction within the Democratic party. The importance of this bloc in state or national politics will depend on the degree of future compromise. Soon Sinclair will have to decide whether his group will be liquidated by means of compromise into the official California's decrepit Socialist party or continue his middle of the road course. But regardless of how soon the official Democratic party flings its "protective" coat over Sinclair's infant (and it probably will for Sinclair has courted Roosevelt and Farley since his candidacy) the final election in November will be fought more along class lines than party lines.

In California, more rapidly than elsewhere, party lines are breaking down and class lines are forming. Croll's campaign manager announces that the Democratic party has been raped by Sinclair. Other Democratic candidates and leaders announce they will not support the rapist. The capitalist newspapers call Sinclair a red! Industrialists, formerly Democrats, have begun supporting Merriam. Business men bewail the calamity that will befall California if Sinclair is elected governor. Meanwhile the pragmatic working class considers Sinclair less obnoxious than the California Reaction and supports him as the lesser of the two evils.

—JON DANE.

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about liberty. This is the main stem of Hoover's lie, because Hoover knows as well as we know that under any class society there can only be class liberty for the ruling class. Under chattel slavery liberty for the masters. Under feudalism liberty for the lords. Under capitalism liberty for the capitalists. Under capitalism liberty for the workers means liberty to sell their labor power to any capitalist they desire, the liberty of choosing their own exploiter. But under capitalism there is no escape for the worker from exploitation—from wage slavery. The means of suppression necessary to keep the workers in subjection, to a greater or lesser degree, depend upon how contented they remain.

Under any society with classes the terms liberty, justice, democracy and dictatorship can only have meaning and truth as class terms with class definitions. But the ruling capitalist minority can not speak the truth, they must hide their class liberty behind phrases of liberty for all.

Competition for "Forgotten Man" Hoover is against "national regeneration" and for "liberty". He is opposed to code restrictions on business and for "real competition". He wants the government to get out of business and stop penalizing "thrift". In fact, he almost speaks for the "forgotten man". Roosevelt beat him to that clever sales talk.

Hooliganism Again

The Pittsburgh branches of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth have distributed the following leaflet:

TO ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS!

You will recall that in San Francisco groups of Vigilantes were organized by the ruling class to smash working class meetings and their homes.

A similar incident happened very recently in Pittsburgh. Hitlerite methods were used by the Communist Party (Stalinists) in securing one of our 19-year old members Friday evening, August 31, for distributing leaflets advertising a meeting of the Spartacus Youth League.

On the following evening when the Spartacus Youth League attempted to proceed with their meeting a group of Stalinists, numbering approximately forty people, came into the meeting hall, provoked and gave us an ultimatum that a certain member of the Communist League of America and a certain sympathizer will never be permitted to speak before any working class organization as long as the Communist Party exists in Pittsburgh.

We wish to stress the fact that in miniature from this is an exact reproduction of the Madison Square Garden affair.

We call on all workers' organizations to condemn such tactics as REACTIONARY in the labor movement.

The Communist League of America and the Pittsburgh Branch of the Spartacus Youth League will hold a meeting in the near future where the prohibited speakers will appear. We urge all workers to attend and defend this meeting. You will be notified through a separate leaflet as to the time and place of this meeting.

We believe that only the working class can put an end to this hooliganism in the labor movement.

—Communist League of America
—Spartacus Youth League
Pittsburgh Branch

Letters to the Editor

We are now undertaking a fundamental change in the character of the Militant. From a theoretical organ dealing primarily with intra-party matters and the clarification of principles we are trying to transform it into a popular working class political weekly. Our purpose is to fill a great need in this country—a Marxian newspaper, understandable to every worker, that tells the truth about events as they occur, that fights the capitalist system and all its agents in the trade unions and elsewhere and that answers the problems of the labor movement. We would welcome suggestions, comments or criticisms from our readers or from workers they hear talking about the Militant. We believe that such letters are the best barometer of whether we are on the right track or not. Below is a letter received from Parkersburg, W. Va.

The bundle order of one hundred Militants have been received and have already been distributed to the strikers. The seeds of Marxism have been sown on virgin soil; at least one met with no resistance while passing the Militant to them. The workers were not only well pleased with their article on the strike, but they also read the other accounts with much interest.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANTS—ONE CENT PER COPY.

What Hoover is not able to realize is that he is a partner of the New Deal. It was the Hoover Commission, under his administration that brought in a lengthy, voluminous report in economic and social trends in America. This Commission pointed out many facts, showing both the weak spots and the breakdown in the system. That was valuable bourgeois economic research. The Roosevelt administration is merely trying to patch up these holes in the economic structure of American capitalism that the Hoover Commission pointed out. The whole difference revolves around the ways and means to patch up the capitalist system and to keep America on top of the heap of decaying world capitalism. Hoover thinks his conservative capitalist method is superior to the Roosevelt progressive method of saving capitalism. Roosevelt is at least clever enough to throw crumbs to the workers every time he dishes out big portions to the capitalist class. Hoover didn't have this technique.

The inner capitalist struggle of American imperialism for control of the state machinery is becoming sharper. The Liberty League of Smith and his big financier backers, and the Herbert Hoover "Challenge to Liberty" are merely the opening guns in the struggle of these groups for the spoils of exploitation and the possible booty of imperialist wars.

—HUGO OEHLER.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The State and the NRA

Even the most casual study of the NRA and the philosophy back of it cannot help revealing that the forces at work in the capitalist system pushing it along the road to state capitalism, are independent, by and large, of the volitions of those compelled to submit to these forces. Thus the "philosophy" (or ideology) of the New Deal finds itself continually and apologetically at variance with the reality, with the needs of capitalism in crisis that thrust upon the state greater and greater tasks that previously were the cure of "private initiative". Itchberg, reporting on the present status of the NRA, disclaims any desire to do precisely what he is doing: "The very thing that we in the administration are trying to do is get away from the superstate. We are trying to decentralize problems by balancing forces. We are letting private initiative handle things." If private initiative (private property) could have handled things then there would have been no NRA. The NRA is the preliminary form that state development has taken in America on the road of the transformation of this superstructure in accordance with the requirements of imperialist capitalism. It is worth noting that Itchberg (as also Tugwell in the quiz he had to undergo before his appointment as Assistant Secretary) makes the sharpest distinction between the NRA and planned economy. The New Deal "is taking us to a balanced rather than a planned economy. . . . When you talk planned economy, you may think of a system of which people are told what to produce and how. You can't effect this without entering the field of socialism." How he proposes to create a system of "permanent prosperity" without planning Itchberg blandly ignores. He thinks of the problem as involving merely the maintaining of a balance between industry and agriculture (as though this were possible under capitalism).

Owen D. Young and the Farmer

Owen D. Young also wants a balance maintained between industry and agriculture. But he is opposed to the NRA and becomes the firm champion—does this industrial-banker-capitalist, head of one of America's greatest monopolist trusts—of freedom for the farmer, freedom, that is, to support capitalism. The farmers, says he, hold freedom of action sacred and will not tolerate coercion in the use of the land they own (!) their own. The farmer accepts no man as his boss, resents discipline of the factory whistle, specified hours of work, etc. We hope that all the wage slaves exploited by the Youngs take due note of the great admiration, of this boss for those who resent the capitalist factory discipline. Young is engaged here in building up the myth of the "free" American farmer (most of whom are already in the tenant and farm proletariat class, the rest so heavily mortgaged by the banker Youngs that they are rapidly falling into that class). Young would like to drive a wedge between the farmers and the workers, to keep them separated, to set one against the other—in order to divide and rule. He gives the usual lip service to the fraud of having the government "arrange" its national economy so that there is a just economic balance between the price which the farmer gets for what he sells and the price which the farmer pays for what he buys. As though it is not the very nature of the system of capitalism itself to render this impossible by its piling of profits on the cost of raw materials bought from the farmer and the labor power of the worker.

Monopoly Capitalism Crushes the Farmer

Young is one of the foremost proponents of the system of monopoly capitalism that reaches out for complete control of the market and establishes by its grip on the market not only the price of its products but the prices paid for the raw materials. The individual farmer is utterly helpless, just as is the individual worker, in the face of monopoly capitalism. But this does not stop Young, tongue in cheek, from calling on the government to help the farmer "negatively" by preventing the taking of unfair advantage through artificial price control, through credit discrimination, and through artificial market manipulation and market speculation. O. D. Young is typical of that class of financier and stock manipulator who attempts to pose as a captain of industry and therefore "allied" with the farmer against the speculators and grasping bankers. But the farmer is not taken in by this pose. He knows that monopoly capitalism is the root of all evil and the hard economic facts that disinherited him from the land, that convert him steadily into tenant farmer or farm worker, are too close at hand for the farmer to be hoodwinked by sweet words that celebrate his vanished freedom. The farmer is becoming increasingly aware of the game of the capitalists to set him against his natural ally, the city worker.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

S. P. "MILITANT", N. Y.—

Question: If foreign intervention is excluded, how can the possibility of a counter-revolutionary overthrow in the Soviet Union be spoken of, since there is no class upon which the reaction could base such an overthrow?

Answer: If your premise were correct, there would be some basis for your conclusion. The peasantry, however, remains as the class upon which the counter-revolution can draw.

The moulie is no idealist. He thinks in terms of the hard, material things of life: grain, shoes, cotton cloth, pots and pans, etc. Just so long as the Soviet regime provides him, in return for his grain, with as many, or more city-made products as he could obtain in the open market, he will continue to support the Workers' Dictatorship. If, however, the open market promises him more for his grain than does the Workers' State, he endeavors to throw off those fetters which stand in the way of his material advantage. It is only one step from this demand for the open national market to the demand for the open international market—the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade.

Without, therefore, wishing to re-establish capitalism, the peasantry under these circumstances will naturally become the ally of reaction.

It is incorrect, particularly at this point, to abstract from foreign intervention. Usually this is thought of in the pure military sense, and it is forgotten that in the economic field it goes on continually. Because the industrial development of the imperialist countries is superior to that of the Soviet Union, which is tied economically to the world market, a constant intervention is taking place, which weakens the possibility of the Workers' State in overcoming the gap between what is taken from the peasant and what is given to him.

Unless the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is able to give timely aid to the Soviet Union, this process may prove to be fatal, particularly since armed intervention stands ready to back up its more powerfully economic ally.

C. W. K., New Haven—

Sorry, but there is no short cut to economics any more than to geometry, and your editor knows of no books where you can find such a simplified explanation of the mechanics of inflation as you request. The following, however, may help you if you are faced with the necessity of explaining this phenomenon to workers with limited economic knowledge.

Because of the limited development of commerce and finance practically all of the business in the middle ages was transacted through the medium of gold or silver coin. Since the currying of the coin was both expensive and dangerous, many merchants found it expedient to form institutions in which the metal coin could be deposited, and upon which you could issue certificates, to use for making payments. The receiver of such a certificate, knowing that it could get the metal on demand, was willing to accept it as its face value. If, however, he wished to make a purchase or payment, he would merely pass it on to the next merchant, and in this way certificates equal in value to that required for the normal transaction of business would remain in circulation.

Assume that 100,000 pounds (by weight) of gold had been deposited in such a central warehouse by various merchants and that 100,000 pound-notes had been issued to them as receipts, which were then put into circulation. If each note should change hands on the average of four times a day, the daily business transacted would have a value equal to 400,000 pounds of gold.

Under these circumstances no inflation could have occurred, regardless of what happened to business conditions. At the worst all the gold in the vaults would have found its way back into private hoards. However, as long as the rate of turnover of money remained as above, no more than 400,000 pounds of business could have been transacted daily, the same as if the gold itself had been used instead of notes.

If the daily average of business increased to 800,000 pounds of gold in value, the deposit institutions could safely go into the lending business and issue an additional 100,000 pound-notes, confident that the 200,000 pound notes would continue to circulate even though there was only 100,000 pounds of gold in the vaults.

If, because of a crisis, the average daily value of business fell back to 400,000 pounds of gold, 100,000 pound notes would turn up at the institutions demanding gold. If all the gold were permitted to be withdrawn, there would be none left as a basis for the rest of the notes in circulation, and these, upon discovery of this fact, would soon become practically worthless, except for other assets which the institutions might possess. This would be tantamount to a complete inflation.

(The result would have been the same if for some reason or other, the institution had issued 200,000 pound notes while the total value of business remained at 400,000 pounds of gold, requiring only 100,000 pound certificates for circulation.)

The institution might, however, keep the inflation partial, a so-called "deflation". Upon becoming aware of the situation it might have announced that henceforth each pound note was to be redeemable only in a half pound of gold. The 200,000 pound notes would then have a value of 100,000 pounds of gold and would remain in circulation since this much would be required for daily business. (This, essentially, is what Roosevelt did by means of the 60 cents dollar.)

In most cases, today, such gold notes, or currency are issued by either a banking institution backed by the state power, or by the latter directly, and the process is more complicated by the banking system through which many of the payments made are balanced against each other, eliminating even the need of paper currency. Otherwise there is no essential difference between an inflation as we understand it today and the illustration cited above.

Off the Press: August Number of

The New International

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Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada

(Ed. Note: The Manifesto printed here is taken from the *Vanguard*, organ of the Workers' Party of Canada, formerly the Left Opposition.)

Humanity stands at the crossroads. Fascism points to the most barbarous exploitation of man by man, perpetuates the cleavage of society into classes, and prepares another imperialistic blood-bath. Communism liberates the forces of production, ennobles the standard of life, and realizes the international solidarity of the race. Which alternative is to prevail, the class struggle will decide.

World Crisis of Capitalist Decay

Driven by profit-lust and inexorable laws of the market, the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of wage-labor, was once in the van of social progress. Superior economic efficiency shattered the bonds of feudalism, organized the national state, and created the international division of labor. Under the banner of the rights of man and popular sovereignty, and in a series of wars and insurrections, the bourgeoisie successfully freed the imagination from the fetters of the past, mobilizing them to end the privileges of the former regime of priest, landlord and noble.

But Capitalism has reached an unendurable state of decay. Private property and the national frontiers can no longer confine the tremendous productive powers of a world economy. The "free competition" of small capitals have given way to the international competition of gigantic monopolies desperately battling for a shrinking world market. The struggle for colonies and spheres of influence to which to export surplus commodities and capital resulted in twenty million killed and maimed in the imperialist war, leaving a deadly legacy of sharper antagonisms and more monstrous militarism. The world war and the treaties, the necessary consequences of capitalist development, marked a turning point, the breaking up of the foundations.

The world economic crisis of the past five years was no longer the normal business cycle of pre-war boom and depression but the symptom of the crisis of capitalism itself. By the close of 1933 more than a third of the world's trade had disappeared; the gold standard, once the barometer of capitalist stability, had been replaced by wild zig-zags of paper currency and inflation. The increasing misery of the masses was attested by colossal armies of unemployed. The concessions, in the shape of wages, hours and conditions, which capitalism in its prime had yielded to the mass pressure, and which formed the social basis of reformism, were withdrawn. The bitter tooth-and-fang struggle for markets drives capitalism to launch an offensive for the reduction of the living standards of the workers to the barest minimum of subsistence.

The Menace of Fascism

Under these circumstances, Finance-Capital finds the "normal" methods of parliamentarism no longer suffice to keep the mounting class antagonisms and the deepening social crisis in control. The State has always been the organ of the possessing classes to hold the exploited classes in subjection; a general democracy in the sense of social equality, for both exploiter and exploited, is impossible. The mask of bourgeois democracy concealed the essence of capitalist rule. But parliamentary democracy, fraudulent though it be, had developed in the struggle against feudalism; its limited democratic civil liberties afford the most favorable ground for the rise of working class organization. Aiming at the unhampered exploitation of the working class, Finance-Capital unleashes fascism, the most savage despotic method of capitalist dictatorship to smash all the institutions of proletarian democracy, trade unions, parties and press. Fascism is the regime of the sabre, the bludgeon and concentration camp.

As its pawn to crush both bourgeois democracy and the working class, Monopoly-Capital uses the petty-bourgeois (middle classes) which the monopolies have themselves ruined by mass production and distribution, by inflation and deflation. The social crisis, undermining the former social superiority of the worker, has thrown the small business man, professional man, and farmer off their balance. Where there is no sufficiently powerful revolutionary party to place itself at the head of the nation the middle classes are drawn into the net-work of anti-semitic, nationalist and anti-foreign-born demagogues, and are fed with the illusion of an "authoritarian" state which will subject the great capitalists to the interests of the small property-owners. But once the subsidized Fascist movement has triumphed, Finance Capital turns on its petty bourgeois allies, dispelling their illusion under the iron heel of bureaucratic police and military dictatorship.

The natural ally and leader of the middle classes is its partner in social misery, the proletariat. The middle classes must be brought to understand that the way out of the crisis does not lie in the return to more primitive economic forms, in projects of monetary reform or dif-

fused stock ownership under conditions of capitalist concentration and control. The small farmer ground down by Mortgage Capital, loaded with debt and threatened with foreclosure must realize that all the Pools, Marketing Acts, and "freer credit" are unavailing against the technical revolution in agriculture and the domination of finance capital which bring about the chronic agrarian crisis.

The Solution of the Basic Problems of the Middle Class is the Same as the Solution of the Crisis for the Working Class, the Socialization of Land, Industry, and Credit.

The only way to abolish overproduction, "under-consumption", and to pass on the gains of technical efficiency in the form of ever rising standards of living and culture is to replace the anarchy of the capitalist

market by purposive social planning and control.

The Conquest of Political Power

The means of this fundamental change in the property relations are revolutionary mass action and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers can and must utilize the ballot and parliamentarism for propaganda, agitation and mobilization of the masses. But no feature of the social-democratic program has proved more completely bankrupt than the idea of the painless transition from capitalism to socialism by means of piece-meal parliamentary social reforms. The Workers' Party does not reject reforms; they can be used to consolidate the positions of the workers for further struggle. But reforms must come as the by-product of class-struggle and not as alleged,

Economic Conditions Behind Textile Strike

Sprawling and scattered from Maine to South Carolina—as far West as Mississippi—the textile mills, with steel, mining, railroads and autos, one of the super-industries of the country. Unlike some of its giant brothers, it has been in a state of crisis, not for a few years, but for more than a decade. Along with the great mills in England it has since the war been at the center of the international crisis in textiles. This crisis has had the same fundamental earmark of the general crisis of capitalist industry: over-expansion of productive capacity, and overproduction (underconsumption) of goods.

During the war the industry expanded to meet government demands, seventy-five percent of production going for military purposes. After the owners had participated in cutting the melon of war profits, they found on their hands excessive plant capacity. Then came the depression of '21 to which this condition importantly contributed. Despite all of these signs of serious illness, the industry plunged into another orgy of expansion. The competition was—the "best man" would win, they said. A consequence, throughout the '20s, an average of two million spindles in the cotton section alone were continuously idle.

Crisis Intensified

Speed-up, stretch-out, and improvement of machinery have accelerated this condition. The struggle of cotton and wool against silk and rayon, capricious fashions, waste and anarchic methods of distribution have added color to this pretty picture. The struggle of the textile lords of Lancashire and Tokyo, for the foreign markets, is one of the forces behind Roosevelt's naval building campaign. The whole world is overproduced. The markets won't go around. Profits dwindle, unemployment increases, the home market shrinks. The textile employer alternates between cutting wages and consulting his war department.

For several years a merger movement has been growing, a movement aptly supplemented by cartelization in line with the provisions of the NRA. The bosses are organized.

Altogether there are more than a million workers in the textile industry. They comprise one-eighth of the manufacturing workers in the country, a greater number than in any other single industry. And the wages of these workers are the lowest in any manufacturing industry except tobacco. In 1927, for example, a relatively good year, wages in cotton mills were more than 37% below the average earnings for workers in all manufacturing industries in the country. In wool they were 10% lower. Under the codes they remained the lowest, with differentials bringing even lower scales in the South.

Squeezing the Workers

The textile employers, as a result of the declining market, take up the slack of reduced profits by every maneuver known to capitalist industry. Machinery is perfected; workers are unceremoniously fired; the stretch-out squeezes the last ounce of the workers' energy. Along with the lowest wages the textile workers suffer the worst working conditions in the country. The result has been a long and bitter struggle for the right to unionize, for shorter hours and higher wages, and for better working conditions, especially with regard to the stretch-out.

Methods and devices for increasing speed in order to secure greater production for the worker are now common in every industry. In textiles the speed-up has gone so far that the nervous strain upon the workers has gone beyond the limits of physical toleration. While the number of spindles has been increasing, the number of workers has been decreasing. The aim of the mill owners has been to lower costs and raise profits. If you want to make five thousand a year, once advised the American Wool and Cotton Reporter, addressing new overseers, prove that you are worth it. "Prove it by cutting down costs, by doubling up the machinery per operative and saving wages."

"Labor Specialization"

The movement to reduce labor costs and dependence upon the skilled workers, has progressed with increasing severity for many years. Employers' organizations meet regularly to formulate practical methods of speeding up production. "Labor specialization" has become a profession, such efficiency experts being hired to do nothing but travel from mill to mill showing employers how to "extend" labor.

There is probably no other industry where this problem is attacked more energetically and deliberately. Today the bosses are getting back whatever gains were made by the lowest paid workers under the codes. Patents for new textile machines bear evidence of the continuous replacement of workers by machinery and the production of more pounds of goods per operative. Work becomes increasingly specialized and standardized. Old workers find it hard to follow the pace. Young workers are brought in and burned up.

The workers in a mill which has hired the services of these "industrial engineering" corporations suddenly find themselves being watched by strange men with stop-watches in their hands. These men will talk to no one nor will they answer any questions. They merely watch every motion of the workers, making notes on everything that happens.

The "Stretch Out"

These men calculate every movement of the workers. If the worker takes a drink of water, visits the lavatory, has to wait for material, speaks to a fellow worker for a few minutes, it is timed and noted by the stop-watch man. The latter then retires and calculates the number of seconds that the worker has used in stopping to breathe, in going for a drink of water or to the rest room. More work is then given him on the bases of the time study. The time is divided into three main divisions: (1) Amount used in skilled work. (2) Amount in semi-skilled. (3) Amount in non-skilled. The workers are then divided into these groups, a varying wage is paid, and each group is then driven to greater and greater speed. This is the stretch-out. The looms per worker increase; the wages for most of the workers go down; production increases; total payrolls decrease.

Resistance to the stretch-out, to low wages and long hours, has made the textile industry, next to mining, the most active battle ground in the class struggle in America. The battles of these workers with company gunmen, police and troops has made the earliest, the most continuous and some of the most glorious of militant American labor traditions.

History of Unions

Cotton workers first organized in 1838 into the National Cotton Mule Spinners Association. Locals and federations of other crafts in the industry followed. The first strikes broke out in Fall River and New Bedford, time honored spots in textile history. Cotton workers were in the International Labor Union (1878) and later conducted several big strikes under the banner of the Knights of Labor. In 1891 the National Union of Textile Workers was organized in Lowell. It continued—later under the name of International Union of the Textile Workers—till 1901, when it merged with some of its own secessionists, to form the United Textile Workers of America.

Many strikes were held by the National Union and by the United, though not many of the great ones were sanctioned by the top leaders. Like most labor skates the bureaucracy of the United cared more about a large treasury than the low wages of the workers. The very place-names of these strikes bring the memory of heroic struggles: Lawrence (1912); Manchester (1918); Lowell (1918); Passaic (1919); Lawrence (1919); Utica (1919); Charlotte (1921); New England (1922); Willimantic (1925); Passaic (1926); New Bedford (1928); Danville (1930); Elizabethtown (1930); Patterson (1931); Patterson (1933).

Installments of socialism. The Labor Cabinets of Great Britain and the Social Democratic Governments of Germany, both reformist and constitutionalist, by their treacherous collaboration with the capitalist state machine shamefully betrayed the workers, and paved the way for fascism. The workers cannot use this capitalist machinery with its civil service, police, military and courts to establish the socialist order. The workers must first break the old and then set up the new, the Soviet State, to protect socialism from sabotage and counter-revolution. The Soviet State is a dictatorship against all those seeking to restore the old order; for the masses it is the widest possible basis of real democracy. As the process of socialization destroys the economic roots of class divisions in society, the State itself, the product of class antagonisms, will vanish, leaving a society ordered not by compulsion but by administration based on voluntary labor and self discipline.

Defence of the Soviet Union

As the first country of the proletarian dictatorship the Soviet Union is a source of inspiration to the working class of the world; its collapse or destruction would unleash a terrific wave of world reaction. The October Revolution of 1917, under Bolshevik leadership, was the product not only of the internal antagonisms within the country but of the break-down of capitalist imperialism at its weakest link; it was the prelude to the international revolution. The victory of socialism in a predominantly agricultural country was based on the union of the workers and the peasantry but could be finally assured only by the support of the social revolution in some of the advanced countries. Between the directly antagonistic systems of socialism and capitalism there could be no enduring collaboration or peace.

But Leninism, the strategy of world revolution as the basic policy of the U.S.S.R., has been replaced by Stalinism, the policy of "socialism in one country", of national self-sufficiency. Under the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements, the defeats of the revolutionary movement abroad, and the capitalist encirclement, the proletarian dictatorship has been undermined by the cancer of bureaucracy. The capitalist apparatus, crowned by the personal regime of Stalin, usurped the positions of power, stifling all workers' democracy in the Soviets, the trade unions and the party. The Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition, loyal to the program of world or permanent revolution, was exiled or driven underground as "Trotskyism". Economic policy zig-zagged wildly between a course of pro-kulak opportunism and the adventurism of "liquidating classes in five years."

The Comintern has become a puppet frontier guard. Security of the U.S.S.R. is sought not in a powerful revolutionary movement but in non-aggression pacts, alignment with an imperialist bloc and projected adherence to the League of Nations.

The problems of the U.S.S.R. affect the destiny of the international proletariat at every turn. The attitude of the Workers' Party has nothing in common with the sentimental or platonic "sympathies" of the liberals or pacifists. The Workers' Party stands for the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union by the active struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in all countries, which means the building of revolutionary mass parties and a Fourth International, independent of the stranglehold of Stalinism. The Soviet Union is threatened by military intervention; an equally grave menace is the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship under the Stalinist regime.

The Idea that Industrialization and collectivization lead automatically to socialism is false. Without the communist party which is the will and the consciousness of the working class and which has been strangled by the bureaucracy, the Soviet Power could succumb at the first shock of a crisis. The Workers' Party will aid the Bolshevik-Leninists of the U.S.S.R. in their struggle to cleanse the dictatorship of the elements of degeneration. For the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union! Against Stalinism!

(Continued in Next Issue)

PIONEER NOTES

The Pioneer Book Shop, 102 East 11th Street, New York City has been appointed sole agent for books published by the Pioneer Publishers.

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WORLD OF LABOR

PUERTO RICAN COMMUNISTS REBEL AGAINST STALINISM

FROM A bourgeois press report we learn that at a general meeting held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Communist party membership voted overwhelmingly for a break with the Third International and the establishment of the Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico. It was categorically affirmed that the Puerto Rican Communists will take no orders henceforth from Stalin's International but will attempt to build a party and work out a program in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment. After heated discussion and airing of opinions, but four party members withdrew from the organization in protest against the decisions arrived at by the majority.

We know nothing more of this case than the simple facts as given above. The very fact, however, that a small, newly formed party, has at the present time broken with Stalinism, is in itself very significant. It is indicative of a general trend developing in several Latin American countries, where more breaks of a similar nature are certainly not out of the question. The break with the Third International at this time may be considered a progressive step on the part of these comrades. We may even venture to guess the reasons for this step on their part. Since the adoption of the Litvinoff pledge, the Stalinists have sacrificed the Cuban revolution to the cause of Soviet international relations, by giving the order "Hands off imperialist property" to the Cuban C. P. Our surmise is that some similar order may have been given to the Puerto Rican party, which was entirely too big for the comrades to swallow.

If, as appears likely, this break with Stalinism embraces the entire party of "our insular possession" and not only the San Juan section, if it is the result of the pressure of the membership and not of a faction fight at the top, we can then feel certain that the Puerto Rican comrades will find their way towards the Fourth International and will not fall into a "national-communist" morass.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST SENTENCED

Neuekrieger Echo, social democratic paper in the Saar, publishes the news on Aug. 27 that Wilhelm Doerfer, 36-year-old leader of the International Communists in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Hitler's court martial, euphemistically called the First Senate of the Peoples Court, clapped this stiff sentence on the militant for "having prepared high treason" and "leading in the organization of an illegal party". The frequency of these imprisonments and the infrequency of news concerning them should warn every class spirited worker that the terror in Germany has far from subsided. International solidarity with the victims of Fascism—today as much as ever—is one of the paramount duties of the revolutionary and labor movement.

SAAR WORKERS BEGIN ACTIVE RESISTANCE TO FASCISM

Despite the pulverizing features placed on the united front by Stalinist and reformist officials, the first signposts of fighting opposition to the Fascist bands are appearing in the Saar. In Saarbrücken an armed fascist band gathered in front of a workers' print shop with destructive intent. The workers in the locality were notified and hundreds immediately appeared and put the murderous vandals to flight. Similarly in Zinnertal, the workers routed a Fascist gang.

Once the united front breaks out of the halter of action—the organization of an armed workers' militia—the Fascist refusal will crumble like paper before the impact of its mighty power.

COSTA RICAN BANANA WORKERS STRIKE

INCOMPEL and vague news reports strike us of the resumption of the general strike of workers on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. Following their return to work under a favorable settlement with the government, under which the most important demands of the union were granted, the United Fruit Company immediately commenced a series of violations of the agreement. Any recognition of the rights of the workers by the slave driving United whole past, and would serve as an incentive to organization for all of the plantation workers of the Caribbean area. The imperialists well know that a "favorable" settlement of the Costa Rican strike will lay the basis for a wave of organization and struggles in the fruit, sugar, tobacco and coffee plantations of all Central America, Colombia and the West Indies. This is why, in spite of being forced to make concessions in the first strike, no time is being lost in an attempt to wipe out the gains of the workers.

The government and the United Fruit company are attempting to smash the strike by every means, and the situation on the plantations approaches one of civil war, while the whole industry continues to be tied up.

THE ADVANCE OF FASCISM IN SPAIN

On September 9 Gil Robles, chief of the Catholic fascist party, "Popular Agrarian Action", delivered himself of a load of demagoguery at a national fascist rally held at Covadonga, scene of the final defeat and expulsion of the Arabs from Spain. About 8,000 fascists participated in the demonstration, which would undoubtedly have been much larger had it not been for the militant action of the workers, who were able through general strikes in many cities, and acts of sabotage on the railroads and highways, to prevent the arrival of any more.

Gil Robles has since declared that certain of his statements in the speech at Covadonga were misinterpreted and exaggerated. He now claims that by "demanding power" for his party, he only referred to fascist participation in the new government that will be formed within a few days. After an interim of participation in a coalition government with other rightist parties, the fascists will be prepared to play their highest cards, in a direct bid for power.

Meanwhile the general movement for the Workers Alliance continues although with varying degrees of success. In Badajoz province the official Communist Party participates with the Communist Left, Socialist party and various trade union organizations in a provincial Workers Alliance. On a national scale, however, the Stalinists continue in their ultimatum demand for a "united front" with the Socialist Party to the exclusion of the minority groups and the unions. The Socialists, pressed by their own left wing, insist on a broad united front within the Workers Alliance. Although they are sabotaging the creation of this organization on a national scale, a favorable decision by the anarcho-syndicalist controlled C.N.T. would force them to take immediate steps for a national Workers Alliance.

The existing Workers Alliances in Asturias, Leon and Madrid are functioning very poorly. Only in Catalonia, Valencia and Badajoz, is the organization of working class unity functioning effectively. Throughout Spain it is the minority groups, the Communist Left and the Syndicalist Libertarians who are in the vanguard of the struggle for the Workers Alliance.

EDITORIAL

For the New Party - For the Fusion of the League and the A. W. P.

THE most important political news of the day is the report about the decisive steps taken during the past week to facilitate and hasten the fusion of the American Workers' Party and the Communist League. This news is of paramount importance because it spells definite progress toward the forging of the sharpest and most indispensable weapon of the working class—a revolutionary party. By itself, the merger of these two organizations, of entirely different origins but moving toward the same goal, would signify the actual beginning of the new party and make its formal proclamation possible.

Armed with the program of Marxism the new political center thus created would speedily attract the scattered revolutionary militants as a magnet attracts steel particles. The adhesion of thousands of awakening workers could be expected. The expanded political organization would be in a position to connect itself with the stormy movement of the working masses and give that movement a conscious direction.

The native militancy of the American workers, surpassed by none, as our labor history shows, and again brilliantly demonstrated in the present strike wave—in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Kohler, the textile fields—would be fused, through such a vanguard party, with that decisive element which has been lacking in all the past periods of labor resurgence: scientific doctrine, political clarity, leadership. It has been the lack of precisely this element, which only a Marxist party can supply, that condemned the insurgent labor movements of the past to failure and defeat. Lacking a class theory of its own, which can come into the labor movement in no other way than through the Marxist party, the American workers, with all their militancy and capacity for sacrifice, fell victim to all kinds of quackery and treason and landed in a blind alley every time.

Capitalism itself creates the conditions for the elemental movement of the workers, as the far flung general strike of the textile workers proves once again. But the Marxist party, which alone can shape and guide this elemental movement to the goal of emancipation, must be made by the deliberate work of the conscious vanguard. Since such a party does not exist today—and experience on a national and international scale testify to this bitter fact—it must be created anew. This is the first and foremost task of all revolutionaries.

Every serious step in this direction is important. The progress that has been recorded in the past week toward the fusion of the two most important groups standing outside the poisoned swamps of Stalinism and Social Democracy, and dedicated to the aim of building a new party and a new international, cannot fail to inspire all revolutionary workers with enthusiasm and hope as it inspires us. It opens up the prospect of saving time in the execution of our great historic task, and time is a weighty factor now. Events move with lightning speed. We must move with them.

On an international scale the political organizations of the working class have suffered a collapse no less devastating, and no less irremediable, than that of 1914. Germany and Austria tell the story of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals in letters of fire.

During the five years of the crisis we have witnessed the paralyzing influence of this international debacle on the American movement. Even after five years of the crisis, during which the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system did their best to prepare the soil for revolutionary political development, the great strike movement of the awakening workers, with a few exceptions such as Minneapolis, is controlled and throttled by the old reactionary leadership. A real challenge to this leadership, which represents the influence of the exploiters in the labor movement, has not yet been made for the simple reason that there was no force able to offer the challenge and make the challenge good. For that, and for all that logically follows after, a party is needed. An international is needed.

Revolutionary internationalism is the heart and core of the system of ideas which binds us together and unites us indissolubly with our comrades in other countries. This conception, which is expressed in the struggle for the Fourth International, animates and guides us in every phase of activity in our own country, whether it be the holding of a public meeting, the organization of a strike, or participation in the formation of a new party.

We have said many times, and we underscore it here once more, that the organization of an American party cannot be separated in any way from the struggle to form a new international, but on the contrary is an inseparable part of that struggle. The new party will be able to solve the national problems and find its way into the mass movement of the American workers only if it approaches them from the international point of view; the new party can become a national power only on the condition that the banner it raises is the banner of internationalism.

This is the cardinal lesson of all the great events of our time; this is the wisdom of the great teachers. This unshakable conviction has entered into the marrow of our bones. Whatever we do and wherever we go, it goes with us. We seek for allies and co-workers first of all among those who hold similar views.

The decision of the active workers' conference of the A.W.P. in favor of hastening the fusion and the joint launching of the new party coincided with a similar decision of the New York membership meeting of the League. These actions gave expression to the fact that the two organizations have drawn closer together in the course of practical cooperation in various fields of activity and comradely discussion devoted to the clarification of questions of the program.

It appears to us that the revised draft program of the A.W.P. formulates a position on the question of the new international that is nearer to our viewpoint than the formulation of the first draft. We, on our part, venture to say that the work of the League in the Minneapolis strikes has helped to convince the members of the A.W.P. that we also are able to "speak American"; that our internationalism is not an abstraction but a guide to action on the national field. Joint work of the two organizations in practical work, limited though it has been, has demonstrated in practice an ability to work out a common policy and to cooperate loyally in advancing it. These are all factors which have strengthened the will for organic unity and the hope that it may be expedited.

Our National Committee has not yet had the time and opportunity to make a critical analysis of the revised draft program of the A.W.P. Progress has undoubtedly been made toward working out a common standpoint on some of the most important questions. Further discussion and clarification will yet be needed to assure a firm principled basis for the unification. Other obstacles may arise. But it is our firm conviction that all difficulties standing in the way can be overcome if there is a determined will to overcome them, if there is an understanding, on both sides, of the overshadowing importance of finding a common path and launching the new party without the needless loss of a single day. All our efforts will be directed to this end. —JAMES P. CANNON.

WAR AND FOURTH INTERN'L

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Strike Ranks Firm New Mills Close

(Continued from Page 1)

"Reds," urges the local unions to weed out the "Communists" immediately and offer cooperation to the National Guard in pursuit of the "aliens". Bosses and strikebreaking governors thrive on such statements.

In the South, late reports coming through tell of National Guardsmen bayonetting five strikers and using tear gas to disperse a picket line of 500 at Burlington, North Carolina.

Everywhere National Guards are brought into action against the strike which started with the naive statements of union officials that this was not a "strike against the government".

Certainly, it is not. The strike is not against the government, but the government is clearly against the strike.

Who Owns this Country

(Continued from Page 1)

national guard bayonet.

Today, more and more does the worker begin to see that the law of the state is for the boss class, that the militia of the government is the weapon of the boss class in breaking strikes and preventing picketing. Today, the worker no longer fears or respects the forces of the bosses' "law and order". Today we hear the workers shouting on the picket lines, "Get the Militia!"

The trend the recent strike wave has taken will have no small part in making the workers of the country see that a gulf as wide as the ocean separates them from the bosses. Every major strike has brought out the national guard, the state militia. In fighting the troops, far more than by merely fighting the hired deputized thugs, are the workers beginning to see that behind the government stands the mill owner, the steamship company or the millionaire trucker.

The Bullet-Bayonet Lesson This present strike wave is bringing from the text books down to the very factory that all important lesson for the working class: this is a class government, one that is run by the capitalists against the workers. The request of Gorman for a strikers police has been received with the only reply that the bosses could give. "We rule this country, we own the mills, we control the police, we command the militia."

But the bayonet and the bullet are mighty teachers. The day is not far off when the working class will arise as one man, trained in the streets of Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Gastonia, Saylesville, and shot with one voice, "The lawful officers of the law are to be superseded by strikers' committees. This day we shall enforce a higher law, a law of strikers made by strikers and for strikers."

The Truth About the Morro Castle Fire

(Continued from Page 1)

wooden, elaborately carved fixtures, permitted a rapid spread of the fire once it started. Far from being the fire-proof floating castle it was advertised to be, the Morro Castle was a fire-trap.

The officers of the Morro Castle appeared more intent on saving salvage money than in preserving the safety of passengers or crew. While Acting Captain Warns was engrossed in the problem of putting out the fire, and of beaching without towing charge, passengers and crew were alike neglected, to make their way to safety as best they could.

Fire Alarm Unheard

If the fire alarm was sounded, none of the passengers who have so far reported to the press or the inquiry board could remember being awakened by it. Either it rung weakly, or not at all. (One of the crew reported it rang, but he thought it was an alarm clock.) No one remembers hearing an order to lower the boats, which swung a half hour from the davits, flush with the deck—waiting for what? No one appears to have organized the crew to awaken passengers, to guide them to the boats, to see that they were provided with life preservers. The officers were too busy fighting the fire to bother with S.O.S. or life-saving.

Taking them on their own word, a half hour elapsed before the S.O.S. was sent, or before the boats were lowered, without orders and without passengers. For the latter the crew is blamed. With what reason?

The chief indictment against the crew is that the lifeboats that were lowered contained few or no passengers. The implication is that the crew speeded away, pulling for shore without attempting to rescue passengers on deck, or already floundering in the water around the ship. Let us consider the circumstances.

By all evidence, the fire had already swept the amidships beyond hope of reaching anyone entrapped there before the boats were lowered. Most of the passengers had already leaped overboard out of hysteria, or because they were otherwise hopelessly trapped. There is no record that any were denied

I. Radek Orders Right-About-Face

After its disastrous ultra-leftist course of the past few years, the Comintern is making an abrupt, and equally disastrous, swing toward the right. The united front "from below" has been abandoned for non-aggression pacts with the "Social-Fascist" leaders of the Second International. The "Social-Fascist" theory itself is being put into cold storage. The dual Red trade unions are either being dismantled, severing connections with the parent international of Red trade unions, or being merged with the reformist unions. Behind a barrage of radical bluster, the ultra-leftist policies of yesterday are being replaced by a totally new and opposite set of rightist policies, which can only prepare the Stalinist party for fresh capitulations tomorrow to the trade union reformists, the imperialist agents, and Social-Democratic betrayers on the order of the period from 1923 to 1925.

In the light of this new orientation toward the right, Joseph Freeman's article in the September 11 issue of the party-controlled *New Masses* has more significance than its title, "Ivory Towers, White and Red," or its place of publication, indicates. Particularly, since it appears so soon after Radek's speech to the Soviet All-Union Congress of Writers on "Contemporary World Literature and the Problems of Proletarian Art," which laid down the new Stalinist line toward the fellow-travellers.

"Fighters for Progress"

According to Duranty's dispatch in the *New York Times*, "Radek hailed the abolition of RAPP" last year as the beginning of a new era of comradely cooperation between the Russian Communist Party and the non-party intellectuals. So far as relations with the writers of the rest of the world were concerned, the majority of the best writers, faced by a choice between fascism and liberalism, were choosing liberalism. (A few months ago, the *New Masses*, *Daily Worker*, etc., were assuring us that almost all of them were choosing Communism.) Therefore, Radek went on to say, they should be encouraged (to do what? defend the democratic state against the Fascists? But this was Trotskyism?) and regarded as friends (of the Soviet Union at a distance or the proletarian revolution at home?), even though they are far from pure socialism. (Is Radek referring to the "pure socialism" of Wels, Bauer, Vandervelde and Company or the impure "socialism in one country" of Stalin?) In short, he declared that in the struggle the world was now witnessing between progress and reaction, any fighter on the side of progress (!) was in

a sense an ally of the U.S.S.R.

(Emphasis ours.)

Here we have the essence of the new turn in all its nakedness. The "Social-Fascist" enemies of yesterday are the allies and bosom companions of today, in cultural as well as in the political and trade union fields. They are, like the Anglo-French imperialist bloc of the League of Nations, fighters on the side of progress against reaction, and, "in a sense," allies of the U.S.S.R. But, in what sense, for what purposes, under what conditions, and for how long, Radek fails to inform us. Duranty records the protest of certain Left Communists against this extension of the united front to "all fighters on the side of progress" without making any distinction between "true proletarian writers" and "bourgeois or semi-bourgeois writers." After making membership in the Rapp and a complete acceptance of the Stalinist line elsewhere and throughout the world, the political prerequisite for cooperation with the intellectuals, the Stalinist now demands nothing more than expressions of sympathy for the Soviet Union and the C. P. program, no matter how insincere and empty they may be. Duranty, sagely concludes his dispatch with the remark that both Radek and the Kremlin realize that "the day of undiluted propaganda" has passed. And truly, Radek's vague formulation of the new policy toward sympathetic intellectuals contains not a tincture of Marxism.

2. Carte Blanche to Communists

Freeman is the C. P. spokesman to the intellectuals in this country, occupying a parallel position to that of Radek on the incomparably lower level of the American party. He announces the new policy toward fellow-travellers in an altogether different manner and medium. He has no national platform from which he can lay down the party line to the assembled representatives of the intellectuals and issue the latest commandments of the bureaucracy. He must be more circumspect and cautious. Consequently, he chooses a peripheral party organ in which to make the announcement and encloses it in a wrapping of historical reminiscences about the old and new *Masses*, of apologies for the unproductiveness of the party intellectuals, and praises for the practical labors of the Old Bolsheviks among the intellectuals. The whole article is couched in the form of a reply to certain complaints and criticisms voiced against the Stalinist critics by the novelist, Albert Halper.

After winding our way through various bypaths, we finally come to the core of the article in the third section, called "Old Solutions and New Problems." Here is the news. "The most significant change

of recent months in our literary movement is that it has abandoned its sectarian attitude. As recently as last year, it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a fence-sitter to appear in the pages of the Communist press. The 'line' was jealously guarded. Now the opposite is true. Anyone has only to declare himself a 'fence-sitter' and he is embraced with open arms; our press is his and he can say anything he likes, however remote it is from revolutionary thought." (Emphasis ours.)

Could anyone wish for a clearer, more candid, and bare-faced statement of the new Stalinist policy vis-a-vis the intellectuals? Here is an open invitation to all the chronic vacillators to stay fixed in their present positions, to all the false, air-weather friends of the Soviet Union to express their sympathy with the aims of Communism without assuming any responsibility or practical work in the revolutionary movement, to all the journalistic adventurers, literary careerists, and Stalinist liberals to make use of the party press for their private purposes. Are we about to see birth of a brood of Stalinist Mugwumps among the intellectual "fence-sitters", divided, wavering personalities with their mugs on one side of the fence and their "wumps" on the other? Hail to the new Stalinist comrade-in-arms, Mr. Facing-Both-Ways!

After letting the cat out of the bag, we must credit Freeman with trying to cover up his tracks. He immediately attempts to modify this shameless surrender to a "liberal" policy (in more senses than one) by asserting that it must be accompanied by an extensive Communist education of the fence-sitting fellow-travellers. A few paragraphs later, he nullifies this by making certain unnamed newcomers among the party critics (not by any means the self-sacrificing Old Guard among the intellectuals that he leads) "take the RAPP" for having been too severe with the "timid fence-sitters" in the past.

Freeman concludes with a ringing call to the fellow-travellers for "mutual criticism that is severe, just, objective, free of the stultifying traditions of the bohemian cliques, directed not by personal spleen but by a high regard for the aspirations and efforts of the movement as a whole, and by a revolutionary understanding of the world which Communism seeks to transform." This somewhat belated invitation should be welcomed by the 25 intellectuals who signed the protest against the party's actions in the Madison Square Garden affair, which the *Daily Worker* attempted to answer but refused to print and whose challenge to debate on the issue of the united

front was ignored by the editors of the *New Masses*! What can such intellectuals think of a party which heaps the filthiest abuse upon them for daring to question the Stalinist policy—and then adopts their recommendations a few months later? How sincerely can such a party ask for "severe, just, and objective mutual criticism"?

3. The Peculiar Mode of the Announcement

Why has the Stalinist party chosen this particular method of announcing the new turn to the right? The answer lies in the social composition and bureaucratic character of the American party. The American C. P. has, like all its international counterparts, a completely bureaucratic head, and, in addition, a petty-bourgeois body and a small proletarian tail. As a result, an increasingly greater amount of the party's activities take place on the cultural, intellectual, and professional fronts. The bureaucratic character of its top leadership demands that the party line and leadership be considered correct and unquestionable yesterday, today and forever. To announce openly a complete right about face on the political and trade union field would ruin this carefully fostered reputation for papal infallibility.

Therefore, instead of making a direct announcement of the change to their followers among the working class, or in the official party press, it is less dangerous to release the news to the fellow travellers in an apparently casual, unrelated, and non-political article published in a peripheral journal. And who can do the job better than that Artful Dodger among the left-wing intellectuals, Joseph Freeman?

"The old ivory towers are down," he proclaims, "so are the red ivory towers which sectarianism built. Revolutionary literature and criticism are now out in the open world of living America." Can he possibly mean to imply that, so far as the fellow-travellers are concerned, revolutionary literature and criticism are now out? —R. M.

Vicious Paterson Injunction

(Continued from Page 1)

run into the hundreds and never a peep out of the judiciary.

Moreover, look at the conditions of the Paterson dye workers. They speak mountains in testimony as to how punctiliously the bosses have cut under on the agreement.

Place the injunction on the side of the other weapons of the bosses in the class war and you'll get a clear picture of what the Paterson slave decree means.

The textile workers are too militant to be cowed by deputies or school boy National Guards. Woonsocket, Gastonia and Saylesville showed that.

"Why not try to scare them by a judges order", the bosses are thinking, "tell them we'll put them all behind bars if they dare strike."

It won't work, Messrs. dye-house bosses! You can't put 20,000 fighting workers in the cooler.

Your gunmen couldn't stop the strike with all their bullets and gas and neither will your injunction!

Arms Inquiry too Hot for State Dep't

(Continued from Page 1)

morality or immorality of Du Pont's business but whether the "impartial", "international" arms ring will lose money if the odor of the investigation gets too obnoxious.

Remember the outcry in the press about the rape of China by Japan! Well, that was only for public consumption. All this time the Du Ponts were selling a secret hydrogen process to Japan and bribing Chinese generals in order to sell them munitions.

The proposal to sell the hydrogen process by the Du Ponts to Mitsui was made known to the State Department it developed in the investigation.

Here is another reason for the gagging of the disclosures. The State Department is knee-deep, no doubt, in all the so-called scandals of the munitions makers. Unquestionably its hands are dripping with the blood of workers on the soil of a half dozen foreign countries.

"Too warm?" The state department has burned its hands and wants the heat turned off!

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Soviet Joins The League Of Nations

On the eve of the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, through the policy of Stalinism, has joined the League of Nations, receiving a Council seat and all the highest honors. Long before the formal announcement of the Soviet Union's acceptance of the League into its fold, Litvinoff was informed that a seat in this body was assured.

The minor opposition that developed to the entrance of the Soviets was easily brushed aside through the steamroller of the three leading imperialist powers of the League: France, England and Italy. In fact, these are the only remaining leading imperialist powers since the exit of Japan and Germany.

The invitation to the Soviets was signed by over thirty countries, with special formal invitations from the Scandinavian countries. These capitalist nations halt the entry of the Soviets in the League of Nations. The Stalinist press runs long apologies and at the same time defend it along the line laid down by Litvinoff's text.

The Soviet's entrance in the League marks another step in the collaboration of France and the Soviets since Hitler's victory. The fact that Japan and Germany are outside of the League, and at present constitute the most direct threat of imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union, is the axis upon which all Stalinist writers base their arguments for the entry into the League, the instrument of British and French imperialism. It has come to pass, of course unofficially, that the strategy of Litvinoff is the strategy of the Comintern. No matter which way Stalinism interprets Litvinoff to jump the Comintern must follow in his steps. Litvinoff scrapped the theory of "social-fascism" and the "united front below" with a stroke of the pen in France and now his text on the Soviet's entry into the League, as the outcome of his circle of regional pacts around Germany, lays the basis for additional Comintern antics.

"Our attitude in principle to the League of Nations does not differ from our attitude to each and every individual state whether in or out of the League of Nations." (War and the Fourth International, p. 19). The criticism of Stalinism on this move cannot be isolated from the chain of events that led up to it. Considered by itself, and in relation to the precarious position the Soviets are in, between Japan and Germany, it represents a compromise and a retreat. But considered in its relation to other events, as well as the Litvinoff statement, it is a disgrace to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and to Marxism. One mistake leads to another.

The adoption of the theory of socialism in one country, led to the rejection of the theory of the permanent revolution and of internationalism and laid the basis for revolutionary defeats on three continents. The low point was in the bankruptcy of Stalinism and its collapse in the German revolution and the struggle against fascism.

The mistake of yesterday in relation to the struggle against fascism in Germany has forced the Soviet Union to take dangerous expedients in the diplomatic field, among them is the entrance of the Soviets into the League. The Stalinists will be obliged to take further steps in this direction of the present leadership persists. Since the German debacle, the agreement with the United States and the collapse of the Comintern, and because no revolutionary parties exist in the capitalist countries that surround the Soviets the Stalinists use the most opportunist and bourgeois methods of maneuvering among the imperialist powers. From the recognition of the Soviets by the United States to the Soviet's entrance into the League a whole series of compromises and backward steps have been taken.

The Litvinoff statement and reply to the League of Nations, in part reads as follows: "The Soviet Government, which has made the organization and consolidation of peace the main task of its foreign policy and has never been deaf to proposals for international cooperation in the interest of peace, considers that, coming as it does from the overwhelming majority of these members of the League of Nations, this invitation represents the real will toward peace of the League of Nations and in recognition of the cooperation with the U.S.S.R., of willing to respond thereto, and become a member of the League of

(Continued on Page 4)

Fascism Dons White Hood As Klan Rides Again in South

Startling, alarming news has come from the South. The Ku Klux Klan has been reborn and has entered the textile strike in "defense" of southern labor. It is not the same old decaying Klan to which we are all accustomed, ranting against the Vatican, and warning of the dangers of Romanism and Papism, but a new regenerated movement, reported to have 100,000 new recruits throughout the south, with about one-third of its membership concentrated in "Chain-Gang" Georgia. Dr. Hiram Evans, the exalted cyclops of the old Klan is chief of the new outfit, but he has forgotten all about prohibition and the pope. No, Dr. Evans is a man that keeps up with events and he knows when an issue is dead and should be buried. Besides, there is much bigger game in sight, these days for and enterprising individual. That is why he has united with M. O. Dunning of Savannah, Georgia, his "Chief of Staff" and together they are engaging in a great fight against the New Deal and the Communist Brain Trust.

The Klux Brains

Dunning, former floor leader of Wm. G. McAdoo at Madison Square Garden in 1924, is reported to be one of the most talented organizers and promoters in the whole country. After McAdoo lost Dunning turned Republican, was rewarded with the Collectorship of the Port of Savannah, and with the prohibition coordinators of the South-west. It is he who is reported to be the brains of the whole thing. They are now building their war chests and are actively "organizing" the southern workers. They got into Griffin, Georgia, before the United Textile Workers had a chance, dragged the red herring across the town, warned all textile workers against foreign agitators who would destroy the sanctity of their homes, the church and the family and told them that the Klan would fight their battles for them against the employers, not in the anarchist-bolshevik-Russian way but in the good old fashioned red-blooded American way. The superintendents of the mills advanced the money to the workers to pay their initiation fees to the Klan, which was to be deducted from the pay later on.

The Klan proclaims itself a friend of labor. "We are not against the conservative elements in the American Federation of Labor", one of the leaders explained, "We are the friend of labor. But the Klan will fight to a finish the radicals and the Communist Brain Trust." To prove that they are men of their word, Dunning had the Klan swing into line in many of the Labor Day parades of the United Textile Workers in the South, as in Columbus, Georgia, where some 12,000 textile workers are employed.

On Wednesday, just as the strike was gaining headway in the South, again Dunning pulled a master stroke to capture the southern working class. Before the union had a chance, the Klan called a strike at one of the mills at Griffin. The strike is reported to have begun just a "fake" called with the complicity of the boss.

In any event, this was the signal for all of the organizers of the Klan to go among the workers on the picket lines and warn them that they would never get anywhere by following the union reds. The way to fight the bosses was to join the Klan and fight with the aid of God, the Constitution and the Star Spangled Banner, etc. etc.

When Dunning approaches the manufacturers, the line is altogether different. They outline to them the plan by which all unions will be crushed in the south, when wages will be set as low as they wish, the Klan will be in a position to start on a real crusade against the New Deal with the possible assistance of the American Liberty League.

The picture is sufficiently clear. With the South rising against the feudal industrialism of American capitalism, and unionization growing by leaps and bounds, the manufacturers are already subsidizing a patriotic, 100% full-blooded American fascist movement in preparation for the decisive struggles to come.

The conclusion is clear. Fascism while still weak, has "a big future ahead of it" in America. The American working class must now begin the preparation for a struggle against it, by organizing mighty united fronts and sweeping behind them the bulk of the American working class.

Marine Union Appeals for Strike Here

The District Committee of the International Seamen's Union of America yesterday set October 8 as the deadline for a general strike on all merchant ships operating along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The walkout will involve 40,000 unlicensed seamen.

Pledge cards, pouring in from all locals of the union, indicated an unanimous sentiment in favor of the strike. "Conditions at sea today are so bad that a respectable American seaman would rather survive on a bowl of soup in the street than accept the conditions imposed upon him," said Patrick J. Keane, representative of the union to the Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

While living costs of the families of seamen have increased, officials of the union said, the number of men employed on ships have been decreased about 25%, and wages have been slashed 50%.

Following the Federal government's stubborn indifference to the demands of the union a resolution was passed that "The District Committee of the Atlantic District of the International Seamen's Union of America does hereby decide to issue a strike call effective Monday, October 8, 1934 to enforce the wage rates and working conditions as submitted to ship owners by the National Labor Board and the N.R.A."

Widespread abuses in the industry have combined to bring the issue to a head. The following wage scale submitted last year to the N.R.A. committee on the shipping code was rejected by President Roosevelt under pressure from foreign shipping interests: Able Seamen \$75, carpenters \$80, firemen \$75, officers \$80, water tenders \$80. The vicious job racketeering system was also revealed. Job agencies along the waterfront, recognized by the ship owners, give employment to inexperienced seamen, willing to work for lower wages and to pay more for the privilege of getting a job. Thousands of capable, experienced seamen, consequently have been discharged.

The Morro Castle disaster also gave an impetus to the rapidly mounting strike sentiment when it was disclosed that there weren't enough men on board to insure proper inspection.

The union demands that the government act to regulate the hiring of seamen, force the shipping lines to adopt the proposed wage scale, and increase the number of men employed at sea.

Babes Born With Gun in their Mouth

Children at the age of 8 years are to be trained by the Italian Fascist butchers for military service.

At this tender age, the children are to be pressed into service in the Fascist Balilla organization, which will train them until they reach the age of 14 years. There they will learn the delights of war through "frequent contacts with the armed forces of the nation, whose glories and traditions will be taught to them."

Thus does the "totalitarian state" spring one step nearer to its ultimate objective: Every citizen a soldier from the cradle to the early grave.

The next step in the program will, undoubtedly, be extended to unwedded infants, who will be taught to remove their gas masks before sucking; who will learn to gurgle "sinistra destra" as their first words, instead of Mamma and Pappa.

They must learn to march before they learn to walk. All toys, by edict of Il Duce, must henceforth be of military character. They will cut their teeth on toy cannons, they will pedal imitation armored tanks.

A pre-natal course is also under consideration, in which the prospective mother will be alternately wooed by military music, or frightened by the roar of cannon. In the hope that warriors may spring, fully armed, from the womb.

It is a sickening fact that is being played by Mussolini, a frightful exposure of the true aims of the "totalitarian state", which has only one subject: War!

But Mussolini dreams too far ahead. Long before his 8-year-old battalions are ready to be delivered to slaughter, he and his Fascist murderers will be remembered only as a hideous nightmare, a ghastly but brief episode in world history.

Proposals of the Roosevelt Board Would Continue Present Coolie Conditions in the Textile Industry

20,000 Dyers Get Strike Call This Monday

BULLETIN

The A.F.S.W. local in Paterson has sent a telegram to the National Strike Committee in Washington demanding that the dyeworkers be called out immediately. This belated action on the part of the Associated officialdom was directly due to the pressure from the dyers themselves, and the silk workers already on strike. Gorman has already issued a statement to the press that dyers would be among those called out nationally Monday, Sept. 25. Failure of the Associated officialdom to take more decisive steps would indicate that its latest action is merely an attempt to pass the buck and thus evade the responsibility. The mood of the workers in Paterson is such that one can say with assurance that order or no order, injunction or no injunction, the dyeworkers will come out next week; and with them also the throwsters.

(See Page 2 for Other Details)

Georgia Brings Hitler Methods to The United States

"Germany is decades ahead of the rest of the world"—in torture chambers, barbarism and concentration camps.

Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's mouthpiece, bragged aloud of these achievements. But that was before the textile strike and before Georgia said "You've got nothing on us."

Not at all outdone by Thyssen's stooge, Georgia has imported the latest 1934 model of Nazi concentration camp and dung more than 140 strikers into it.

The German papers, says a dispatch in the N. Y. Times, are hailing President Roosevelt as the "Nazi Fuehrer of America", gloating that he has taken another leaf out of the Nazi book and thereby sanctioning Nazi practices by imitation.

This is not exactly correct, however. For the state of Georgia, which "leads" the rest of the world in the "art" of chain gangs and the sport of lynching has added another improvement to its concentration camp. In Germany concentration camps are made out of deserted factories, abandoned warehouses or unused prisons. In Georgia, workers who want a better living and are prepared to fight for it, are quartered right out in the open where they can broil in the sun, shiver in the rain and wind and take care of their human needs with less conveniences than any plough horse has in his stable.

While the Nazis "are greatly exaggerating the death" of American democracy, it must be said that democracy has taken a new turn in these United States. The imprisoned strikers are held without charges "strictly as military prisoners", until the strike "emergency" is over.

These strikers, held in the concentration camp because they wanted to picket a mill, are prisoners, true enough, prisoners of the class war. But General Camp is overshooting his mark when he says that these unarmed men, taken in battle with troops carrying machine guns, tear gas and bayonets, are "military prisoners".

He is anticipating the day when that term will really apply. And then there will be "military prisoners" not only on the side of the strikers who will be not quite so defenseless as they are now.

CRIPPLES MEET

The International Association of War Cripples and War Veterans is now in session in Geneva. At the time when the world drives headlong into a new world war their mute protest will have little or no effect. Capitalism is not interested in life or limb but in profits. If it has its own way about things all of humanity will be eligible for the Cripples Congress except for those who are pushing up daisies.

What Price Strike-Breaking?

Millions to break a strike; not one cent for wages! Workers in the textile industry are paid \$3 and \$4 a week, men with families are forced to live on from \$6 to \$12 a week. This is all the impoverished mill owners can afford to pay. General Johnson's heart bleeds for George Sloan. The wails of the bosses reach to Heaven. As God is their Judge, that is all they can pay.

But suddenly, when the textile strike is called, these same bosses find themselves possessed of inexhaustible funds, of millions of dollars, for strike-breaking purposes.

Here are some of the wages paid out by the Carcero mill of Carolina, N. C., wages that are fairly representative of those paid throughout the Southern textile industry.

"American" Wages

Speeder tender, four in family, \$8.65 for 24 hours work; loom cleaner, \$7.20; weaver, \$8.40; quill skinner, \$7.20; card room operator, \$7.20, etc., etc. Full time 40 hour work paid \$14.40 for the speeder tender, and \$12.00 a week for the rest.

These amounts were not all paid in cash. The commissary and company housing in most instances took all of the pay-check, and wanted more. One head of a family who earned \$10 did not receive a single cent in cash.

Money, ready cash, millions of dollars, flow like water however, when the pockets of scab operators, special deputies, armed thugs and State and County officials charged with breaking the strike. The bosses are not so poor that they cannot hire thousands of highly paid gangsters, a veritable army.

The cost of breaking the strike, if it could be computed, would reach a staggering total; more than enough to guarantee the workers extra wages and shorter hours for years. Each deputy earns triple the amount paid the workers, and there are many deputies; almost as many as mill hands. Each scab has to be guarded, fed, paid extra, and in other ways provided for.

Cost of ammunition, tear gas, and other armaments in the war against labor could buy food, shelter and adequate clothing for thousands of ill-fed, half-naked workers' children.

But lest the cost of strike-breaking prove too great a drain on the bosses' treasury—and there is no indication that the bosses' treasury is exhausted—the State and Federal governments have rushed to their aid with unlimited troops and ammunition.

There are 11,000 troops on strike duty whose wages and subsistence cost eight states \$37,000 a day. This is irrespective of the cost of tear and poison gas, ammunition, etc. Double pay, \$2 a day, or more than a hard working weaver can earn on full time, is paid to guardsmen on special duty. Rhode Island has so far spent over \$6,000 for tear and poison gas alone.

Meanwhile, these same states, willing to spend close to \$50,000 a day to break the textile strike, are seriously challenging the right of starving strikers and their families to a relief pittance.

With disgusting hypocrisy, the Federal relief authorities promise aid to the distressed, whether on strike or not, but leave the distribution of this relief in the hands of violently biased county officials, under the thumb, and often in the pay of the mill owners.

And at the same time, the State governments give without stint to help the mill owners break the strike. Nearly \$50,000 a day for strike-breaking troops. Can the relief figures approximate this?

Is one-tenth of this amount or one-hundredth being spent to feed the starving mill-workers?

John P. O'Han has resigned from the post of police commissioner of N.Y.C. Chief Inspector Valentine is to take his place. Valentine, if we recall correctly, is the flatfoot who personally directs the slugging of strikers and unemployment to twodeeds.

Relief is Vital For Victory in Strike Battle

President Roosevelt has personally intervened in the textile strike with pressure for a settlement—but not until the list of martyrs had mounted to thirteen, not until 11,000 troops shot, bayoneted and gassed strikers in a half a dozen states, not until concentration camps in fascist style were set up in Georgia, not until one of the most drastic anti-labor injunctions was handed down in Paterson.

If not all that go by without hitting an eyelash, hopeful that it would smash the strike and save him the trouble of directly having to give the strikers the "raw deal".

Unfortunately for Mr. Roosevelt and for Hooie ("my heart bleeds for Sloan") Johnson their expectations have been blasted. Not all the thugs in the country, not all the troops in the garrisons have been able to dam up the river of militancy that has been overflowing since Labor Day.

Dye Workers' Strike Call

Reports are at hand that despite the injunction the dye workers of Paterson and vicinity will be called out on Monday. Further statements from union officials say other tens of thousands will be asked to strike in affiliated textile industries.

Everywhere new mills are closing down and everywhere the battle lines are holding firm. It is becoming universally recognized that the optimistic statement of George Sloan are just whistling to keep up courage.

Roosevelt's mediation board has returned to him with a proposal to arbitrate the strike. It smells strongly of the betrayals of steel and automobiles. It offers labor nothing but ambiguous promises—the kind that working men have been choking on since the beginning of the New Deal. It permits capital to resume the operation of the mills and the coining of profits on the old basis pending further "investigation".

Winant's Proposals

Summarized the proposals of the President's Inquiry Board are as follows:

- 1) Recommendation to the union that the strike be called off.
- 2) Recommendation that employers reinstate strikers without discrimination.
- 3) Declaration that national settlement is not feasible and advice to workers to accept local mill agreements.
- 4) Appointment of a board similar to the Steel Labor Board to enforce code provisions.
- 5) Request that the Federal Trade Commission investigate wages.
- 6) Appointment of a committee to investigate the stretch-out.
- 7) Request that the Department of Labor investigate wage conditions and make investigations known to workers and bosses.

A Good Example of the Run-Around

This, says Roosevelt, "is a good example of the practical way in which industrial problems can be calmly discussed and solved under a republican form of government".

This, Mr. Roosevelt, is the best expression of your National Run Around, the classic way of tricking workers out of victory when it is within reach.

What is offered the strikers? The union demands call for the 30-hour week with the same wages as received for 40 hours. The board offers them an investigation committee to make inquiries.

The union asks for the establishment of a maximum work load for operations in the various divisions of the textile industry. The board offers them a research committee which will look into the matter.

The union asks for recognition of the United Textile Workers on a national scale. The board tells them it isn't "feasible" and tells them to go to the individual bosses and get whatever recognition they can. Or, in other words, it is perfectly alright for the bosses to accede to the union demand to break its fighting instrument into thousands of ineffective weapons.

The union wants the reinstatement of all workers fired for organizing under section 7-a. The board offers them a set-up like the Steel Labor Relations Board.

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Strike Contrasts

The forthright, fighting spirit and actions of the textile workers. The cowardly, crawling statements of Green, Woll, et al. The hypocritical lies of Sloan and Co. The slimy utterances of NRA officials.

The Battle Line

The miserably underpaid men and women of the mills against the textile owners and their state machine from President Roosevelt down to the last deputized thug.

Capitalist Press Definitions

"Hoodlums"—Workers, who have the courage, in the battle against starvation, to pit their bodies against the armed thugs of the mills and the bayonets and machine guns and gas of the National Guard.

"Patriots"—Any and all strike-breakers.

"Sane Labor Leaders"—Any grafting labor state who is ready to sabotage a militant strike for a price.

"Alien Communist Agitator"—Any worker who speaks for labor solidarity and practises what he preaches.

"Minute Men of '34"—Weasel-brained morons or reactionary cockroach business men who can be bribed or scared into shooting or clubbing strikers when they know they have the support of the armed police and the National Guard.

Flying Squadrons

In courage, in readiness to battle against the powerfully armed forces of reaction, the Flying Squadrons of the mill workers are the ones who can be compared with the "Minute Men of '76".

General Hoodie Johnson

The windbag has reached a new low. The picture of the Falstaff of the NRA weeping for the sufferings of Sloan would go well in a burlesque show.

Hot News

One hundred and fifty leading industrialists met in Hot Springs, West Virginia. Geo. H. H. Sloan of the Baldwin Locomotive Works had a plan. They adopted it. The plan calls for: (1) Monopolistic Cartels, (2) All social legislation to be scotched, (3) Hours extended (4) Wages reduced.

Generous America

Herbert Corwin was sentenced to ten years for attempted burglary. He served six years and was paroled. Last week, desperate and destitute, he appealed to the police to send him back to Sing Sing or he'd have to steal to live. Dr. Joseph Moore of the Parole Board said: "The fact that he might be about to commit a crime was sufficient ground to recommit him." "Are you better off now than a year ago?" asks the President. "No," answers Corwin, "last year I was in Sing Sing." Possibly Moore's idea could be extended. Inasmuch as unemployment drives men to crime, it might be arranged to give a ticket to Sing Sing with each discharge slip. A very fitting addition to the New Deal or Epic plan.

"The Hatred of Communists"

Judging by the capitalist press, one would think that the favorite sport of 99.9 percent of the population of California was hunting Communists and other radicals. That's how the press read during and since the general strike. Now, when they soberly weigh the chances of the leading red-baiter, Governor Merriam, the situation looks a little different. Says the N. Y. Times—"There is evidence that the reaction is not against radicalism so much as against the Vigilantes." The "great public opinion" which is inflamed against Communists generally slanders down to big business, their paid press, and groups of drunken morons with American Legion badges and Matthew Woll.

Liberal "Spirit" Again

Discussing the "boycott" of Germany in the Nation, Oswald Garrison Villard says—"Of course it would be a great deal better if the boycott could be restricted to the spiritual field." Reminds me of the Quaker bride who always waited till the spirit moved her. The answer of the impatient groom is also suitable for Oswald Garrison Villard.

Yachts and Seabs

The great sportsmanship of English yachtsmen has been the theme of scribbles on both sides of the Atlantic for years. The crew of the Endeavor shows that scabbery is another one of their qualities not only in industry but also in their favorite sport. —BILL.

BROOKLYN MEETING

Will the Breakdown of the NRA Lead to Revolution?

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLE

FRIDAY, SEPT. 28, at 8 P.M.
Spartacus Youth Hall
1776 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn

Money Still Needed

The financial crisis of the Militant has not been liquidated. It cannot be liquidated, except by a regular weekly income. This income must come from three sources:

1. Pledgers who remit faithfully.
2. Bundle order payments.
3. New subscriptions and renewals.

No periodical is self-sustaining. The capitalist press depends on advertising. The revolutionary press depends on special donations. These donations must be systematized if the paper is not to be thrown into recurring financial crises. The Pledge Fund was started with this idea in mind. But the response has not been sufficient to take care of the weekly deficit, nor have the pledgers remitted regularly.

We appeal to all our members and sympathizers who can possibly do so to pledge a definite monthly sum for a period of three months.

We appeal to our branches to pay up on their bundle orders and to make efforts to increase the circulation.

We appeal to all our readers to subscribe and to get others to subscribe.

We appeal to all our subscribers to watch their expiration number on the wrapper and to renew without delay.

If the Pledge Fund can be raised to \$100 monthly; if the bundle payments are promptly paid; if the subscription list is increased at the rate of 25 weekly, we can assure a bigger and better Militant, published without convulsions and mailed earlier in the week.

That the Militant is serving a historic need for the labor movement is indicated by the many comments we get in the mails. Here is an example from a Socialist from a mid-west city:

"Dear Sirs:
"A dollar for the Militant, in response to your call for help. Wish I could send more. Would be disappointed greatly to miss even one issue.

"I am a member of the Socialist Party of the R.P.C. (Revolutionary Policy Committee). Personally I have no illusions concerning it. A few of us here are trying to intelligently decide where to go. We are very much impressed by and indebted to the Militant and the New Internationalist.

"We sincerely hope the crisis in the Militant will be immediately overcome.

The following comrades made the last two issues possible:

S. Kaufman, Bronx	\$ 5.00
A. Friend, Youngstown	8.00
Chicago Local	10.00
A. Shambon, W. Haven	1.00
George Cooper, N. Y.	2.00
Voss, Davenport, Ia.	1.00
Waukegan Branch	6.00
Cleveland Branch	1.00
A. Socialist	1.00
Harry King, N. Y. C.	4.00
Katz, Montreal	1.00
Rabinowitz, N. Y.	2.00
M. M. The Bronx	2.00
M. O. Stont, Philadelphia	1.00
Jewish Writer	1.00
Militant House Party given by	15.30
Sympathizers	15.30

The following helped by paying up on their regular monthly pledges:

P. Miller, N. Y.; M. Spithos, N. Y.; E. Konikow, N. Y.; J. G. Wright, and a Harvard Student.

HELP STABILIZE THE INCOME. PLEDGE TODAY AND REMIT REGULARLY.

Those who cannot continue, please notify the Militant office to take your name off this list.

New York Local
Downtown Branch

(All Monthly)	
Paul King	\$1.00
E. Konikow	1.00
F. Victor	2.00
M. Spithos	2.00
J. G. Wright	2.00
S. Gordon	2.00
F. Becker	2.00
M. Kling	2.00
S. Blecker	2.00
I. Glade	1.00
L. Lewis	1.00
D. Morris	1.00
C. Nelson	1.00
J. Weber	2.00
John Becker	1.00

Bronx Branch

S. Egstadt	1.00
M. Lifshitz	1.00
S. Eldensohr	1.00

Boro Park Branch

A. McCabe	1.00
Ann Toven	1.00

Harlem Branch

T. Smith	2.00
Jerry Marsh	1.00
E. Beecher	1.00
Cochran	1.00
Colay	1.00
Gonzales	1.00
Janos	1.00
L. Barry	1.00
Ellis	1.00
Walter	1.00
Brode	1.00

Easton Branch

E. Wiener	1.00
C. Schechet	1.00
W. Henderson	1.00
J. Chipolowitz	1.00

Newark Branch

Lambert	1.00
G. Katz	1.00
L. Nagy	1.00
A. Clerk	1.00

Pocketbook Workers On Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

insky group bitterly assailed the agreement. Lubliner spoke for the agreement but the membership didn't want to listen to him. It took half an hour to restore order. Then the "dummy" manager, Stein, began to speak for the agreement and the membership likewise refused to listen to him. He continued to speak, hoping to exasperate the workers opposed to the agreement and drive them out of the hall in order to get a majority vote for the agreement. In spite of the fact that it was Friday night a majority of the workers stayed on and yelled for a vote to be taken. Finally the chairman was forced to take a vote. When the vote was taken only 72 were for the agreement and 1,292 against.

Since the old agreement expired in May the Joint Council went on record to demand from the employers a 35-hour week, a 20% increase in wages, and many other demands. But the administration instead of negotiating an agreement got busy and brought back the notorious agent of the bosses, Wolinsky. When Wolinsky came back to the union he forced the Joint Council to withdraw the 35-hour demand and make it 36. He also forced to reduce the demand for a 20% increase in wages to 10%. Wolinsky and the Fraternal Club administration were busy in Washington fooling around for months with the NRA instead of preparing the workers for struggle for a new agreement. Finally the workers, realizing that nothing would come of this, organized and kicked Wolinsky out.

Bosses Refuse Committee Demands
In order to carry through the wishes of the meeting of September 7, the Joint Council met and elected a new Conference Committee. This Committee is anti-Wolinsky and anti-administration. A conference with the bosses was arranged in another attempt to draw up an agreement. The Conference Committee told the bosses plainly: either 36 hours a week and 10% increase in wages or a strike. The bosses told the Committee that the manager, Stein, had said that there would be no strike this time. The bosses refused to grant the demands of the Conference Committee.

The Conference Committee thereupon called a meeting of the union for Monday, September 17 to discuss the question of the strike. At the same time six members of the administration resigned because of their opposition to the Conference Committee. At the membership meeting there were three things to be discussed: the strike, the resignation of the six, and whether the Conference Committee and the strike committee should lead the strike. The workers voted unanimously and enthusiastically for the strike. The resignation of the six was accepted by a vote of 1,200 workers against 2. Manager Stein, one of the six, made a demagogic speech and urged the membership to elect a man to take his place immediately and lead the strike or he would remain as manager in order not to desert the workers. Dave Wax, a Wolinsky henchman, urged the union to bring back Wolinsky to lead the strike. He was greeted with cries of "No! No!" The anti-Wolinsky group, Diamond, Maffin and many others spoke against it and showed that Wolinsky is an agent of the bosses. A vote was taken after a heated discussion. By a vote of 564 to 498 the workers decided to put the leadership of the strike in the hands of the Conference and Strike Committees.

Tasks of Strike

In order to win the strike it is necessary that the best elements be drawn into responsible posts. Mass picketing and mass demonstrations should be organized. It should be the aim of the union to shut down the entire industry in the first few days of the strike. The Conference Committee should demand from the bosses that the agreement include a provision to reduce hours to 35 a week in the near future to absorb more of the unemployed. Provision should also be made for future upward revision of wages in view of the recent 40% cuts and the rising cost of living. Although the impartial chairman, Dr. Moskowitz, a great humanitarian, "friend" of the Soviet Union, who has been instrumental in bringing

A Sympathizer

A Sympathizer	50
A Social Worker	1.00

Others

John Delaney (seaman)	50
M. M. Bronx	2.00
Geo. Cooper, Manhattan	1.00
S. Moroff, Manhattan	1.00
The Gelfmans, Manhattan	1.00
L. Haidous, Manhattan	1.00
Cornells, Manhattan	1.00
E. J. Cornawit, Manhattan	1.00
E. E. C. Manhattan	1.00
E. Alby, Bronx	1.00
Pauline Miller, Bronx	1.00
City Subway Worker, B'klyn.	1.00
Edith Sher, Bronx	1.00
A. Friend, Youngstown	2.00
A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00
A. Harvard Student	1.00
Monthly Total	\$58.00

the union and bosses together in conferences, said that the industry cannot afford to increase wages at the present time, the bosses have raised the prices on pocketbooks and have increased their sales. Why doesn't the impartial chairman publish the figures or arrange to let a committee from the union examine the books of the bosses? If we saw the figures we would see that the starvation wages of the last few years made profits for these bosses, especially for the last year. Now with improved business it is time that the workers stop taking it on the chin.

The Conference Committee should be on guard against the impartial chairman. In the past the impartial machinery has served the bosses ninety percent.

With unity and militant action the pocketbook workers can win their strike.

—POCKETBOOK WORKER.

Upholsterers in Critical Situation

The third week of the upholsterers general strike conducted by Local 76, A. F. of L. finds the upholsterers faced with a situation which might result in the organizational dissolution of the union unless drastic measures are taken immediately.

Although about 15 shops which employ about 150 to 200 men have already settled, 85 percent of the industry still remains unorganized in New York City. Practically nothing has been done about striking the open shops with the result that several of the former union shops cannot be brought to a settlement.

No daily strike meetings are being held and mass picketing is taboo. These policies of the officialdom have led to the demoralization of the strikers' ranks.

While many unions in other industries have conducted strikes of a militant character, this is far from true in the upholsterers union nor is any improvement promised. If the officials in charge of this strike do not make an about-face and present an organized plan of action to include mass picketing, the defeat of the upholsterers is imminent.

Much valuable time has been lost but it is not yet too late so long as there is some talk of strike. If this situation continues, the future of Local 76 will be an unstable one and the task of rebuilding it will fall on people with strong shoulders.

The task of the moment requires that every upholsterer looks to the safety of his union. Its very existence is being threatened by a crew of incompetents. Measures must be immediately taken to bring a degree of victory out of the difficult situation created by the leadership.

Paterson Group Calls For Violation of Injunction

Paterson, Sept. 19.—Stormy resentment is sweeping through the ranks of the dye workers in Paterson over the Chancery Court injunction restraining the Dyers from even "talking strike." The sentiment for an immediate strike is manifest and overwhelming. But the Local officials of the dyers are stalling. They have announced that sometime this week they plan to call a mass meeting for the purpose of "discussing the injunction." While the officialdom of the Dyers' Local 1,733, U.T.W. is stalling off immediate action, hoping against hope to somehow sidetrack the irresistible urge of the dye workers to join in the general strike, the officials of the Associated with Eli Keller at the head are not even going through the gestures of exerting pressure to force the issue.

Injunction Is Gallows Noose

Yet to allow the dye plants to keep operating is to place the noose around the necks of the silk workers now on strike. Every silk worker in Paterson understands this.

While in other states the attempt is being made to beat down the resistance of the workers by thugs and bayonets, the New Jersey bosses for the moment are resorting to the club of the law.

The United Silk Workers Club has taken the lead in sounding the alarm against the passivity with which the strike leadership has thus far accepted the injunction.

"Smash Injunction"

The current issue of the Silk Shuttle, organ of the United Silk Workers Club, advances in its leading article the slogan: "SMASH THE INJUNCTION—STRIKE!" After pointing out that "working hand in hand with the bosses, the judges are seeking to chain the dyers to their vats," the Shuttle insists that "there are not enough jails in New Jersey to hold the thousands of dyers who have no other course than to join the general strike. That is their duty."

The Shuttle advances among its demands that the officialdom of the Associated take the lead in the fight against the injunction by

calling upon the dye workers to strike and reinforce their indignation by throwing mass picket lines around every dye plant in New Jersey. There is more than a justification for the contention of the United Silk Workers Club that "the injunction against the dye workers is an injunction against the general strike." Failure to fight to the finish this legalistic attempt to break the strike will prove disastrous. Behind the injunction stand the bustling bayonets of the National Guard. The injunction provides the broadest of avenues to strike-breakers.

Protest to Judge

Taking the lead in the fight against the injunction the United Silk Workers Club has sent the following letter to Egan, the Jersey Chancery judge who issued the injunction:

"On behalf of the United Silk Workers Club of Paterson, New Jersey, we are enclosing herewith a copy of the current issue of the Silk Shuttle in order to show you the position of the Club on your vicious anti-labor injunction and our determination to do everything in our power to smash the same."

"The workers of Paterson will tear this injunction to pieces."

"Yours truly,

"F. GIORDANO, Secretary"

American labor is beginning to find its voice.

The lessons of Minneapolis and Toledo are being quickly absorbed and applied by the textile workers.

American textile workers are adding glorious pages of militancy, self-sacrifice, solidarity and devotion to the history of the American labor movement. Out of the great textile strike, the American working class will come out a head taller; in the heat of the struggle it will forge its left wing cadres. And the Paterson workers will unquestionably not only carry on the militant traditions of their past struggles but take the lead in the regeneration of a genuine left wing for the textile industry.

The activity of the U.S.W.C. gives every promise that this regeneration will proceed very rapidly in the silk industry.

Drug Clerks Prepare General Strike

A general strike of all drug clerks in the Bronx and elsewhere in Greater New York threatens as a mass meeting called by the Pharmacists' Union overwhelmingly rejected the "starvation offer" of the boss pharmacists, and moved for a strike call.

The union plans to concentrate its forces in the Bronx where it is best organized. Altogether the newly formed union has enrolled some 1,600 members, and believes others will join when they see the union means business.

The demands of the union are for a 54-hour week with a minimum \$35 weekly salary. They also call for abolition of the split shift and recognition of the union.

At a meeting with the Pharmaceutical Conference, an employers' organization, the bosses had the impudence to suggest a \$20 a week minimum with a 60-hour week. And even on this cut-throat offer, there was hedging, the Conference promising only to recommend these terms to its membership.

The drug clerks form one of the most exploited branches of labor in the whole nation. The hours run from 7 to 8 hours a week, and the wages from \$15 to \$25—for highly trained, experienced and licensed employees. The split shift keeps the drug clerk tied to the shop from early morning until closing time at night; with only a few hours of freedom during the afternoon. So-called part time employment is particularly vicious in the trade, meaning usually a 40 to 50 hour week at \$10 and \$15 wages.

We call upon all friends of labor to support the Pharmacists Union in its struggles, and in the event of strike to stay away from scrub shops. The Pharmacists Union deserves your fullest aid and support.

FALL FESTIVAL

Entertainment and Dance Band

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 29

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Admission 15c

Auspices: Communist League and Spartacus Youth Club Downtown

Downtown Branch

THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon

Arne Swaback

Bundle rates one cent per copy.

Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year

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75c for six months.

"Thou Shalt Not Kill"

THOU SHALT NOT KILL—for less than \$25,000 per head. Some crazy statistician once, for lack of something else to do, calculated that the above approximated the amount spent by the various belligerent powers to have someone killed between the years 1914-1918.

It is reported that at the height of the Capone movement during the prohibition era, the price for rubbing someone out reached an all time low of \$150. Would that make the Capone organization 165 times more efficient than the various federal governments? It would—except for the profits; and who ever heard of a war without PROFITS?

Talking about profits, God didn't neglect the E. I. DuPont de Nemours Co., makers of gunpowder and poison gases.

As each of the mothers of the ten million who were killed during the war was receiving her "gold star" (made of paper), the DuPont company stockholders were receiving extra dividends. Orders which went to the company during the years 1915-1918 totaled \$1,245,000, while the total dividends paid during those years reached the fabulous sum of 458 percent of the par value of the original stock. The stock itself increased in value a total of 374 percent. Translated so that it means something to you—if instead of going to France to become one of the ten million, you were able to stay in this country, and invested \$100 in DuPont stock at the outbreak of the war, your total profits on the \$100 would have been \$382.

Capone Can't Take It

This is only part of what this week's investigation into the arms racket brought out. Compared to these munitions makers Al Capone was a cheap piker. Whenever he understood to bump somebody off it never occurred to him to, at the same time, approach the victim and offer to protect him. A bump-off was a bump-off, and no fanning.

Not so with these respectable citizen munition manufacturers. They would undertake both jobs at the same time—killing you and protecting you. If only some of the boys who are destined to make gold star mothers in the next war remember some of the testimony when rifles are put into their hands, the statisticians will have a far easier job, both from the point of view of numbers killed and from that of profits made.

Johnny Goes For a Swim

Perhaps you will be one of the unlucky many on board an army transport on your way to the Philippines Islands, when a submarine suddenly appears and sends a torpedo in your general direction. Before you go down for the last time don't forget—"It's all for dear old Electric Boat Co.; they sold some of the latest designs in death dealing submarines to the 'enemy'."

Maybe you will be one of the "fortunate few" to get into the aviation service. When you wonder why you can't shake that Japanese pursuit plane chasing you remember that Curtiss-Wright (Isn't that the name of the company that made the motor of the plane that you are flying?) sold its best planes and patents not only to the American government but to the Tokio one as well, and can one Curtiss-Wright outfly another?

Are Tomatoes Che

QUESTION BOX

H. E. F., SPRINGFIELD, III.—

Question: What is the basis for the split among the capitalists on the question of inflation?

Answer: In the first place the demand for "cheap" money usually comes from the rural sections, where the small farmer, usually heavily mortgaged, expects that an inflation will make it easier for him to pay his debts. For illustration let us assume a farmer whose farm is worked only by himself and his family. Interest at 6% on his \$7,000 mortgage is \$420, taxes are \$210 a year, so that his annual debt is \$630. For goods bought from the city he must pay \$400. He sells his annual crop for \$900 which leaves him \$500 with which to pay interest and taxes, so that he is in the red \$120 each year and faces losing his farm in a few years.

If we assume an inflation which raises the price of farm products 40% and the price of city-made goods 50%, the farmer would then get \$1,260 for his crop out of which purchases from the city would take \$600, leaving him \$660 for interest and taxes. Even if his taxes were raised to \$240 a year, he is still able to pay his debts.

This is the underlying idea back of the farmers' demand for inflation and the basis for the "silver" and "greenback" advocates. The various factors, however, may so operate that the farmer will be as badly off as before. The prices of city-made products may rise much higher in proportion than is indicated in the foregoing example and overproduction of farm products may so depress their prices that the gain from inflation may be wiped out, despite the fact that the farmer would be even worse off under these circumstances than if the inflation had not taken place.

That capital which is sunk into farm mortgages or other sources of fixed money income stands to lose by inflation. The owner of the capital receives as many dollars as before but whether this is used for expansion of capital or for personal consumption, it can purchase fewer commodities because of the higher prices.

The worker, unless he fights for, and gets, a proportional pay increase, is the worst sufferer from an inflation, and his loss is the gain of capital sunk into industry, which pockets the decline in the workers' REAL wages. This wage cut also places the capitalists in a better competitive position on the world market.

In modern imperialist society, where the owners of the farm mortgage and the factory are the banks, the conflict among the latter over inflation reduces itself to whether or not they stand to gain more, economically and politically, through the cut in the workers' wages, than they pass out to the farmer as a subsidy.

HENRY BLOOMBERG, Brooklyn—

Question: What is the truth about the following? The Stalinists say that the "Trotskyists" lie when they state that the C.P. called the A. F. of L. a fascist organization, whereas the C. P. said that the leaders are fascists.

Answer: On several occasions recently the "Question Box" (see *Militant* of August 4, 1934) has given the official Stalinist quotations and the word organization and not leaders was used.

However that may be, the Stalinists are only stepping from the frying pan into the fire. Bill Green and his ilk are NOT fascists. The prime purpose of fascism is the annihilation of the democratic institutions of the working class, of which the trades unions are by no means the least important. If the A. F. of L. were to cease to exist, so would the salaries, sinecures, etc. of all the Bill Greens, and so would cease their right to sit at the same dinner table with the capitalists. Why should such people stand for fascism which, for them, means political suicide?

The appellation which best applies to these individuals is that of Daniel De Leon: "The Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class."

PROF. W., Boston—

Question: How can you Communists speak of the "revolutionary working class" when it is obvious that 99% of the American workers support the capitalist parties?

Answer: The capitalist press usually puts this affirmatively as follows: The workers are not revolutionary; all they want is more wages, shorter hours, etc. This is of course either a naïveté or a "subtle" blurring of the truth.

It is precisely because it must defend its material interests that a class may be forced to act in a revolutionary manner, whether or not it is conscious of the fact. Cromwell's Puritans fought for the right to pray in their own manner; the French Revolution was fought in the name of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Nowhere in the English or French bourgeois revolutions was there inscribed on the banners: We are fighting so that the privilege of exploiting the masses shall be transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeoisie, which is the revolutionary task of the day. After February 1917 large sections of the Russian peasantry were swearing that they would kill any Bolsheviks they got their hands on, at the same time that they were seizing the land. The Bolsheviks later gave consciousness to these acts. The Italian proletariat seized the factories some fourteen years ago but because their acts were not given consciousness, i.e. there was no revolutionary Communist Party at their head, they are now prostrate under the heel of fascism.

The modern industrial proletariat has absolutely no stake in the maintenance of present day capitalist society; their material needs require a revolutionary social transformation and they have been prepared by history to effect such a transformation. It is in this sense that we speak of them as revolutionary. The ideological superstructure lags behind its material base, and it is essentially to close this gap that a revolutionary Communist Party is needed.

J. R. BRYAN, Ohio—As the *Militant* has already noted, we are having our National Convention in a few weeks, on the agenda of which is the Negro question, which is now under discussion. It is obvious that within the limits of this column, the subject could hardly be adequately treated. Unless you insist otherwise, therefore, it would be preferable that you get your answer officially and fully from the adopted theses which will be published in the not too distant future. At any rate the best you could get at present is the personal opinion of this editor.

EDITOR'S NOTE: It would be greatly appreciated by the "Question Box" editor if comrades, upon receiving answers through this column, would inform us in a brief note whether or not such answers satisfactorily clear up the points in question, or give the desired information. We have no other way of knowing whether or not the column is fulfilling its desired mission. All suggestions for improvement are welcome, and will be acknowledged.

The Rise and Fall of a Gangster-Journalist

By Mid-Western Correspondent

On September 6, in Minneapolis, Howard Guilford was shot and killed by unknown assailants while driving home from downtown. This man's activities, his connections with the underworld and with the employers, has a significance for all workers.

Guilford had been in the publishing field for over twenty years, getting out blackmail and scandal sheets for the titillating delectation of his wealthy readers and for the benefit of his pocketbook. His papers were never of a "popular" nature. He dabbled in politics, in 1918 being defeated in his candidacy for mayor. He had connections with the underworld; for a while things would go along nicely between Guilford and local gambling interests. Then Guilford would be "cut" out, and an exposure of commercialized gambling in the Twin Cities would appear in his paper. In 1927 Guilford was attacked and wounded by gunmen of the underworld. At another time this man dabbled in local theatricals, being a partner of Bainbridge, present mayor of Minneapolis. At no time in his life has he ever been known to do a socially productive bit of work. In short, Guilford is a quite common type of parasite, a 100% American, a man always for sale to the highest bidder; absolutely conscienceless, mediocre, cruel.

His latest publishing venture was a weekly paper, the *Saturday Press*. It was this paper that the Citizen's Alliance used during the Local 574 strike to spew out their hatred against the militant Minneapolis workers, and to express their Black Hundred desires.

Tool of Citizen's Alliance
Local 574 was aware that Guilford was speaking over the air as a representative of the Citizen's Alliance, attacking the strikers in the most vicious ways imaginable. Local 574 was aware that the columns of Guilford's paper were filled with the frantic insane fear and hatred which the employers of Minneapolis feel for the class-conscious workers; a hatred which they think it advisable not to show in their other papers, the *Journal*, *Tribune* and *Star*.

But it is one thing to be aware of the connections between the employers and one of their tools, and another to have definite proof. So it was with satisfaction that Minneapolis workers read that the following letter was found among Guilford's effects. This letter is signed by none other than Joseph Cochran, the notorious chairman of the "Employers' Advisory Committee", so active in the last strike. The letter was addressed to citizens of the state, and reads as follows:

"A statewide campaign of education in the matter of economic disturbances of the past few months, their cause, their effect and their cure is most urgently needed."

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journalist and radio speaker, has volunteered to lead such a movement, working in co-operation with all agencies now trying to restore conditions to normalcy and eliminate the regrettable spirit of class hatred which is being propagated in Minneapolis. The ability of Mr. Guilford to secure results in his campaign will not be doubted by those acquainted with him, provided the necessary support is extended by business men and public spirited citizens interested in the future of the state."

This letter reeks with the hypocrisy, the statesmanlike diction of the boss class.

Since July 1, Guilford was mailing out a "political news service" to 400 country weeklies throughout the state, all these articles containing the most scurrilous attacks, not only upon the working class but upon every liberal sentiment. A Goebbels could not have conceived any flatter propaganda. Especially criticized in Guilford's "news service" were the Communists—and Governor Olson, an old political enemy of Guilford's.

I shall reproduce a few paragraphs from issues of the *Saturday Press* published during the strike, to give readers an idea of boss-journalism at its most brazen extreme. Readers of the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, etc., will recognize the style.

Guilford's Bile

Reading in the issue of August 11:

"In this city a dozen lousy, moth-eaten, brainless wonders who yowl against and urge the overthrow of our government and the adoption of proletarian rule—communism—have forced more than five thousand workers to stand idle while ruffians and communists riot and raise hell. A handful of weevil-brained burros, who haven't the intelligence of a mud turtle but have the vocal organs of a callopie and the courage of coyotes, have cost the workers and common people of this city a million dollars in lost wages within the last ninety days."

In this same issue, the *Press* whoops it up for the vigilantes. It is significant that, try as it could, the Citizen's Alliance was totally unable to form such an organization during the last strike. The memory of the Battle of Deputy Run in the Market district the last Tuesday of the May strike is too firmly implanted in the souls of the "better element."

Featured on the front page of the *Press* for Aug. 11 is a letter from the United Vigilantes of America.

Greetings from Fellow-Murderers
"As the Director of Investigations of the Vigilantes of California, a subsidiary of the United Vigilantes of America, I want to again congratulate your *Saturday Press* for the splendid way in which you denounced the un-Americans, in a recent issue of your splendid publication."

(Continued on Page 4)

Manifesto of Worker's Party of Canada

(continued from last issue)

For the Fourth International!

But while the general crisis of capitalism has created all the necessary objective conditions on a world scale for the successful struggle for Socialism, the international working class movement has itself been passing through a deep-going crisis. Time after time revolutionary opportunities have been lost, and capitalism has "stabilized" itself owing to the absence or failure of a party of the working class capable of giving leadership.

The International of the Social Democracy crumbled up in 1914 as a progressive factor in the working class when its national parts placed themselves openly in the service of their respective warring national bourgeoisies. From that time onward it became, not a working class party, but a bourgeois labor party and the most substantial buttress of a collapsing capitalist order. It ceased to offer the possibilities of reform and became an objective obstacle in the path of the proletariat. For that reason the advanced Marxian wing broke from it and raised the banner of the Third International. In 1933-1934, the Second International, its most important wings at any rate (the conservative German Social Democracy in 1933 and the "radical" Austrian Social Democracy in 1934) was annihilated as an ORGANIZATIONAL factor. In 1914 and 1918-1921, the Social Democracy proved its inherent incapacity to defend the socialist interests of the proletariat. In 1933-1934 the Social Democracy proved its equally inherent incapacity to defend even the "bourgeois" democratic interests of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, resorting to the fascist solution because it could no longer solve its problems with the aid of the Social Democratic physician, exterminated the latter without mercy or gratitude.

The Third International was built up on the ruins of the Second. In the first years of its existence it was the rallying ground of all the progressive and revolutionary forces in the ranks of the proletariat and all other oppressed toilers. In the second, Stalinist period, it experienced an almost uninterrupted decline under the banner of bureaucratic Centrism. Corrupted by the poisonous theory of "socialism in one country", the Third International gradually ceased to be the directing staff of international revolution. By virtue of this nationalistic theory, the harmony of interest between the preservation of the Soviet fatherland and the advancement of the world revolution, was replaced by the conflict of interests between the world revolution and the Soviet bureaucracy dominating the Republic and the International. The theory of national socialism in which was implicit from the very beginning the August 4th of the Comintern, discredited for the world proletariat—the Russian included—one defeat

after another, prostrating the revolutionary movement abroad and undermining the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. To this theory can be traced not merely the bureaucratic degeneration of the International, but the defeat of the English proletariat in 1926, the collapse of Polish Communism at the time of the Pilsudski coup d'état in the same year, the frightful mauling of the Chinese working class and peasantry by the Kuo Min Tang in 1927, the toppling off of the revolutionary wing (Bolshevik-Leninists) from the Soviet Union Party in the same year. Turning its back upon the world revolution in which it lost faith, in order to pursue the illusion of a national utopia in the Soviet Union, the Stalinist Bureaucracy ended by a treacherous desertion of the German proletariat which resulted in delivering it, unarmed and unprepared, into the hands of Hitlerism. The German defeat for which Stalinism bears joint responsibility with Social Democracy, is that last drop which precipitated the final collapse of the Third International and removed it from all possibility of reform just as definitely as was the case with the Social Democracy twenty years earlier.

In breaking with the Stalinist International, we continue our fight for the revolutionary theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which were the foundation stones of the Communist International.

To continue the struggle for revolutionary Marxism today can mean only one thing: to build a Fourth International, a new Communist International, and new Communist Parties in every country in the world.

The Crisis in Canada and the Workers' Party

The crisis in Canada has thrown into sharp relief the deep-seated contradictions and antagonisms in the class-structure of capitalist society. At one pole we find growing centralization and concentration of wealth and capital, giant monopolist banks and industrial corporations (finance-capital), fabulous profits, luxurious living; at the other pole—increasing misery and insecurity of the masses, merciless wage-cutting, over a million unemployed, foreclosures and evictions, inhuman exploitation of women and youth, violation of legal minimum scales, inadequate relief, and absence of social insurance. Fearing radicalization of the masses, the capitalist state sets in motion all its machinery of repression. The Criminal Code outlaws working-class political parties. Freedom of speech, assembly and other civil liberties are trampled underfoot, the workers' press is subjected to censorship, militant workers are jailed or deported. Under pressure of the crisis, however, the masses move to the left, even though their discontent with capitalism still finds its outlet in the channels of social reformism.

(Continued in the next issue)

WORLD OF LABOR

YOUNG LENINISTS OF FRANCE TAKE DECISIVE STEP

(The full text of the resolution adopted by the Young Leninists of France, the counterpart of the Spartacus Youth League of America, on the next step to be taken by their organization is printed below. To some it will appear as a departure from our traditional position in this resolution. The decision contained therein, to join the Socialist youth of France should not come as a surprise to any of our members or sympathizers. The *Militant* has time and time again stressed the momentous importance of the events now transpiring in France. As in Germany the question of Fascism or proletarian revolution is posed with razor-like sharpness. Of vital necessity, there, is a vanguard, a new Communist party, to guide the working class in its moment of decisive action. Because our organization is small and weak despite its correct policies and slogans, it is isolated from the masses and is thereby ineffective. The united front between the Communist and Socialist parties, which has remained in the leading strings of the bureaucrats of both parties has not set the proletariat into action against Fascism but it has further isolated our small group in France.

The entry of the Leninist Youth in France—that is the only country where such a step has been decided upon—has as its purpose the welding of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth with the leftward moving young socialists and together with them build the new party on the solid foundations of Marxism and Leninism. As will be noted in the document, not a principle, not an idea, not a line of the Fourth International is renounced, revised or compromised by the Young Leninists in taking this step. They do it with their eyes open, their banner flying and in the interests of the revolutionary youth. —Ed. Note)

The defeat of the German proletariat has posed the task of regrouping the revolutionary faction of the proletariat into new parties. Especially the necessity of winning the young workers to the cause of revolutionary Marxism requires that an international of the youth in the spirit of Liebknecht be rebuilt against the impotent and bankrupt bureaucrats of the Young Socialist and Young Communist International.

The development of the political situation in France has not only confirmed the fundamental line adopted by the International Communist League but demands that it build the vanguard party powerful enough to play a decisive role as soon as possible. Since February 6th a pre-bonapartist regime emerged which has been balancing itself between hostile classes. Without excluding a reactionary stabilization of the crisis in France, the most probable perspective, the one upon which it is necessary to base activity, is an intensification of the class struggle and the development of a number of sharp crises will pose the question of power and lead either to the victory of the proletarian revolution or to the victory of Fascism.

The program of action of the Ligue and the youth, the creation of a workers' militia, the workers' alliances, workers' control of production, the arming of the proletariat, etc., was predicated on this short perspective. This slogan, more timely than ever, must penetrate into the masses. Our tactic should aim towards swinging the masses into action on the basis of these slogans.

Towards this end it is necessary to work for the creation of a party and a youth organization unfettered by reformism, centrism and Stalinism. When the Communist party is beginning to justify in advance its "conditional" participation in national defense, it becomes clear that only a party which holds aloft the banner of internationalism and revolutionary defeatism can stand the test in an imperialist war.

But correct ideas alone do not suffice for the constitution of such a party. Despite the successes of the Leninist Youth and the radiation of our Bolshevik-Leninist ideas, our organization is too weak to guide the experience of the masses, as an independent organization in the short period of time before us. Our organic weakness will cause us to remain mere "advisors" to the existing parties.

It is in these conditions that we see a powerful movement towards organic unity. This marks the ideological reaction which has taken place since noted the ferment in the working masses and the rise of this out a year ago. In these conditions, having Tours (1920). But the reaction has ended. We pointings which will follow, regrouping of all workers, currents into one movement with a democratic regime can constitute a very progressive factor for the evolution of large proletarian sections. Especially we, the youth, should stand shoulder to shoulder and learn collectively in the struggle against Fascism. Our task is not to cast judgment like high-and-mighty professors but to go through the same experience with the working youth and then with them to find the path to the real revolutionary youth organization on the bases of Marxism and Leninism. That is why the Young Leninists approve the slogan of the Central Committee: "One revolutionary youth organization."

As partisans of the creation of a new revolutionary youth international, we believe that a step in this direction is the break in the Y.S.I. with the bloc of patriots and reformists (Holland, etc.). The first task is to solidify all the left socialist youth who orient towards Marxism (Belgium, Spain, France, etc.) and to clarify the vital problems of the young workers.

In France the problem is particularly sharp because of the rapidity with which they are orienting themselves towards decisive measures. Our place, today, is in the vanguard of the working class youth who will fight in the united youth organization of tomorrow. In the Communist youth if it gives us the right to defend our own opinions in its ranks; in the Socialist youth especially, where more and more important sections of militants are breaking with reformism and finding the road to Marxism. In order to assist the left in its evolution towards Leninism, in order to spread our slogans, and to pass rapidly over to action, in order to work for the united youth organization of tomorrow, circumstances compel us today to join the Young Socialists.

The Young Leninists are not making a maneuver nor do they want any deals. Each unit of the Young Leninists will join the corresponding section of the Young Socialists.

Respectful of discipline the Young Leninists demand for themselves only the rights and duties of every member of the organization, among others the right to defend their conceptions within the framework of proletarian democracy and discipline.

The Young Leninists will enter the Young Socialists without hiding their banner, without surrendering any of their principles. These principles are the ones which made the victorious Russian Revolution. The world revolution will be made by them. We are fully confident that our ideas will find their way into the masses, permitting thus the effective struggle against the common enemies of the youth and the working class: capitalism and the fascist butchers.

(To Be Continued)

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK EPTLINGER

The San Francisco Waterfront and General Strike is now history. Such a tremendous struggle involving as it did almost a hundred thousand workers demands a detailed analysis in order to clearly bring out the lessons of the strike and the steps to be taken in the development of future struggles of the labor movement in this city. This in the main is the purpose of this article.

The background of the conflict is to be found in the conditions that prevailed on the waterfront from 1922 until the latter part of 1933. During this period the longshoremen had been working under the Blue Book or Company Union. The men were forced to pay dues in the Blue Book Union in order to hold a job on the waterfront. In this company union they were subject to all of the deplorable conditions possible in their craft. Such as having to report every morning and stand on the Embarcadero waiting to be called. Even when they were hired and instructed to report at the dock for work, they would have to wait for hours, day or night, for ships to come in without receiving any pay until they went to work.

The Blacklist
Those men who most willingly accepted these conditions and did not object to the speed-up system in vogue on the water front were naturally the favorites and received the bulk of the work, while those who protested were quickly blacklisted.

When Section 7A of the NRA went into effect organization again developed on the front. This new organization was formed within the framework of the International Longshoremen's Association. Active in this unionization campaign were various elements. A few members of the Proletarian Party, members of the Communist Party and other militants as well as many conservative longshoremen. A conservative by the name of Holman was elected President of the San Francisco local of the new organization.

By January 1934 approximately 90% of the stevedores of the West Coast were carrying cards in the I.L.A.

The Communist Party had for some time been trying to organize the workers on the waterfront in the Marine Workers Industrial Union without success. Their failure forced them to abandon this plan as far as the longshoremen were concerned, and instead they instructed their members to join the I.L.A. and build within that organization a militant left wing.

In February 1934 a West coast convention of the I.L.A. was called for the purpose of formulating demands and making preparations for a strike.

It was decided at this Convention that the scale of wages should be \$1.00 per hour and \$1.50 per hour for overtime, that the 30 hour week should be put into effect, and that the I.L.A. should have control of the hiring halls. It was also decided that the I.L.A. was opposed to any arbitration of these demands. The convention also went on record in favor of a coast-wide agreement and the formation of a water front federation consisting of all maritime workers. While the so-called left wing was able to secure a majority for the adoption of the demands to be presented to the employers, the conservative elements secured control organizationally and elected the majority of the members to the coast executive board.

These demands were presented to the ship owners at a meeting of ship owners, the I.L.A. and the Regional Labor Board on March 5, 1934. The owners turned down all of the demands and publicly accused the I.L.A. of being dominated by "a bunch of Reds", and also that the officials of the I.L.A. did not represent the men.

Majority for Strike

After their demands were turned down a strike vote was taken by the I.L.A. In all coast ports resulting in an overwhelming majority

in favor of the strike. The strike date was set for March 23. A telegram was received from President Roosevelt on March 22, asking that the strike be postponed and that new negotiations be entered into.

William Lewis, district president of the I.L.A., on his own authority issued a statement saying that the strike had been called off. His action was later endorsed by the Executive Committee, but there was strong criticism of Lewis by many of the rank and file, although some of the conservatives did support him, stating that "we must give the President an opportunity to settle our demands". If the left elements had attempted to force the issue of a strike at this time, there would have been grave danger of a split.

Negotiations were carried on during April without any progress being made. The waterfront employers refused to make any concessions although many meetings were held. Practically all elements in the I.L.A. were convinced by the first of May that a strike was inevitable. Negotiations were broken off and a strike called, effective on May 9.

Ryan's Maneuvers

Again efforts were made to call off the strike, this time openly by Ryan, international president of the I.L.A. The longshoremen of Seattle were at first influenced by these actions but on hearing of the action of the San Francisco local they also joined the strike.

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Textile Strike Debacle

By JAMES P. CANNON

The great general strike of the textile workers, which raised the whole insurgent movement of labor to a new height and stirred the workers everywhere with its mighty sweep and militancy, has come to an inglorious end—defeated and shamefully betrayed by the leadership of the U.T.W. and the upper crust of the A. F. of L.

In the history of the American labor movement it would be difficult to find a more cruel example of the evil role of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" and the heavy price the workers must pay for allowing them to hold the leadership of the unions. Incompetence, cowardice, and, at the crucial moment, outright treachery—these are the contributions which McMahon and Gorman, pushed behind by Green and Co., made to the strike from the vantage point of the leading staff.

THE STRIKE SETTLEMENT

To call the ending of the strike a settlement is to rob the word of any meaning. The whole report of the Winant board, stripped of its essence, was nothing more than a promise to look into the grievances of the workers. And not even that was accepted by the bosses. Without that, without even an agreement to reinstate the strikers, the leaders called off the strike at the peak of its strength and abandoned the workers to the savage reprisals of the mill owners. Tens of thousands of workers, unionized for the first time and staking everything on the struggle, have been left in the lurch by their leaders and locked out of the mills by the bosses. A terrible introduction to the trade union movement for them; a terrible warning for all of what the present leading staff of the labor movement will be capable of in the greater tests to come if they are not thrown overboard in time.

The executive council of the A. F. of L. cold bloodedly isolated the textile workers, refused to move a finger to provide funds to feed them—millions could have been raised in the trade unions at the scratch of a pen by Green—and devoted themselves exclusively to machinations to get the strike ended at any cost. These scoundrels fear the mass struggles of the workers no less than the bosses fear them. A militant labor movement, drawing great masses into action, is incompatible with their role. They aim to crush this movement and restore "peace" in the relations between labor and capital, even if it is the peace of the breadline and the graveyard for the workers.

RANK AND FILE L-SARMED

What is most remarkable and outstanding in this tragic situation is the proof on every side that the rank and file of the textile workers were without any means of resistance to the perfidy of the leadership; that the millions of other trade unionists, who were inspired by the magnificent struggle and wished to aid, were powerless to make a move. Black reaction and cynical treachery are enthroned in the labor union machine. The mass discontent at the bottom, generating enough energy in these years of crisis to blow the bureaucratic machine to bits, and the whole system of exploitation along with it, remains without organization, without program, without leadership. The Greens and Gormans rule the movement and ruin the most heroic struggles because there are none to challenge them.

The fearful textile strike debacle follows the tragic experiences of the auto workers, the steel workers, the San Francisco general strike, and other movements of insurgent labor in 1934 which have been turned into bitter defeat. They all cry out the same warning: The insurgent movement must be organized; it must work out its program and find its authentic leadership. The heart of this program must be an unrelenting struggle against the labor agents of the masters who sit on top of the trade union movement. The insurgent leadership must be dedicated to this struggle as a part of the struggle against the bosses and the National Rind Around.

Forces for a mighty left wing and progressive movement in the trade unions are not lacking. The crisis years have created the conditions for its emergence on a wide scale. Every new treachery of the bureaucracy prepares new recruits. What is lacking is a conscious, unifying and guiding nucleus which alone can organize the movement and provide it with a program. What is lacking is a revolutionary party.

The Stalinists perform all the functions of a party in reverse order. Where organization of the vanguard is needed, they disorganize. Where clarity is required they sow confusion. Even the weapon of denunciation—the sword of Lenin against traitors—is blunted in their hands. They crack their voices in slandering honest opponents; when they try to screech against real betrayers their stock of epithets is exhausted and they are too hoarse to be heard. As for the socialist "Militants," they belie their name by their silence in the face of the black betrayal of the textile workers. They have not yet learned to criticize the traitors. Will such people lead a fight against them?

A NEW VANGUARD IMMEDIATELY

No! The workers need a new revolutionary party. Even a vanguard organization of a few thousand, if it understands the trade union question and penetrates deeply into the mass movement, can become the crystallizing agent for a colossal progressive movement in a short time. The times are favorable for the launching of such a party. Its program has been worked out in the years of principled struggle against revisionism and reaction. Sufficient forces are at hand to make a beginning. As the two most important independent groups, the American Workers Party and the Communist League bear a heavy responsibility. It is their duty to get together and set the new movement into motion. The tragedy of the textile workers is another warning against delay.

Youth Unite Against Fascists

Sponsored by the Young Peoples Socialist League, a united front conference was held in New York City last Thursday to consider a counter-demonstration to the Yankee Stadium pageant planned as a greeting to 300 Italian Fascist students. The invited organizations included the Young Communist League, the National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition, and the Spartacus Youth League.

Prior to the conference the Young Communist League had sent a letter to the Y.P.S.L. (published in the *Daily Worker* of Sept. 27, 1934, under the head "Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. Take Step for Joint Action") clearly stating that the invitation of the Lovestonites and the Spartacus Youth League places "insuperable obstacles in the way of achieving unity." Their scurrilous attacks on the "Trotskyites" are once again repeated. In fact it is only the latest step in a systematic campaign of the Y.C.L. against the Spartacus Youth. The *Young Worker* (Sept. 25, 1934) devotes a great deal of space to explaining why the Y.C.L. cannot make a united front with the "Trotskyites."

While the Y.C.L. absented itself from the conference, the National Student League sent observers. The latter, at the opening of the meeting, explained why they could not participate in the united front: the N.S.L. and the S.L.I.D. had already made arrangements for a demonstration on October 12th (which the S.L.I.D. delegate denied) and the Y.P.S.L. had barred the participation of the Y.C.L. by inviting objectionable groups—the Lovestonites and the S.Y.L. The stammerings of the N. S. L. delegate to questions on the statement showed that the National Student League which denies its Stalinist character refused to participate in the united front because of the presence of the Lovestonites and Spartacus Youth League.

Ben Fisher of the Y.P.S.L. replied to the N.S.L. by stating that when his organization made the offer of united front they had good reason to believe that it would be accepted by the Y.C.L. In Belgium, the Yipsels, the Y.C.L. and the Trotskyist youth formed a united front: in Spain the Communist party recently joined the united front which includes the Socialists and the Trotskyites.

The Spartacus Youth League submitted a statement on the Y.C.L. refusal to join the united front. Despite requests that the N.S.L. remain as observers they stated that they had no proposals to make and saw no reason for staying.

The conference then proceeded to discuss the draft of the united front

(Continued on Page 4)

Relief System Endangered In New York

Once again the unemployed relief structure of the city of New York broke down, throwing thousands of desperate workers to the mercies of cunning politicians and banks demanding their pound of flesh. But poorly-fed, badly-clothed, destitute human beings are not to be trifled with. The capitalists and their hunkies know that jobs or relief must be forthcoming or the jobless will take matters in their own hands—individually or collectively.

After a bitter fight the city administration adopted a three point program to raise fifty million dollars. It calls for a tax of 1/10 of one percent of gross receipts of business in excess of \$15,000; a city tax amounting to 15% of the Federal income tax, additional to all present income tax; and a municipal relief membership association, which is a disguised public lottery.

The Chamber of Commerce and other business organizations are up in arms. They will not stand for it. They propose a 2c levy on subway and other fares. They want to pass the burden of maintaining the jobless on to the workers. In the meantime the unemployed are organizing for the fight.

A review of the unemployment relief situation in New York City will give one a picture of the efforts of the crisis upon the working class and the problems of a new permanent army of millions of unemployed. More than one million workers are on the relief list, one family out of every seven in the city. Mr. Hudson, head of the Welfare Department, estimates the number will increase to two million by the end of the year. Over 500,000 families are obtaining relief in one form or another. The demand for relief increases at the rate of 1,500 daily. New applicants for relief are skilled workers and professional men. Many workers from these categories have been unemployed for years and having used up their savings and are now forced to apply for relief.

In September, about 125,000 heads of families were on work relief, and the Bureau of Homeless and Transient were lodging over 4,000 a night, which is only a small part of the workers who need shelter. Considering the additional number of unemployed who are not on the relief list in any form and you have a vast army of unemployed whose morale is being lowered unless they find their way out through active struggle.

Jobless Will Demonstrate November 24th

Five years of crisis and unemployment have wrecked the homes and lives of millions of unemployed workers and the coming sixth winter promises to be the most miserable of all. Millions are on the brink of starvation, forced to subsist on miserable relief pittance. Unless the unemployed organize and battle with greater determination and militancy than ever before the boss class and their government will smash the present dole into ribbons, and with it will go wage cuts for the employed.

Several unemployed organizations of the United States held a two day conference in Chicago and elected a Committee of Action which is calling upon all unemployed organizations of the country for a united demonstration on November 24. Organizations participating in this conference included the National Unemployed Leagues, Illinois Workers' Alliance, Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers of America, Ft. Wayne Unemployed Leagues, Minneapolis Central Council of Workers and organizations from Missouri, Wisconsin, Florida, etc.

The Committee of Action calls for a demonstration throughout the nation before city and county relief boards on Saturday, November 24. At the same time a committee representing the nation's unemployed will present their demands at Washington.

- The demands follow:
1. Pending the passage of Unemployment Relief, direct cash relief at the rate of \$10 a week for single persons, \$15 a week for a family of two, and \$4 a week for each additional person be paid.
 2. Public works to provide work for the unemployed upon the basis of \$30 per week for 30 hours, with the payment of skilled workers at union rates.
 3. That the Luncheon Unemployment Insurance Bill be enacted.
 4. That the right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining be granted.
 5. That representatives of organized unemployed before relief administrators be recognized.
 6. That Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects also to and from jobs be provided.
 7. That all war funds be turned over for unemployment relief.
- The unemployed workers, together with the organized employed workers must make this a powerful demonstration.

FOR THE NEW PARTY

(Appeal of the National Committee, Communist League of America)

A year ago, after the full force of the German debacle had been clearly registered, and the responsibility of the Second and Third Internationals for the triumph of Fascism no less clearly established, the Communist League proclaimed the need for a new revolutionary party and a new International.

All that has transpired since that time has only served to confirm the correctness of that position, and we repeat it today with firmer conviction. More, we have reason to hope that the idea of a year ago can become a reality in the near future. We are sure in any case that a beginning can be made to give organizational form to the idea of the new party in America, the first section of the Fourth International in an important capitalist country.

Our forces have grown. The *Militant* has doubled its circulation. We have added a monthly theoretical magazine, the *New Internationalist*, to our arsenal. The Spartacus Youth have acquired a national organization. We have taken part in strikes and mass activities and proved our mettle in them. Our circle of sympathizers and our influence in other movements have expanded. From every standpoint we are in a stronger position and surer of our future than we were a year ago.

In addition, while drawing the line dividing us from reformism and centrism more sharply, we have consistently sought to find a basis of cooperation and a common standpoint with other independent groups. In the case of the Gilrow group we met with failure due to the inability of this group to take a firm principled position. Discussions and negotiations and experiments in practical cooperation with the American Workers Party, on the other hand, were more fruitful. We hope that the negotiations now pending will result in an early fusion of the two organizations. This will make the formal organization of the new party possible.

It is our desire to contribute our full share to this historic enterprise. Not only ideas but material forces as well. The stronger the Communist League, the stronger the new party at its inception. We must devote the coming weeks to an intensive campaign of organization and agitation to prepare the way for the auspicious launching of the new party. By building the League we are building the foundations of the new party.

This present campaign has two parts:

First: Build up the organization. Systematically canvass all sympathizers and ask them to join the League now. Appeal for new members at every meeting. Organize the membership drive in every branch under the slogan: **Recruit Every Sympathizer into the League!**

Second: Raise a new party fund. Provide the organization with the means to increase its activities, strengthen its press and send organizers into the field. Every member should make a special sacrifice. Affairs should be organized to raise funds. Sympathizers should be asked to contribute. "New Party Certificates" in the amounts of one dollar and five dollars are being printed. Buy them and sell them. Let us redouble our activities, strengthen and tighten up our organization in preparation for a leap forward.

We are going to call the roll in this campaign which, we hope, will be the prelude for the definite transformation of our organization from a propaganda circle into a political movement. Sign your name to the roll call with a contribution and send it to:

THE MILITANT,
144 Second Avenue,
New York City.

Blackshirts a Challenge to N.Y. Labor

Three hundred and fifty Italian university students landed in this country last week. They are Fascist students, sent by a Fascist government to show us the "marvelous" results of Fascist training. Let us consider a few facts about them.

The Italian universities are not scientific institutions; they are Fascist propaganda institutions. The professors must all take an oath of loyalty to Mussolini before they may teach; all their teachings are censored; to criticize the government means to be fired and jailed. The middle class youth is taught to believe in the brutal reactionary "theories" of Mussolini, and to prepare to take its part in the oppression and persecution of workers, which alone enables Italian capitalism to continue its exploitation of the Italian masses.

Parrots Not Students

The students must belong to the Fascist Student Groups, where they are under the orders of the Fascist party. On this trip to the U. S., they are under the orders of Giovanni Poli, a Fascist brigand and tyrant. Most of the students, entirely without independence, are satisfied to repeat like parrots the vicious nonsense taught them by their corrupted professors. Should any student dare raise a question, he is expelled from the university, beaten and tortured, perhaps jailed.

These students are qualified to do three things. In the first place, they can tyrannize over oppressed workers. Secondly, they are "parrots", that is to say, they are trained to fight to defend Italian capitalism against foreign capitalists and Italian workers. Their organization publishes a newspaper: its name is "Book and Rifle". The third thing these students can do very well is to live well off the products of other people's labor. In return for their "patriotic" services, they get fat jobs and free trips to the U. S.—on money sweated out of the wretched masses of Italian workers and peasants.

Fontamara's Challenge

Just as they arrived there is being published a novel called *Fontamara*, written by an Italian, Ignazio Silone, and forbidden in Italy. While the Italian students are here trying to tell us how wonderful life is under Fascism in Italy, we can read Silone's true picture of the misery of the Italian peasantry today. These Fascist universities are going to visit many students friendly to the labor movement will be in contact with them. They should be confronted with a copy of *Fontamara* wherever they go. Let these students know we are aware from *Fontamara* and other sources of the truth about the foul and brutal regime in their country.

It is interesting to note that the Italian Fascist students were received at New York's city hall by Mayor F. H. La Guardia. This "liberal" gentleman, who the other day had no time to attend a dinner of the Italian local of the garment workers, delighted to honor the spawn of the labor-hating, murderous Italian Fascists!

On Columbus Day this band of Fascists will attend a celebration at Yankee Stadium. A good time to let them know what the workers think of them! What was characteristic of Columbus—an enquiring mind and indomitable courage—is foreign to Fascism; their minds are against inquiry on principle; for courage they substitute bestiality.

Down With Mussolini!

Our comrade, Leon Trotsky, hounded and persecuted by every government in Europe, cannot enter this country. Are we to be silent while these 350 parasitic Fascists tour around the country, spreading their poisonous propaganda against the workers' interests?

It would be well if many labor organizations were to unite in a counter-demonstration. Liberals, Socialists, Communists, trade unionists are being tortured in Italy by the thousands just as they are in Germany. The Communist League, for one, is ready to participate in a united anti-Fascist demonstration on Columbus Day.

It is not enough to publish articles in radical papers. Let us go into the streets on Columbus Day and demonstrate against Fascist oppression and militarism and against those who are "honoring" these Fascists here!

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Green & Co. in Control as A. F. L. Convention Opens in San Francisco

Left Wing Lacks Clear Program and Capable Leadership

On October the first the Fifty-Fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held in San Francisco. This convention comes upon the heels of the Frisco general strike. The eyes of the nation will be focussed on the convention and its outcome. The class conscious workers well remember that it was William Green's role in the Frisco strike that helped the bosses break the strike. It was Green who issued the statement of opposition to sympathy strikes. And in spite of their strike-breaking role in the Frisco strike Green and Company come to this city as leaders of the American labor movement.

This clearly reveals to the class conscious workers that one of the main tasks confronting us today, and the task which determines our road to the masses is the extension of left wing influence in the trade unions.

Meets After NRA Period

This convention meets after a storm period under the NRA. All the promises offered labor under the NRA have turned into rainbows. In its major aspects, Nationalism has not fulfilled its objectives and has broken down. While the labor skates meet in Frisco, President Roosevelt and his administration are reorganizing the NRA from top to bottom to save what they can to enable the NRA to continue creating a more favorable basis for cartels and monopolies, eliminating the small producers, and tightening the grip upon labor. In this sense the NRA work to date has been a success. But as an instrument to bring back prosperity, to bring order out of capitalist chaos, to revive the basic industries, and to start a new era of capitalism, the NRA has failed.

What will the labor leaders in this convention say about this? What will they say about the fulfillment of Section 7a in the auto settlement, the steel settlement, and now the textile strike settlement?—to say nothing of the strike movements that have swept the nation in two gigantic waves, with indications that a new and higher wave is on the horizon.

Fakers Lie About Facts

These conservative labor leaders cannot tell the truth about this. Their very existence as "labor leaders" depends upon their skill in lying about these facts, their ability to confuse the issues and make the NRA scheme of suppression look like an instrument for the workers' salvation. They will speak about its shortcomings and criticize the NRA—not for the protection of the workers—but in order to obtain more posts in the NRA and on the Labor Boards.

One thing is sure. The reactionary leaders will confront more opposition in the present convention than they have had to contend with for a long time. The opposition is not yet an organized, conscious revolutionary force. It is a new progressive opposition to the reactionary leaders and their policy.

The New Opposition

This opposition came into being under the impact of the new developments in the American labor movement: the changing class relations, the prolonged crisis and unemployment, the Europeanization of the American workers, the increase in the number of semi-skilled workers brought into unions for the first time, the precarious position of the skilled workers as the basis for the reactionary control of the A. F. of L., and the new developments under the NRA.

The most negative element in the opposition forces are the Stalinists and their false policy. These methods have had disastrous effect upon communist activity in reactionary trade unions. If the Stalinist policy in the trade union movement, to say nothing of their general policy, had been swept aside by the American Communist movement the present opposition would be a full grown power instead of a movement in its infancy. It is a force which is feeding its way along and will have to learn through its own mistakes and will have to retrace many steps already covered, thanks to Stalinism.

Opposition Is Heterogeneous

A firm crystallization of this new progressive opposition has not been established upon a national scale. The Stalinists are attempting to make up for lost time, but are still mainly on the outside looking in. The Socialists, in the main, and especially the right wing, have played a reactionary role. The *New Leader* in a recent issue even defends William Green against the position of the Left socialists.

This opposition to the reactionary leaders has developed in struggle. It has placed its main emphasis on strike struggles as a means to obtain its objectives under the NRA, and has contended that the unions will obtain gains to the extent that they are able to force recognition. In carrying out this policy these new opposition and progressive forces run counter to the class collaboration policies of the leadership and sooner or later a clear-cut struggle between a policy of class struggle and class collaboration will develop in the different unions. In the auto workers' and in the steel workers' struggles these tendencies could be seen.

Incipient Revolts

The opposition to the leaders developed, but was not strong enough to gain its ends. In the auto workers' union the opposition forces did not crystallize until after Green's sell-out, and then assumed the dangerous form of a split, in which company union influence appeared.

In the steel workers' struggle the rank and file committee took the power out of the hands of Tighe and Company, but was outmaneuvered.

In the textile strike the opposition to McMahon brought on the strike. They had to fight the leaders every inch of the way, but the horse-trading of Rieve, the socialist, weakened the strike struggle before it started and enabled the reactionary leaders to control the strike and betray it at the opportunity.

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(Continued on Page 4)

THE NEED FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Lecture by

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of New Internationalist
Sunday, October 21, 8 P.M.
at Bronx Free Fellowship
1591 Boston Road, Bronx
(Corner Suburban Place)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Bayonets and the General Strike

"National Guard Bayonets Open Georgia Mills"—headline in capitalist press. Bayonets can't run looms, but hunger can force the weaker, less determined strikers into the mills. The failure of the A. F. of L. to support the strike with relief under such conditions is as much a part of strikebreaking as the National Guard itself.

"Preparedness"

Sales of tear gas—vomit gas and machine guns increased 5 to 10 per cent due to the textile strike. "We only sell to corporations when the local police approve."—"Would you sell to labor organizations?"—"We received no requests from labor."—testimony before the Munitions Commission. The A. F. of L. fakers favor war preparations by the United States, always with the excuse "other governments are arming. We must be prepared." That argument, even if granted, should mean that these same gentlemen should have spent some of their fat treasuries to equip strikers so that they would be able to meet the enemy on equal ground. Against machine guns and vomit gas—the workers need, machine guns and vomit gas.

Itching Palms—Police and Clergy

That a munitions salesman had the N. Y. police "in the palm of his hand" indicates that besides racketeers, bootleggers and open shop bosses, munitions makers also crossed the itching palms of New York's "finest" with gold. That's another little item made public by the munitions inquiry. Whenever and wherever any probe is made into graft, crime and wholesale murder, the whole capitalist system, its coercive and persuasive arms are shown reeking with graft. Praying to God with Indians in the evening and selling gas bombs and gas "bills" in the morning was the double role of the Rev. Paul Young, Christian Alliance Missionary to Ecuador and brother of John W. Young, munitions manufacturer. Or was it really a double role? Christian prayers (opium) to befuddle the minds, gas grenades to ruin the body. Both are weapons of imperialism in enslaving colonial peoples—His card: "Reverend Paul Young, Christian Alliance Missionary, Representing God and the Munition Company. Prayers and Poison Gas Our Specialty.—Please give a few pennies to Christianize the Heathen." And such are the forces of "good government", of "law and order", the "spiritual forces of our nation" which must be saved from Communism by armed drunken Legionnaire morons.

The "Red Joiner"

One of our readers has come to our rescue when we were faced with a shortage of copy and submitted the following poem:

Ichabod Blechedick Wallingford Cohen
Was a Stalinist victim who was constantly going,
From meeting to meeting
Of this or that Org.
At the end of a year
He was fit for the Morgue.

He paid dues in the Party, the T.U., U.L.,
The Workers Theatry and A.F. of L.

The Toothpick Designers,
The Freiheit Vereiners,
The 14th Street Miners—
He joined them as well.

He was one of the prancers
Of Harlem's Red Dancers,
He just missed getting into
The fighting Red Lancers,
But nothing distressed,
He flocked with the rest
To the Bolshevik Band of the Banning of Cancers.

With Father Divine who embodied
The Lord
He joined in the Group for Fostering Ford,

Every day for the Worker he'd
 Garner his sub
And get credited for it at the Pelham Bay Club.

On every vacation
Some new Federation
He joined with a greeting, a shout,
And a whoop,

And despite his neuritis,
Lumbago and Croup,
He joined with the Haircurlers
Progressive Group.

He faithfully joined with the S.M. I.U.,
The League for Defense of the Eskimos, too,
Like a good proletarian,
He turned vegetarian,
There was hardly an outfit he didn't go through.

At each demonstration
He made his donation,
And uttered the slogans he learned
In the book,
For the first Earl of Browder
He would shout out still louder,
And there wasn't a paper which
He didn't took.

Mellon's Stolen Millions

Every once in a while the democratic mask behind which capitalism hides its face, slips and we see strange things.

For example, take the case of Andrew W. Mellon. Not so long ago Andrew Mellon was "America's greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Hamilton". Today, in one of those periodic reform waves that the U. S. goes through every few years or so, Andrew Mellon has a tax suit filed against him by the present administration. The facts revealed in the government's brief against Mellon will astound only those who have never looked into such doings before.

In 1931 Mellon deducted \$5,672,189.95 from his taxable income on the grounds of a business loss incurred in selling Pittsburgh Coal Co. stock to the Union Trust Co. of Pittsburgh. Now that, to the ordinary citizen sounds fair enough. After all, you can't tax a man for money he hasn't got. But there is a catch in this one. For upon investigation it turns out that the Union Trust Co. is controlled by Mellon and his brother, so that when Mellon sold Pittsburgh Coal Co. stock to the Union Trust Co., he sold it to himself and no actual stock or money transfer was involved.

The process did not end there, however. A few months later the Union Trust Co. sold the same stock to the Coatesced Co. for much less than the stock was worth. Upon investigation, to and behold, Mellon had again sold the stock to himself, for the Coatesced Co. was composed of only three stockholders: Mellon, his son and his daughter, and was organized as a family holding corporation to avoid gift and inheritance taxes. And so there it stands. The Mellon family still owns the stock and has saved itself a million dollars in taxes, the government is out a million or so, and we, that is we who are unemployed or are on relief, have that much less to feed our children with.

One has to bear in mind that during all these transactions Mellon was Secretary of the United States Treasury and that at the same time there sat on the Senate Finance Committee, Senator David A. Reed, friend and attorney for Mellon. These men were responsible for the collection of taxes, many a poor man's house or farm was taken away for non-payment of taxes. There is no evading the law for a poor man.

Yet for themselves and for their class, men like Mellon discovered plenty of lawful ways of evading the law. The investigation of the Senate Banking Committee into the National City Bank and the Morgan house certainly bears this out.

One would suppose that the "New Deal" administration could collect these back taxes of Mellon, Mitchell, Morgan, etc. and place these men where they belong, behind bars. No such thing! For though we may be living under a democracy, it is a capitalist democracy and as such, our law is capitalist law. Mellon after all did nothing unlawful, and the Grand Jury did not even indict him. And indeed, except for a few scapegoats thrown out as a sop to the public, the net result of all the banking investigations has been nothing much.

The most amusing sidelight on the Mellon case is the attitude expressed by the Post, New York's most liberal paper. After delivering a smashing editorial indictment against Mellon and the whole Harding-Hoover crew, it finally comes to the crux of the matter. "The system was not just rotten on the edges. It was rotten to the core," says the Post. This implies, of course, that the system under the New Deal is better. And, concludes the Post, after condemning the rottenness of the Republican Party, "The Grand Old Party cannot be rebuilt. It must be replaced by a conservative party freed from the curse of avarice."

There you have expressed in a nutshell the liberal's idea of the State. The State is a delicate balance between conservative and progressive forces, and since the New Deal is under the guidance of a progressive party group, what is needed in order to balance the state and keep it steady, is a new conservative party, "free from avarice" of course. A conservative party, or for that matter a liberal party "free from avarice"! What nonsense! Here we are, living under a system where nothing is produced except for profit, where the main incentive for the functioning of society rests on avarice, and the Post solemnly suggests that a party which seeks above all to maintain that system can itself be free from avarice.

Graft and corruption are not attributes of the Republican Party. They are attributes of any party that seeks to maintain the capitalist system, whether that party be Hoover's Raw Deal Party or Roosevelt's National Run Around.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

African Laundry Workers

National Executive Committee, Communist League of America, c/o Militant, New York City.

Dear Comrades,
The Committee of this Union instructs me to send you the enclosed message. Upon being put to the vote at a fully represented meeting, it was decided, unanimously to despatch it. The enclosed slip was signed so as to enable all the committeemen to attach their signatures.

The Union already has 344 members, and we have every expectation of increasing this number to five or six hundred in the near future. I believe our membership constitutes a record for South Africa, as far as Bantu workers, organized in a single union, are concerned. The Bantu workers, and people generally, are the most oppressed and exploited section. Unfortunately the Bantu workers are not very far removed from their pastoral-peasant origin and have no mature experience or tradition in the trade union movement. Our task is, therefore, more difficult on the organizational side. This Union collapsed twice within its very short existence, due to the incompetence and cowardice to the leadership established by the Communist Party and African Federation of Trade Unions. We shall not collapse, though we may be beaten temporarily, on one or another occasion.

We have in prospect several strikes which shall be called in the near future, although we have gained certain concessions (indirectly) without outright strikes. Naturally, the bosses will not give in so easily upon the more important issues.

Our policy is, Against the Conciliation Act, its machinery, and conciliation in any form.

Against Governmental Arbitration under the Wage Act of 1925.

For militant strike struggle against the bosses—as the only way to gain some of our rights, and to keep them once they are gained.

For unequivocal union recognition.

For intransigent struggle for the right to strike of the Bantu workers.

For abolition of the Pass Laws, Riotous Assemblies Act, Masters and Servants Acts, and all other legislation which oppresses the workers generally, or prevents them from withholding their labor and restricts their liberty in any way.

With fraternal greetings,
MURRAY G. PURDY
General Secretary

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Button Workers Strike

To the Comrades of the Communist League of America:
The African Laundry Workers Union hereby pledges its support to the Fourth International. We believe that only by militant struggle against the oppressors can the workers achieve success. The Third International and the Communist Party of South Africa has failed us twice. We start again under the leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninist League. The workers of South Africa will never again allow themselves to be led to disaster by the Communist Party and its Federation, A.F.T.U. Our struggle is very great; our union has no legal basis; our workers have no legal right to strike; nevertheless, we shall fight on until the victorious workers' dictatorship is established.

With fraternal greetings,
THE COMMITTEE
Mishack Sanyane (Chairman), Emil Mosito, Johannes Mashigo, Malek Segale, Abton Moathodi, Alfred Dlamini, Henry Mathibeli, Asine Maane, James Thongwane, Jorene Poo, Michael Huma, Fanuel Mashishi, Joas Mogosi, Josiah Masilo, Mshak Sikobe (Assistant Treasurer), Murry Purdy (Secretary), Renner Magade (Organizer).

Pocketbook Strike Bulletin
The latest developments of the pocketbook workers' strike are as follows: Over 5,000 workers are on strike. The New Jersey local called its members on strike this week. Fifty non-union shops were closed, adding another 500 workers to the strike. Fifteen employers settled with the union and granted the union demands—36 hours and a ten percent increase in wages.

The Regional Labor Board intervened and called the union and the employers together. Two conferences were held but without success. The bosses are stubborn and refuse to grant the just demands of the workers.

The strike committee must now concentrate on the rest of the non-union shops such as Goldberg Bros., the M. White shop in Bridgeport, and Chicks in Bethlehem. The strike committee must organize mass picketing for next Monday and see to it that not a single shop operates in the city of New York and vicinity.

—POCKETBOOK WORKER.

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE
Second, Third or Fourth International?
Speaker:
TOM STAMM
Friday, October 5, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue

Button Workers Strike

At a general mass meeting on September 25, the covered button makers, local 132 I.L.G.W., decided unanimously to strike the following morning. A new agreement, differing in no way from the old one, was read. In other words: all the administration wanted was the renewal of the old agreement.

The main demands, therefore, remain as before: 37½ hour week and \$30 a week for skilled workers (those who can produce the required amount of buttons per hour). The women workers are entirely excluded from this category. Moreover, the scale of production is so steep that very few enjoy this wage level.

Many employers have already signed pledges to renew their contracts with the union. Many other hesitant bosses rushed to the union office to sign the new contract when they heard of the general membership meeting. There is nothing astonishing in this since no wage increases or hour reductions were demanded by the union. Besides the officials promised to send those workers back to work in the shops where the employers had signed the pledge the very next morning. Result: Only a handful remained on strike. And with these few workers the administration hopes to unionize the open shops.

This scheme was foisted on the union by high powered salesmanship. Henry Jaeger, Socialist party member and intimate friend of the local manager, used his talent to convince the workers that they should not ask for more money but be contented with the little they have. The administration, he argued, knew what was best for the members. The manager of the local joined the chorus with a plea to cooperate with the decent bosses. The steam roller finished the job.

The objective conditions were favorable or a successful strike. In many shops, the errand boys, very important in this trade, were on the verge of being organized by the Shipping Clerks Union. The unity of these two unions in a common fight against the bosses would stop the shipping or receiving buttons in the shops. This would be a great weapon in the hands of the workers. The strike would assume a militant character and the demands of the button workers and errand boys would be won.

But of course the myopic administration did not think it necessary to ask for raises nor to strengthen the ranks of these newly organized workers. Fearing a fight, the administration would sooner "cooperate" with the bosses.

pressed in "ACTION", and demolished the city block where lies the C. P. bureaucracy! We predict this action among the C. P. rank and files, yet.

Hair-spring tempers! says Michael Quin. Logical reaction, say we. "It is necessary," says Quin, "for comrades to be militant on the picket lines and in demonstrations, but not when asking another comrade for a match."

If you keep right on sending the trusting boy after left handed monkey-wrenches, pigeon's milk, strap oil, and money stretchers; if you keep the rank and files going in an endless whirly-gig chase of pointless futility, would you have them develop wings and twitter like angels? However, if the thing has reached the point where comrades want to fight with the friend from whom they ask a match, we also advise a Chitka, but we advise beginning at the top, like good Bolsheviks!

And with a last weak thrust of his erstwhile lashing pen, he proves our case against the bureaucracy for us by admitting that these same comrades who are today blowing up at the "least slip-up", "ARE THE STRONGEST LINKS IN OUR CHAIN." And he verifies this by naming their militant conduct during the dock strike in San Francisco.

Certainly they are the strongest links in your chain, Michael Quin, and the weakest links in your chain are those sleek skinned bureaucrats who disappeared when the terror was let loose and are still among the missing.

That you are today predicting the "second coming" of Darcy gives little consolation to those trusting comrades who have, in spite of facts, retained their faith in him.

If the setting of our movement was in Germany, we would look for Sam in the cafes of Paris. That is, we would direct those who crave his presence to do so. As it is, we do not hear any working class demand in San Francisco for his return. On the contrary, out of your own mouth we hear echoes of explosion within the ranks, which to us is ominous of the final, complete isolation of the bureaucracy.

—E. B.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

ORDER A BUNDLE OF MILITANT—ONE CENT PER COPY.

"Reward Your Friends"

With the faith that moves mountains, but never the Democratic or Republican Party, the labor fakers who head the American Federation of Labor are sending out again this year their timeworn questionnaires to political candidates, seeking their views on legislation backed by organized labor.

"The questionnaire," says the N. Y. Times, with no attempt at irony, "is in line with the traditional policy of the A. F. of L., which has been seeking to elect candidates favorable to its policies for many years."

Since 1908, to be exact, when the A. F. of L. adopted the policy of favoring no political party, of setting up no labor candidates, but in general "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies."

The policy has worked each election period with uniform results—there were never any friends to reward.

Candidates of both major parties have refused somehow or other to take orders from the A. F. of L., and instead have maintained allegiance to the political bosses who were responsible for their nomination.

Some have made promises to labor and have broken these promises. The rest have never even bothered to promise. Political parties have been deaf alike to the pleadings and "threats" of the A. F. of L.

Occasionally some smiling demagogue, like President Roosevelt, accepts the proffered hand of friendship, slaps Bill Green warmly on the back, and presents a paper program full of warmth and sympathy for organized labor. This program he will not, he dare not, keep.

Thus labor is granted Section 7a of the National Recovery Act, and, in the same breath, capital is granted the privilege of violating it with complete impunity.

Rights and Rights

Labor is given the right to organize, and capital the right to crush such organization, with the full support of government forces, with Federal tear gas and bullets.

Even as every citizen has the right to freedom of speech and assembly, Exercise it if you dare! Nevertheless, Bill Green and his cohorts do not despair. They return each year to their shameful betrayal as "a dog returns to his vomit."

Again this year, therefore, the political candidates will receive in their mail the usual questionnaires, seeking their views on such questions as old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, labor injunctions, and yellow dog contracts. They will answer as they have answered before, and Bill Green will pretend to be satisfied or unhappy over their replies.

A "Dark Horse" for Green

But a new element has entered the game of questions and answers this year: an element that causes Bill Green many a sleepless night. The masses of labor, the rank-and-file workers have grown tired of the game. The issues are being fought not in the ballot box.

The workers in the textile industry, the victorious strikers in Minneapolis, the betrayed longshoremen of the West Coast, do not need to ask where the leading candidates stand on labor. They know!

They know that a Governor Olson and President Roosevelt will grant only what they are forced to grant. That the strikers will win recognition of their union by fighting for it on the strike battlefield; that company unions will be outlawed when the workers outlaw them; that injunctions against labor will cease when the workers learn to disregard them.

And when that time comes to pass, as it is coming to pass, the workers will elect their own candidates; or failing that, there will be no lack of demagogues from the major parties who will offer them what they have already won—the right to fight for their rights! And so will be thrown in for good measure, unemployment insurance and old age pensions as well.

PATERSON MASS MEETING THE TEXTILE STRIKE SETTLEMENT

What Shall the Textile Workers Do? A Program for the Silk Workers.

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON and A. J. MUSTE

Sunday, September 30, 8 P.M.

OAKLEY HALL

211 Market Street, Paterson

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Communist League of America and American Workers Party

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Credit System

The contradictions inherent in capitalist society owing to the impossibility of reconciling the profit motive with the needs of society, are nowhere more manifest than in the banking system and its handling of credit. In modern society credit is a powerful instrument for converting into capital the savings and property of the non-capitalist classes, thereby aiding the more intensified exploitation of wage-earners. Credit accelerates the development of the capitalist system of production. In normal times it makes available through the banks, the reservoirs of credits, the "dead" capital in the form of "free" funds for more effective utilization by the capitalist class. Through control of the credit system the banks aid in the elimination of the small producer for the benefit of the larger ones.

But the extensive utilization of credit by modern industry introduces the greatest uncertainty into the whole process of production. When times are booming the banks find it profitable to lend on easy terms with good prospect of payment. New capital is created at rapid tempo and the resulting expansion of the productive forces leads ultimately to a glut of the market and the inevitable crisis. The boom period is accompanied by feverish speculation; all business takes on the character of speculation. But the moment the market can no longer absorb the vast quantities of commodities made available by free use of loans and credit which become converted into capital, the credit system collapses. The banks make frantic efforts to "call" all loans, to get rid of all securities and investments that are not liquid. With all banks attempting the same thing at the same time, credit disappears and money itself becomes scarce. Since production no longer offers any profits, the banks refuse loans to business men when they are most in need of credit; the factories begin to shut down and production comes to a halt in many industries.

Attempt to Control Credit

The "immediate" effect of a crisis is to make it impossible for the debtors to pay their debts. The apologists of capitalism, who refuse to recognize that it is very much of production itself that inevitably leads to crises, blame the collapse on the speculation that accompanies the boom in production. They cry out against the creation of a debt load through the enormous expansion of bank holdings of securities, loans on securities, and loans on real estate, a load that has become an impossible burden to carry. Hence in order to bring about some sort of "balance" they want to impose strict limits on credit, but without interfering with the credit necessary for the production and exchange of current goods (as though this were not a "gamble" in capitalist production). Thus the first step taken in reforming the banks was to separate the commercial banks lending money on and for current production, from the securities floating banks which are concerned with speculation by granting loans on capital assets. Stricter supervision and regulation of the issuance of securities was intended to reduce the unbalancing effects of the creation of these long-term, non-liquid credits which, unlike commercial credits, are not soon balanced or cancelled by the sale of goods. As a matter of fact, back of this "reform" is a clear recognition that the entire system is decaying and can no longer expand as rapidly, if at all, as in the days gone by.

A Government Central Bank

In conjunction with the rest of its efforts to "force" recovery, the government bent every effort to prepare the banking structure for a new expansion of business by aiding the banks in freeing all frozen assets, the government kindly taking over these unpayable debts for government bonds and relatively liquid assets. In repayment the government tried every form of cajolery to have the banks liberalize their commercial credit policy, to start business going again. But it reckoned without the market for despite all the excess reserves of the banks, there was no sign of any great increase in real demand. The banks had no confidence that they could make profits and hence they kept their money in their vaults. Meantime the Federal Government has embarked on spending unprecedentedly enormous sums of money in order to salvage the capitalist system and to prevent reversion. The government therefore feels a double need for greater control over the credit system: first, to extend credit more rapidly to business, and secondly, to protect its own financing by manipulating its own funds and securities to keep them up in price. The whole program dictated by the competition between national forms of capitalism, would be facilitated by greater government control. Hence the agitation for a Central Bank.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

GEORGE STANTON, Brooklyn—

Question: From Lenin's "The Third International and Its Place in History," Trotsky quotes as follows: ("The Permanent Revolution," p. 108) "... the contradictions between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' over bourgeois democracy to the highest form of democracy—to proletarian or Soviet democracy." In the edition published by the Stalinist International Publishers this is stated as "... this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' to the highest form of democracy, through bourgeois democracy to Soviet or proletarian democracy." Since these two have different meanings, can you tell me which is correct?

Answer: Your Editor regrets that he has been unable to find an original edition of this work which would be sufficiently authoritative to decide whether the above noted difference is one of translation or of misquotation. On the face of it though there are contradictions in the Stalinist publication.

First of all Russia never went through bourgeois democracy as an independent stage in its history. One would therefore have to assume that Lenin did not know the history of the revolution if the Stalinist quotation were to be accepted.

Secondly, both quotations use the word "leap." If Russia went from Czarism to proletarian democracy through bourgeois democracy, where is the leap?

And finally, how can you trust a Stalinist quotation?

ELLEN G., Bridgeport—

Question: How would you answer the accusation frequently thrown at me: Oh you radicals, if somebody gave you a lot of money you'd act just the same as the capitalists?

Answer: How well do you recognize this nonsensical accusation?

The attention of your accuser should first be called to the fact that by his very remark he recognizes that you are a propertyless person, since such a statement obviously could not be made to anyone, even of moderate wealth, who devoted himself to the revolutionary movement. The attempt should then be made to demonstrate that the existence of a capitalist society implies, on the one hand, the ownership of the means of production by one class, the capitalist class, and on the other hand a propertyless mass, the proletariat, which has no means of existence except by selling its labor power to the capitalists; that the existence of the latter is dependent upon exploiting the proletariat; that from his material fact springs the life and death struggle between the two classes; and that the Communist party is merely the vanguard of the proletariat in this struggle. Now it is obvious that an individual cannot be a member of both classes at the same time so that your accuser is merely telling you that if you were suddenly changed from a proletarian to a capitalist you would no longer be a proletarian.

G. ZEL, New York—

Question: Bela Kun, in the Daily Worker of Sept. 21, 1934 states that on July 20, 1932 the German Communist Party appealed to the leadership of the Social Democracy for a united front against fascist terror. Is this true?

Answer: In a subsequent installment of his article (Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1934) Bela Kun contradicts himself:

"A Social-Democratic worker, however, may raise the question: ... why did you Communists not make such offers to the Social-Democratic parties before the fascist danger in Germany was an immediate one? Why did you not make such proposals before?"

"We answer as follows:

"... To propose a united front at that time to the party leadership of Wels, Severing, Braun, Leipart and the rest would indeed have been purely a maneuver designed to unmask them; ... This would not only have been a maneuver; it would have been a stupid maneuver." You see therefore that the Stalinists are and were always right.

Actually, on the eve of July 20, 1932 the C. C. of the German Communist Party adopted the following resolution: "The Communist party, before the proletarian public, addresses to the S.P.D., to the A.D. (i.B.), and to the Alpha-Bund the question if they are prepared to carry out, together with the Communist party, the general strike for the proletarian demands."

What we had here was merely a Stalinist zig-zag, forced on the latter by life itself, and by means of which they themselves condemned their whole policy. If the united front was correct on July 20, 1932, why was it counter-revolutionary on July 1, 1932 or on August 1, 1932? Why was it that except on July 20 the Social Democrats were "social fascists", and only the "united front from below" was possible? This the Stalinists cannot and will not answer except by lies or evasions because their whole policy was false to the core. All they can succeed in doing by referring to "July 20" is to increase the suspicion that they knew the correct road to take in the interests of the proletariat but refused to take it.

It is of course impossible to repeat the entire history of the German events which occupied the major interest of the Militant for almost three years, and on which we published four pamphlets by Trotsky. Read or re-read these thoroughly, particularly "What Next?" and "The Only Road" (You can get them from the Pioneer Bookshop) and none of the Stalinist-created contradictions will bother you much.

WILLIAM B., Dayton—

Question: What do you mean by the term "Centrist" which I have seen mentioned so often in the Militant?

Answer: The following quotation from Trotsky's "What Next?", where an entire chapter is devoted to the question, is probably the best answer you could get within the limits of this column:

"Speaking formally and descriptively, Centrism is composed of all those trends within the proletariat and on its periphery which are distributed between reformism and Marxism, and which most often represent various stages of evolution from reformism to Marxism—and vice-versa. Both Marxism and reformism have a solid social support underlying them. Marxism expresses the historical interests of the proletariat. Reformism speaks for the privileged position of proletarian bureaucracy and aristocracy within the capitalist state. Centrism, as we have known it in the past, did not have and could not have an independent social foundation. Different layers of the proletariat develop in the revolutionary direction in different ways and at different times. In periods of prolonged industrial uplift or in the periods of political ebb-tide, after defeats, different layers of the proletariat shift politically from left to right, clashing with other layers who are just beginning to evolve to the Left. Different groups are delayed on separate stages of their evolution, they find their temporary leaders and they create their programs and organizations. Small wonder then that such a diversity of trends is embraced in the origin, their social composition and the direction of their evolution, different groupings may be engaged in the most savage warfare with one another, without losing thereby their character of being a variety of Centrism."

CHINA'S "RED" GENERALS RECAP

Capitulate to Kuomintang and Attack Erstwhile Comrades

Shanghai, China, Aug. 31.—While functionaries and "leaders" of the Stalinist party in China's cities continue to surrender themselves to the Kuomintang, renouncing their opposition to the counter-revolutionary government of Chiang Kai-shek and offering their services to the reaction, a similar process is now beginning in the Chinese countryside, where for the past several years peasant armies under the Soviet banner have been conducting armed warfare against the Kuomintang and the landlords.

Within one month at least three high commanders of China's so-called Red armies have surrendered and offered their services to Chiang Kai-shek.

Ho-chung Surrenders
The first of these is Kung Ho-chung, who, it is reported, surrendered on July 27 after his army had been defeated somewhere in the region of the Hunan-Kiangsi border area. In addition to being an important army commander, whose prowess and devotion to the revolution have been lauded by the Stalinists for several years past, Kung was also a member of the C.E.C. of the so-called Soviet government which has its seat at Juik in Kiangsi province!

His surrender was an important event for the Kuomintang, which lost no time in enlisting him in its service. Kung responded with equal alacrity, and is now actively campaigning against his comrades of yesterday. Needless to say, his anti-Communist declarations are being widely publicized.

Military Adviser to Chiang
But the redoubtable Kung, because of his 4-5 years' experience of active military campaigning, including the art of guerrilla warfare, has a much greater value for the Kuomintang than merely a propagandist. He can be useful in working out military strategy for further campaigning against his former comrades-in-arms. And why not? If Stalinist politicians can become political advisers, office functionaries and even police hounds for the Kuomintang, why should not a Stalinist general accept a post as military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek?

Kung Ho-chung is now working at Chiang Kai-shek's military headquarters at Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi province, helping to map out the new offensive which is being prepared against the Red armies of Central China. And he certainly is earning whatever money the generalissimo pays him.

Ten days ago, we were informed by a Reuters report, Kung delivered a lengthy speech at the generalissimo's headquarters, which was widely quoted in both the Chinese and foreign-language press. We reproduce here the more delectable portions of that speech as carried by the China Press (Shanghai) on August 28:

"Advice" from "Red" Commander
"The former Red commander told the staff of General Chiang that aerial and artillery bombardments had inflicted heavy casualties upon the communist forces and seriously undermined their morale. He suggested that gov-

ernment commanders might make a greater use of the bombers and field pieces at their disposal.

"The economic blockade against the Red areas, Kung related, had produced a most telling effect on the morale of the communist troops. Salt and rice were most scarce in the communist districts, and the relentless methods used by the Reds in commandeering food from the populace had engendered great public discontent and caused many of them to flee from communist control. Kung suggested that this blockade should be maintained by all means, and possibly also strengthened at some points like Kan-chow, in southern Kiangsi, where food was still allowed to enter the communist area.

"Kung attested to the great utility of the blockhouses that the government troops had erected around the dwindling communist area. The line of blockhouses, he said, had crippled the activities of Red guerrillas, who had formerly been used with telling effect for harassing the government lines. He thought that more blockhouses should be built, and urged that special efforts should be made to prevent the communists from breaking through and escaping in the direction of Szechwan and Kweichow.

"Aside from military tactics, the erstwhile Red commander emphasized the importance of propaganda as a means towards exterminating the communists. He pointed out that the communist regulars, numbering about 100,000 strong, had for years been fighting government troops many times their strength. The reason why they had been able to hold up for so long he attributed to their intense though deceiving propaganda among the populace. He urged the authorities to intensify their counter-propaganda among the 20,000,000 people in the Red districts, suggesting that leaflets distributed from the air should be written in the simplest language.

"Kung said that he joined the communists in 1927 with the idea of working for the welfare of the masses. After eight (!) years' experience as a high communist commander, he was now convinced that communism was impractical in China, and realized that the San Min Principle rather than Marxism afforded the way towards national salvation. He still cherished his former aim of working for the masses, but would exert himself along a different direction."

Inventions Unnecessary Here

Comment on the above would seem to be entirely superfluous. But it might be added that since no indignant denials of Kung's capitulation have emanated from Stalinist quarters so far as we can discover, there is no more reason to doubt that it is "genuine" than

there was to doubt the scores and hundreds of other Stalinist capitulations to the Kuomintang during the past two years. We shall, of course, be accused by the Stalinists of making use of reports in the enemy press to slander them. Alas, all these reports have proved authentic. The Kuomintang has no need to invent betrayals of the revolution by the Chinese Stalinists. There is an ample supply of "genuine" betrayals.

The second capitulator was announced to the world thus in the China Weekly Review of Aug. 25: "Li Chien-wu, Commander of the Independent 'Red' regiment, who for the past few years has been harassing the people along the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi border regions, has surrendered with 104 bandit officers and soldiers to the Peace Preservation Regiment at Pingkiang, northeastern Hunan. They surrendered with 73 rifles and one machine-gun. The bandit commander has been brought to Changsha by the units under Major-General Teng Nan-chi from Pingkiang."

Another "Red" Traitor
It has been reported that Li Tse-liang, described by government news agencies as "one of the ablest commanders of the communist army, unexpectedly arrived at Pingkiang in northeastern Hunan, near the Kiangsi border, on August 22 and offered his services to the government." According to the Central News, Li was brought under escort to Changsha on August 29, and there he "told newspaper reporters ... that he believed communism was bound to be a failure in China and therefore had escaped from the red ranks to join the government forces."

These three capitulations, we may be sure, will be followed by many others as the perspective of the peasant war grows more and more hopeless. The military forces of Chiang Kai-shek and his allies have succeeded in recent months in inflicting severe blows on the revolutionary peasant armies in China. The dormancy of the city proletariat makes this possible, giving the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang practically a free hand against the revolting peasants.

"Soviet China" Faces Extinction
A stage has now been reached where there would seem to be little doubt that, in the absence of unforeseen developments which would serve to weaken the offensive of the Kuomintang forces, the so-called "Central Soviet District" in Kiangsi will be wiped off the map before many more months have passed. What, then, will become of the Stalinist myth of a "Soviet China"?

The Stalinists will, however, manufacture new myths to cover up old ones. If the revolutionary peasants of Kiangsi are given a blood-bath by the Kuomintang troops (the price which history is

apparently going to exact for further demonstrating the falsity of the Stalinist formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"), the courage and tenacity which the peasants display in defending their conquests (however hopelessly) will be seized upon as evidence of a "new revolutionary upsurge" in China.

Readers of Stalinist journals all over the world will be regaled with accounts of a defeat metamorphosed into "victory." They have done it in the case of Germany. Why not China?

Peasant War Will Continue

The liquidation of the "Central Soviet District" in Kiangsi would not mean, necessarily, the end of the peasant war in China. The acute continuance of all those problems which have stimulated the peasantry to revolt might cause the flames of the peasant insurrection, extinguished for the time being in Kiangsi, to flare up in other, probably more isolated and therefore less accessible, parts of the country. The peasant movement now proceeding under Soviet slogans would continue under different conditions. Losing its one definite geographic base in Kiangsi, it would assume completely the character of guerrilla warfare.

In this way, means would be provided whereby the Stalinists could continue their lying propaganda. Glossing over the important central fact that their "Soviet government" at Juik had been overthrown, they would be able to point to the flaming guerrilla warfare, which would undoubtedly assume a violent character over widely-scattered areas, as "evidence" that "Soviet China," far from being defeated, was advancing and extending.

The Passing of a Shadow

Such are the methods of confusionists. Some will be deceived, especially those who wish to be deceived. But it is to be doubted whether the Chinese proletariat, which long ago deserted the Stalinists in disgust, will be misled any further. Moreover, the Stalinists, depending as they do upon the fat subsidies they receive from the "Central Soviet District", would no longer possess the means for spreading their illusions. Once those subsidies cease, they will be utterly unable to keep up the shadow of a pretense to a real political existence.

The revolutionary problem in China remains: To arouse the Chinese proletariat to action by means of a program of democratic demands, having as its perspective a lightning of the fearful economic burdens and political disabilities of the workers and the creation of favorable conditions for further struggle: to fight for a plenipotentiary national assembly; to link the struggles of the proletariat with struggles of the lower strata of the peasantry and also those of the oppressed petty-bourgeois elements in the cities under the hegemony of the proletariat. Apart from this, there is no perspective of victory for the peasant war in China and there can be none. —LUCIFER.

WORLD OF LABOR

BRITISH WORKERS OVERWHELM FASCISTS

Before us is a photograph of a sea of British workers, over 100,000 strong, surrounding a tiny island of Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts, less than 3,000 in all with about as many cops to protect them. And what a reception the fascists received from the workers! Here is an item from the Daily Telegraph, British capitalist paper:

"The Black Shirts, hemmed in by long lines of police on either side and resembling so many prisoners, went through a long avenue of jeering spectators."

This sea of angry workers gathered in Hyde Park seethed with hostility to Mosley's dupes and not a word of all their speeches could be heard above the shouts of derision from the proletarians. The workers assembled at this monster demonstration in defiance of the exhortations from the labor leaders and the Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party, for everyone "to stay away."

It seems to us from this distance that the miserable handful of Fascists should have been ducked by the workers who, from all reports, were raring to go. The I.L.P. and the C.P., however, put the damper on the demonstration with the order from each of the four platforms of the counter-demonstration: "No provocation from the workers—ignore provocation from others—show our strength and our discipline."

While this admonition may be perfectly well under other circumstances, our opinion leans towards teaching the Fascists a lesson of direct proletarian action whenever and wherever possible—especially when the workers' sentiment is so unmistakable and their strength so omnipotent.

LEFT SOCIALIST THREATENED

Spaak, editor of Action Socialiste, has been threatened with expulsion from the Belgian Labor Party (S. P.), by the General Council for his criticism of their weak leadership of a recent textile strike. A sub-committee proposed that the general council recommend to the annual conference the expulsion of Spaak. But cunning Vandervelde, who knows that it is much better to keep a left wing leader bound hand and foot within the party than to create bad feeling by expelling him, made a shrewd proposal. Spaak would not be expelled if he agreed to cease publication of his paper and serve instead on a committee of three to edit a discussion organ. But in no case was he to write on trade union subjects. If Spaak acquiesces it means the ball-and-chain around his political activity in the party. There can be no intra-party peace on the basis of the proposals of a king's footman like Vandervelde, except the peace of the grave.

BANANA WORKERS HOLD FIRM

The strength and solidarity of the banana workers strike in Costa Rica, is indicated in the fact that for the first time in the history of the United Fruit Company, one of the company's ships, S. S. Peten, arrived in New York with empty holds. The solidarity of the Cuban workers prevented the loading of the ship in Cuba, following its being unable to get a load at Puerto Limon, Costa Rica.

On the other hand, the extent to which the United Fruit Company dominates the political situation in the Central American countries, is made quite clear by recent events in the strike situation.

An agreement, settling the strike was signed at the Ministry of Labor offices in San Jose, on August 28, by Congressman Manuel Mora, of the Communist Party, representing the striking workers, and representatives of the government and the planters respectively. Among the terms of the settlement, which was a great victory for the workers, were the following provisions: Common Labor—Wages increased from 4 colons to 4.20 colons daily (4 colons equal \$1 U.S. approx.), hours reduced from eight to six daily; Axe labor—Wages increased from 4.50 and 5 colons to 7 colons daily; Piece work rates—Increase of 35 to 100 percent in rate paid. All pay to be in cash and not in company scrip as heretofore; Company commissaries in the camps to post price lists which must not be higher than the prices charged in stores of the nearest private commercial establishments; hospital privileges to be guaranteed by the employer at his expense; all tools excepting machetes to be furnished by the employers and not by the workers as heretofore; hygienic housing conditions in all labor camps and plantations; official government recognition of the Workers' Union of the Atlantic; no discrimination against workers for strike activity; federal intervention to procure liberation of workers imprisoned or strike activities.

In addition to the foregoing, the Executive, through the Ministry of Labor, promised to intervene with the United Fruit Company to secure the latter's adhesion to the conditions of the settlement.

On the foregoing conditions, the workers agreed to call off the strike, but the company refused to acknowledge the settlement. Therefore the strike has been continued, and the government, which had sought a quick solution in order to reestablish trade and industry, upon which its own income and life depend, now sides openly with its master, the United Fruit Company.

Repression and provocation are on the order of the day. The United Fruit Co., the newly formed "Anti-Communist League" and the government itself vie with each other in their efforts to provoke the workers.

At dawn on September 12 the national police made a savage raid on general strike headquarters at Finca Los Angeles and after shooting up the whole settlement, endangering the lives of the strikers, their wives and children, arrested everyone they could catch and expelled them from the country without any further formality. Comrade Jaime Cerdas, member of the C.C. of the C. P. and also of the general strike committee and one of the most active organizers, was wounded severely. The workers' homes were soon enveloped in flames and now the somewhat decimated but just as resolute general strike committee is obliged to meet elsewhere.

In the attempt to smash the strike, every method is being used. The workers cannot be intimidated, and are backing up the leadership of the strike to the fullest degree. The strike leadership on its part, is straining every effort to prevent the workers from resorting to acts of terrorism, all the more difficult in view of the provocative actions of the Company and the government. Evidently what the company hopes for is an insurrection, as it would be the surest means of checking the development of an international movement for the organization of the plantation workers of the whole Caribbean area. Above all, the forces of reaction realize the importance of the proletarian vanguard and are concentrating their efforts to destroy it.

At the Special Session of the Costa Rican Congress, opened last week, an attempt is being made to outlaw the Communist movement. Charges of high treason have already been brought against Congressman Mora. It is apparent that this is but an effort to provoke an outbreak such as occurred in El Salvador several years ago, which would give the government a legal excuse to murder the militant working class leaders.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER

(Continued from last week)

The program of the employers at first was based on the belief that the strike would not be of long duration and that the teamsters could be used to break the strike by hauling cargo to and from the docks as they had during the 1919 strike. When this failed and in addition the longshoremen were joined by the other marine workers they resorted to police brutality and terrorism of the worst kind. The police were mobilized to beat up and arrest the strikers and drive them from the waterfront. In addition the red scare was played up continually by the newspapers and the charge that the leadership of the strike was in the hands of the communists was hurled daily in the press in the hopes of causing dissension in the ranks of the strikers. The employers also attempted through the activities of Ryan, the International President, to put over an agreement, the effect of which would have been to preserve the same status that existed prior to the strike.

Ryan's June 16 agreement left the other marine unions entirely out of the settlement and provided for a hiring hall financed by the employers and jointly operated. In such a hiring hall the longshoremen would have had no power whatever. These agreements were correctly exposed by the left wing and were overwhelmingly voted down by the men.

The leaders of the San Francisco Central Labor Council also played a great part in the efforts of the employers to defeat the strike. As before stated, they were forced by the sentiments of the rank and file to issue an appeal to all unions for support, but at the first opportunity they launched a vicious attack on the strike by securing the passage of a resolution condemning the strike leaders of the I.L.A. as reds. The Stalinists furnished an excellent opportunity for them to do this by their tactics of denuncia-

tion of the American Federation of Labor at a mass meeting of twelve thousand workers called by the Strike Committee in support of the strike. Also in opposition to the wishes of many of the strike committee they put on the platform as a speaker, the representative of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. This played directly into the hands of the labor snakes and they succeeded in passing this resolution of attack on the strike by an overwhelming majority. This attack in the heat of the strike was hailed with glee by the shipowners and the capitalist press and brought forth a congratulatory telegram from William Green, president of the A. F. of L.

The tactics of the police right from the beginning of the strike was one of brutality and intimidation. The strike had only been in effect a few days when the police began a campaign to break the morale of the pickets. The first move was to force the pickets off the waterfront side of the Embarcadero which naturally greatly hampered their effectiveness. The strike committee should have organized their forces and made a militant attempt to maintain their right to picket in front of the docks. This would have greatly stimulated the morale of the pickets and would also have drawn the rank and file of the labor movement much closer to the marine workers. The police constantly made statements in the press that they would begin cracking down on the strikers if the strike was not settled. This was more than a verbal gesture as they were cracking the heads of the pickets at every opportunity.

After the longshoremen turned down Ryan's fake agreement of June 16, the Industrial Association of San Francisco, acting on behalf of the employers, began making preparations for the opening of the port. On July 3 a few trucks were moved under police protection from

the docks to a central warehouse. Thousands of strikers and sympathizers were on the water front to prevent the movement of the trucks. The militancy of the strikers at this time was unquestioned. They would immediately converge at any dock where they heard freight was going to be moved and in spite of the police succeeded in overturning several trucks. The big battle to move the trucks was continued on July 5. On that day thousands of strikers and sympathizers were again on the waterfront. The police were reinforced by hundreds of deputies, all of them armed to the teeth with instructions to shoot. The strikers had only a few sticks and stones. In addition to hurling tear and vomit gas, the police and deputies opened fire on the pickets and over seventy strikers were shot, the great majority of them in the back. Two strikers were killed near the I.L.A. headquarters several blocks from where any trucks were being moved. Following this massacre the militia was called in and began to patrol the waterfront.

The murderous attack of the police on the strikers fired the feelings of the rank and file of the labor movement to a white heat. The teamsters union in a packed meeting, in spite of the plea of Casey and the other officials about the sanctity of contracts, voted six to one to come out on strike in support of the marine workers. After the teamsters the butchers and chauffeurs immediately followed. The labor officialdom faced with the threat of a general strike had only two alternatives. Either to oppose it openly, which action had in it the danger of their complete isolation and repudiation by the trade union movement, or to head it off by accepting leadership and thus control it. They naturally chose the second course as did the labor leaders in Great Britain during the general strike. The San Francisco labor officials took command in order to betray the move-

ment at the first favorable opportunity.

Their first move was at the meeting of the Labor Council held on July 6, the day after the massacre. After passing a resolution condemning the Governor for calling out the militia and stating that the San Francisco police were capable of handling the situation, thereby showing their loyalty to the city administration with which they were politically affiliated, they then presented a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee of seven to take control of the waterfront strike and advise the labor movement of San Francisco as to what action should be taken in support of the strikers. As a sop to the I.L.A. they also endorsed the aims of the strike for collective bargaining and the right of the I.L.A. to control the hiring halls. Here again the absence of a militant left wing enabled the bureaucrats to pass this resolution. In spite of the opposition of a handful of delegates who saw that the officials by this move were seeking to prevent the general strike, it was overwhelmingly adopted by the vast majority of the delegates in the belief that such a committee was necessary in order to build the machinery for the successful calling of a general strike. That the Strategy Committee was out to settle the strike and not to call a general strike was evident right from the start. At the teamsters meeting, called for the purpose of deciding whether all of the teamsters should go out on a general sympathetic strike, the committee used all of their influence to prevent such action from being taken. The teamsters, however, were not influenced by these tactics and after listening to the speech of Harry Bridges, the chairman of the joint marine strike committee, voted 6 to 1, as previously mentioned, to go out on strike.

(Continued next week)

French Bolshevik-Leninists Decide To Enter S.F.I.O. as Faction

At the recent conference of the French Section of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists) it was decided by a majority vote to enter the S.F.I.O. (French Socialist Party) as a faction and to work there for the same principles which our organization has upheld on an international scale, first as the Left Opposition of the Comintern and, after the German debacle, as an independent group. The tactical turn of the French League is motivated by the near approach of the decisive struggle with Fascism in France and the necessity of establishing closer contact with the mass of socialist workers who are experiencing a deep process of ferment and political differentiation. The tactical move of the League is designed to put it in a position to influence them for a revolutionary policy. The united front pact concluded by the Socialist and Stalinist party bureaucracies had excluded the League from participation, thus isolating it from the mass movement. With its small numerical forces the League, despite the power of its ideas, would have been condemned to ineffectiveness in such a situation. And since, in the estimation of the International Communists, the showdown with Fascism is near at hand—perhaps a matter of months—a swift tactical turn on the part of the League was deemed necessary. The French comrades did not wish to stand aside as sectarians in order to draw lessons after the victory of Fascism. They chose to force their way into the mass movement, through the only door open under present conditions, to influence the movement for revolutionary struggle and victory.

It goes without saying that the sharp turn in tactics decided upon by our French comrades does not in any way or in any degree signify a renunciation of any of the ideas which have bound the Bolshevik-Leninists of the world together—ideas which are all now compressed into the slogan of the Fourth International and the struggle for its realization. The action is taken without any thought of reconciliation with reformism or centrism as represented by the parties of the Second International, any more than ten-years' existence of the International Left Opposition as a faction of the Communist International meant a reconciliation with Stalinism.

Both the major French parties today—Stalinist and Socialist—are centrist parties. There are two important differences, however. The former is moving backward from the principles and methods of revolutionary Marxism and is deprived of any semblance of internal democracy; the latter is in a crisis marked by the complete bankruptcy of reformism, a deep process of radicalization is taking place in the ranks, and the bureaucracy is not in a position to prohibit a wide internal democracy. In these circumstances—with the danger of Fascism imminent—the French League of International Communists arrived at the conclusion to enter the Socialist Party as a faction.

Prior to the decision of the conference to take this step the National Committee of the Communist League of America decided, by a majority of 8 to 1, to recommend this course to the French comrades, despite the great dangers and difficulties involved in such a drastic reorientation. We recommended this course with full confidence that they would remain true to their banner and carry it with them into the Socialist Party. That this confidence was fully justified is confirmed by the latest issue of *La Verite* which has just arrived. It is published now in the name of "The Bolshevik-Leninist Faction of the S.F.I.O.—formerly the Communist League."

We print below the declaration of the French comrades upon entering the S.F.I.O. as well as a statement on the decision of the national conference. From these documents it is clear that the Bolshevik-Leninists of France remain what they were and that they have been accepted by the socialist workers as such.

We shall follow and report the feverish developments in France and the part played in them by the Bolshevik-Leninists. The key to the whole world situation is now in France. The issue will not remain long undecided. The question is: The horrible reaction of Fascism, or—the liberating victory of the working class, for France, and not only for France. The Bolshevik-Leninist faction of the French Socialist party will have a great role to play in the answer to this momentous question. We shall watch their struggle with passionate sympathy and give them all the moral and material aid in our power.

—J. P. C.

Declaration of French Bolshevik-Leninists

(Translated from *La Verite*)

At the Third National Conference of the Communist League, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France after examining the French and international political situation and the situation in the workers' movement, reaffirmed their conviction that the program and methods of Leninism, the bases of their activities, are today more necessary than ever for the proletariat in order to resist Fascism, overthrow the capitalist system and march towards the socialist society.

The Bolshevik-Leninists maintain that, following the February events, the two great organizations of the working class have accepted the slogan of the united front, for which we struggled for many years; however, they have not endowed it with the active content so necessary because of the threat of reaction. Nevertheless, a deepgoing and radical regrouping of the working class is taking place, political differentiation occurring through a process of unification. The Bolshevik-Leninists want to play the greatest role in this regrouping towards a single revolutionary party of the proletariat, which cannot take place except in action, in the elaboration and criticism of action.

Under present conditions, to continue as a small independent group would not permit us to play our role with the force demanded by the gravity of the situation. That is why we have decided to enter the Socialist party, as we are, with our program and ideas. In the ranks of the sections of the Socialist party, shoulder to shoulder with its revolutionary workers, with the working class of France, in the common struggle against the bourgeoisie, we want to ELABORATE WITH THEM THE BEST MEANS, THE BEST METHODS TO EMANCIPATE OURSELVES FROM THE FETTERS OF CAPITALISM.

In entering the ranks of the Socialist party, the Bolshevik-Leninists ask only the right to participate in its activities, to defend, equally with all other tendencies, those ideas which have been forged in years of struggle; we agree to be disciplined in revolutionary action.

The Bolshevik-Leninists call upon all their sympathizers to transform their sympathy into adherence, by associating themselves with us in this decisive step.

Comrades, join us in the ranks of the Socialist party for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat!

Without renouncing our past and our ideas, but also without any mental reservations of sectarianism, we speak out what is: it is necessary to enter the Socialist party; not for the sake of exhibitions, nor of experiences, but for serious revolutionary work under the banner of Marxism.

—National Conference of the Communist League of France.

Third Conference of French League

(Translated from *la Verite*)

Our third national conference terminates a decade of struggle of the revolutionary group, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France. In 1924 a handful of militants of the French Communist party reacted against the first signs of the Stalinist policy of revising Leninism which was characterized by the anti-Trotskyist offensive in the Russian Communist party and then in the entire Communist International. "Oppositionist" sections formed. Without international connections, isolated from the powerful reserve of the Russian opposition, suffering from the vices of a section only recently released in Tours from the opportunist and social-patriotic grip, these new sections suffered many crises, the toll paid to the process of doctrinal selection.

Foundation of *La Verite* and the Struggle for the Reform of the C. I.

In 1929 hardly a dozen militants founded *La Verite*. The shameful expulsion of Trotsky from the U.S.S.R. deprived the Russian Opposition of its leader, but allowed its forces greater activity in the service of the world revolution.

Beginning with this date, the aim of our section "was to struggle against the degeneration of the revolutionary movement", our method—"reform of the Communist International", which despite the accumulation of Stalinist mistakes was the vanguard of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

The Degeneration of the C.I. The German Defeat

The degeneration of the C. I. depended. It was characterized by a multitude of zig-zags and a bureaucratic-hierarchical regime. The result was the German defeat; the importance of this defeat which, measured by its effects on the workers' movement, the fact that the mistakes causing the defeat were approved without discussion in any section, removed any perspective of reform. As a revolutionary party of the proletariat, the 3rd International could no longer play its progressive role. Like the 2nd International in 1914, it had ceased to live as a dynamic revolutionary factor.

Our Record in this Period

In our struggle for the reform of the C. I., step by step we formed a strong organization on an international scale which now consists of more than 25 sections on every continent, unified on a common programmatic and principle platform, having a press and cadres in each country. By this method it reconstructed the political capital of the world proletariat.

Towards the Fourth International

The theoretical bases of a new international laid, the propaganda for the Fourth International begun in September 1933, the attempt at joint work made with formations who were expelled or previously left the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, serious progress was made and the

current for the Fourth International gained in the entire world. The cry of rabid hate of the world bourgeoisie against L. Trotsky, and then the expulsion order in April 1934 is on a par with the reception the world bourgeoisie gave the 1st International at its foundation!

The Third International was born in the grandiose circumstances of a victorious proletarian revolution. The 4th International found its *raison d'être* in the dramatic circumstances of the degeneration of this revolution. The task of Lenin in 1914 struggling against the torrential current of chauvinism was difficult; our task in the centrist morass is quite as difficult. Defeats have been suffered by the masses and have created a reflux in the sentiment of internationalism. So much more imperative is the struggle for the 4th International. In the teeth of the threat of an imperialist war, of the Fascist wave, our 3rd National Conference makes this struggle the axis of its activity.

For a United Revolutionary Party!

To build a revolutionary international means to struggle on a national scale for a revolutionary party. This is an urgent task in France where the coming to power of Fascism would have as its consequence the disappearance for a whole period of any perspective of socialist revolution in Europe, while on the contrary, a revolutionary rise would crack Fascism in Italy and Germany and open up a new development of the world revolution.

In the face of the new situation created in the French workers' movement by the rapprochement of the two large parties which claim to speak in its interest, by the perspective of organic unity of these parties, in the regrouping that such a perspective would cause, our 3rd National Conference believes that the S.F.I.O. can in this situation by its present state of evolution, and thanks to a political differentiation actively taking place in its ranks, become a milieu of revolutionary regroupment. That is why our 3rd National Conference decided for the entrance of our members into the S.F.I.O. without that in any way meaning the abandonment of our conceptions, the renunciation of our past struggle which guarantees our continuity.

Disapproval and Equivocal Approval

This decision of our National Conference has caused much confusion and violent disapproval. It comes from numerous comrades who confuse our organization with a revolutionary party, for the consideration of which we were only a medium. These comrades forget that correct ideas have an active effect only when they have a mass basis, consequently an organized basis capable of playing a decisive independent role.

Approbations are not lacking. A diversity of partisans of "organic unity" approve our entry. Those who aspire to this unity by confusedly giving to it the content of a strong revolutionary party, which is still to be created, should understand that this "unity" can only have this viable content on the basis of revolutionary principles. The Purists (Party of Proletarian Unity, formerly Right Wing Communists) who confine themselves to applauding our entry, should stop subordinating themselves to the electoral cretinism of their leaders. The partisans of the "unity of fire and water", with the Marquises and the Renaudels, should know that "we carry not unity but battle to the social traitors" (Karl Liebknecht).

We have not broken with Stalin in order to collaborate in the policies of the Marquises or the other Ministers of the king. The exclusion of a part of social traitors, create, through the evolution it expresses, the possibility of our entry. It is necessary to emphasize that we did not break with the Communist International in order to allow the henchmen of Stalin to freely continue (even when we were expelled from the party) their work of the revision of Leninism. We greeted the evolution of the Saint Denis district, in the degree that it was progressive. We will carry on a firm struggle against any anti-Leninist degeneration!

Militant socialists! We have refused "the infiltration into the S.F.I.O. by any means" which was proposed by several militants who are no longer with us. We think that the Socialist Party can play an important role for the regroupment and activity of the revolutionary forces in France. We will bring all our energy to bear in this work. You can count on us as on our revolutionary discipline!

Youth Unite Against Fascism

(Continued from Page 1)

pact submitted by the Y. P. S. L. After detailed discussion, and several proposed amendments to the draft the entire matter was referred to a steering committee consisting of one representative from each of the organizations at the meeting.

The steering committee was empowered to make the detailed plans for the demonstration, invite other organizations to the arrangements committee, etc. It was unanimously agreed that seats on the arrangements and steering committee would be left open for the Young Communist League and the National Student League. A letter is to be sent to each of these organizations asking them to reconsider their decision.

Relief Endangered

(Continued from Page 1)

The City of New York has financed this relief by obtaining one half of the sum needed from Federal relief, one fourth from the State and the remaining one fourth from the City.

An increased number of far-sighted capitalists and their politicians realize that unemployment has become an integral part of "Americanism" and advocate a long term relief program. The Executive Committee of the United States Conference of Mayors, presented a plan to the President which calls for special emergencies to meet the winter's need, and advocate unemployment insurance.

The problem confronting the workers of New York is similar to the one in all other cities of the United States, if not worse. This calls for renewed action for the organization of the unemployed into city, county and state-wide organizations, and united action between the different unemployed organizations for our demands.

OPEN FORUM

LATEST TURNS IN THE UNITED FRONT
(The united front between S.P. and C.P. in France and America)

Speaker: **MAX SHACHTMAN**
Editor of New International
Sunday, Sept. 30, at 8 P.M.
141 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Questions : Discussion
Admission Free

Audience: Downtown Branch
Communist League of America
Sunday Lecture Series

HOT SPOTS IN THE WORLD SITUATION

The Need for the 4th International

FRANCE—October 7, 1934, 8 P.M.

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK

SPAIN—October 14, 1934, 8 P.M.

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN

UNITED STATES—Oct. 21, 8 P.M.

Speaker: HUGO OEHLER

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place & 15th St., N. Y. C.

Admission: 15 Cents per Lecture.

Audience: Communist League of America, New York Local

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Communist League Replies to Letter Of A.W.P. on Unity

Sept. 27, 1934.
Provisional Organization Committee
American Workers Party
A. J. Muste, Chairman
Dear Comrades:

We have given careful consideration to your letter of September 18 and agree with you that the fusion of our organizations for the task of building a new revolutionary party would be a revolutionary step forward. Since such an action would signify the first move for the unification of the revolutionary forces, after more than a decade of disintegration and splits, it could hardly fail at the very beginning to inspire and attract a considerable number of revolutionary workers in addition to the present members of our respective organizations. In view of these prospects it is our opinion that the fusion would provide a sufficient basis to justify us in formally launching the new party.

Armed with the program of Marxism, such a party, despite its comparatively small size at its inception, would have a good opportunity to become the rallying center for those workers who are breaking away from reformism and centrism, as represented by the Socialist and Stalinist parties. More than that, by direct participation in the class struggle, the new party could draw into its ranks a large number of workers who are awakening for the first time to political consciousness.

The lightning speed of class developments, however, makes it imperative that we grasp this opportunity while there is yet time, before the developments pass us by and seek another point of crystallization. Our chance to introduce the new revolutionary party into the situation as an independent force, and to make that party the axis around which further developments proceed, depends in the highest degree on the speed with which we compose such differences as may remain between us and proceed directly to the organic fusion of the two organizations and the formal declaration of the new party.

The maximum of clarity in the fundamental questions of the program is, of course, a prerequisite for success. The new party must cut with a sharp blade. If during the past six years especially, in close collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists of the world, we have preoccupied ourselves with theoretical work, and stubbornly pursued that work as an isolated and hounded group, it is precisely because we have understood the fearful debacle in the practice of the dominant parties on an international scale as the direct outcome of the degeneration of theory. We aim to continue this work and to contribute all we can to the clarification of principle in such further discussion as may be necessary to prepare the fusion, and in the new party, after the fusion is accomplished, also.

But, in our opinion, this work must be carried on now in direct and immediate connection with the task which is imposed upon us by the general situation, namely, the founding of a revolutionary party. The fusion of our two organizations and the joint struggle to establish the new party as a power in the labor movement need not and cannot wait until every comma is put in its proper place and every hair is split in two. Our central task now, as we understand it, is to unite our forces and create a movement. The extent to which we comprehend this, and the speed with which we accomplish it, will be a good test of what theory means to us as a guide to action.

The programmatic documents submitted to you by the Communist League delegation during the discussions previously held, taken together with the revised draft program of the American Workers Party, contain the essential principles which, we believe, constitute the sufficient programmatic foundation upon which a party, formed out of a fusion between your organization and ours, is justified and possible. There remain, of course, a number of differences of opinion as to formulation on certain points; but many of these have already been overcome to a large extent, and we are confident that the necessary further clarification can be achieved in negotiations to prepare the unity and in the active common life of the new party.

It is our opinion that the full program of the new party must be an elaborate and carefully worked out document, and that in all probability its final form will not be arrived at for some time to come. For the present, we believe that the new party needs a concise direct statement of principle and action, omitting the expository, explanatory, and semi-narrative material of your revised program. We believe that such a statement could be drawn up within a very short

time by the use of your draft program and our programmatic material. We hold that such a statement should be a joint product of our organizations, and therefore propose that a joint committee be immediately appointed to proceed with this work. The points, concisely formulated in this declaration, could subsequently be expanded expositively in the form of popular agitational pamphlets.

The new party, formed by the merger of our organizations, will naturally be an autonomous organization which will determine for itself its own international affiliations or connections, as well as all other questions. Upon the completion of the merger it is our understanding that both organizations will dissolve into the new party. The Communist League will therefore sever its organizational connections as a separate group with the International Communist League. We will propose, at the same time, that the new party establish fraternal relations with the International Communist League and all other groups and parties working for a new (Fourth) International and collaborate with them in the work of preparing the new world party.

We agree with you that the best defense of the Soviet Union, and the most effective way now to liberate the Workers State from the incubus of Stalinism is the building of powerful revolutionary parties of the new international in the capitalist countries. This conception lies at the root of our fundamental conceptions and has animated all our activity. We consider it incorrect, however, to counterpose this fundamental task of reviving the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries to the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists within the Soviet Union to preserve and strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to reform it and cleanse it of bureaucratic degeneration. Since the regime of Stalinism has strangled the revolutionary party in the Soviet Union no less than in other countries, this struggle for the reform of the Workers State requires that the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R.—and the new parties of

the Fourth International with them—aim at the creation of a new party, that is, the revival of the Bolshevik party under new conditions. But this can be accomplished only as a result of the successful development of the New International in the capitalist countries.

In your letter reference is made to the different origins of the two organizations, different habits of work, etc. This undoubtedly will present certain difficulties in the first stages of the fusion, and possibly even afterward. But there is also a positive side, insofar as the different experiences and differences in emphasis which have marked the main activities of the members of the two organizations, can be regarded now, in the light of the concrete tasks of the present, as rather complementary than antagonistic. The reciprocal influence of the active militants of each group on the others, within a single organization, can make for a rounded and firmly united party.

Our fundamental task, as we see it, is to bring our forces together and form the new party without delay. As a practical method of preparing and hastening the unification we submit the following concrete proposals:

1. That we set up a joint unity committee composed of an equal number from each organization.
2. That this joint committee be charged with the task of preparing a draft of a declaration of principles and a program of action for the new party.
3. That this joint committee draw up the organization plans to effect the unification at a joint convention in the near future, and also work out detailed plans to adjust organization questions, press, name of the party, etc.

If these proposals meet with your approval, we are ready to select our representatives to the unity committee without delay.

Yours fraternally,
National Committee
Communist League of America
ARNE SWABECK,
Secretary

A.F. of L Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

time moment.
The Frisco strike also revealed the role of the reactionary leaders in their struggle against the strike and the left wing.

Organizing the Left Wing

These struggles have been big lessons to the new developing progressive and left wing force in the A. F. of L. The opposition is beginning to learn the ins and outs and the need of an organized left wing. The Toledo struggle and the Minneapolis strike brought to the fore, in the clearest form, the kind of new leadership we need and the tactics necessary to win the strikes and defeat the reactionary aims of the A. F. of L. leaders.

The new progressive opposition is a growing force. On the one hand, there is the vast army of new members coming into the A. F. of L. through the organization of workers in the basic industries, forming new unions. On the other hand, in the old craft outfits, such as the teamsters, the longshoremen, etc., new recruits and conditions under the NRA are making for unions and locals that are putting up battles that every worker can be proud of and which strike fear into every reactionary leader.

The "Red" Scare

The "red" scare will be played up to the highest point by the conservatives. Most of the "reds" in the union have nothing in common with Stalinism, and said to say, a goodly number must yet be introduced to the theories of communism. The "red scare" that Green and Company speak of is in reality the militant progressive left wing movement that is now developing. They realize this and want to nip it in the bud. They understand what a strike like Minneapolis means. They know that the strikers were unanimous in their support of the leadership of the Minneapolis strike. They know that strike leadership of this type and calibre is deadly poison to their treacherous conservative role, and that this type of unionism spells ruin to the bosses and to their labor henchmen.

Against Political Discrimination

The progressive left wingers must fight in this convention for the right of union members to belong to any political party of their choice. A fight must be put up against Green and Company who endeavor to expel communists and others. They must fight for social insurance. They must see that the six-hour day and five-day week, with no reduction in pay, becomes

a fighting point for the general reduction of all hours of work, especially in the industries where 44 and 54 hours still prevail for millions of workers. The labor leaders must be instructed to resign from the NRA and all other class collaboration labor boards. A struggle against the NRA must be developed through a militant class trade union policy.

The compromise proposal of the metal trades unions on the struggle over the "vertical" or industrial form of union organization does not conform to the developments. It will retard the forward march toward amalgamation. In fact it is more of an attempt to head off amalgamation in the building of industrial unions than a step in that direction. The federal unions must be transformed into industrial unions as rapidly as possible.

It is true that the militant left wing will not be able to win its objectives at this convention. Nevertheless, it must put its program before the gathering and use the convention as a forum to further crystallize its forces. The future of the American labor movement belongs to the new type of militant leaders and the new tactics that they are developing.

—HUGO OEHLER.

OPEN FORUM THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Soviets Enter League of Nations

Speaker: **HUGO OEHLER**

Member National Committee C.L.A.

Friday, October 5, 8 P.M.

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Questions and Discussion

Admission Free

Audience: Downtown Branch, Communist League of America

THE MILITANT

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DEBATE:

FARMER - LABOR

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

IRVING PLAZA

Thursday, October 11th, 8 P.M.

Tickets on Sale at:

International Workers School, 144 Second Avenue

Common Sense, 315 Fourth Avenue

Pioneer Bookshop, 102 East 11th Street

ADMISSION: 35 CENTS

Audience: International Workers School

Alfred Bingham

Editor of COMMON SENSE

James P. Cannon

Editor of THE MILITANT



Issues Of The Day At The A. F. of L. Convention

In his keynote speech to the Fifty-Fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in San Francisco, president William Green hailed the strike proposal made in President Roosevelt's broadcast the night before. In an interview later he said: "I know it will meet with a warm reception from labor."

Simultaneously the National Association of Manufacturers welcomed the strike proposal and referred to a memorandum it had previously submitted recommending the issuance by the President of a proclamation similar to the doctrine laid down by the National Council of defense during the World War and subscribed to by Samuel Gompers.

Strike Truce of the Past
And why should not Green and his worthy cronies be ready to subscribe to such a truce? They have done it before. We recall the beginning of the crisis when President Hoover summoned the captains of industry and the leaders of the trade unions and, in view of "the national emergency", obtained a no-strike pledge from the latter. So here we have it: a no-strike pledge in time of war; a no-strike pledge in time of crisis, and now a prospective no-strike pledge in the time or the attempted recovery. It is not difficult to find the grounds or the motivations for it; but we venture to say that it will be much more difficult actually to maintain a no-strike pledge now and take away this most powerful means of mass resistance of the American workers against the increasing intensity of exploitation.

In this warm greeting to the strike truce proposal by the labor lieutenants of capitalism we see manifested one side of government and "labor" relations under the NRA. The increasing governmental supervision of relations between labor and the barons of industry and finance, that is the class relations, attempts to make class collaboration a permanent institution to be founded on a much broader basis than heretofore, with the labor lieutenants as the guardians, not of the interests of the workers, but of their hoped-for docile acquiescence to continued exploitation. The trade union officials sit on the labor relations and mediation boards. They engage in truce agreements and sell-out settlements of strikes

with representatives of the administration.

The trade union officials rely on this sort of an equilibrium. No doubt, President Roosevelt's broadcast fitted admirably with the A. F. of L. convention, both from the point of view of purpose and time of delivery.

But there is also another side of government and labor relations, and this is a far more important one. It was particularly and glaringly manifested in the recent textile strike. In every strike, in practically every city where textile mills are located, the strikers' picket lines met the government in its real expression, in the form of the mailed fist. Gunmen and sheriffs; policemen; steel-helmeted soldiers; tear gas, machine guns and concentration camps; the imprisonment and killing and maiming of strikers—this is what the workers met in their conflict with the government of their masters. The full significance of this experience may not yet be clear to the textile workers who fought so heroically. But, taken together with the empty promises by which they were cajoled to return to work and, for the time being, give up their strike weapon, the lesson will become increasingly clear. At the same time we will witness the upsetting of the equilibrium that the trade union officials rely on today.

Real Issues to the Fore
No doubt consideration of the proposed strike truce will dominate the A. F. of L. convention. But beneath it the real issues will press to the fore. Certain rumblings of disagreements and difficulties in the official family have already appeared in the split between those officials who are inside the Building Trades Department and those of the carpenters, bricklayers and electricians who are outside. Of course, this split does not reflect any of the real issues. It merely expresses the quandary of the official family and the attempt to lead the issues into channels where they can be blundered and obscured. But this will not help. The problem of the right to union organization remains and this right can be won only by fighting for it: the question of policy and method in the face of an arrogant class of employers begins to call for a solution: the question of forms of or-

(Continued on Page 4)

Cannon, Muste Address Paterson Silk Workers

Paterson, N. J.—A crowd of 300 silk workers, constituting the largest local meeting brought together by any left-wing organization in some years, packed Oakley Hall Sunday night and received with warm applause the addresses of James P. Cannon and A. J. Muste. This was the first public meeting held under the joint auspices of the Communist League and the American Workers Party, and references made by both speakers to the probability of unity on a revolutionary program in the near future were greeted enthusiastically.

Muste Scores "Settlement"
Comrade Muste, the first speaker, analyzed the recent textile strike, and characterized the settlement as a flagrant betrayal. Muste pointed out that the workers must not regard the strike as altogether a wasted effort, especially in view of the moral effect of the militant activities of textile workers all over the country. He went on to show that nothing had been won of the original demands of the U. T. W., and that in a way something had been lost since Paterson bosses, who had formerly signed large-scale joint agreements could now point to the Whelan Report as favoring shop-by-shop settlement.

"This worthless report was endorsed by the leaders of the U. T. W.," said Muste, "at a moment when the strike was still on the upswing. They did not even require the bosses to accept the report. Without a single guarantee, not even a paper one, they called off the strike, leaving thousands of workers high-and-dry without their jobs. To produce such a result, it was necessary to have the type of leaders now in control of the U. T. W. and the A. F. of L. in general,

that is, men who combine with stupidity, a lack of courage and disloyalty to the working class."

Cannon Analyzes Strike Wave
Comrade Cannon discussed the general background of the textile strike, analyzed the militant mood which has become more and more characteristic of labor in all important industries in the past year, and took up in some detail the manner in which the textile strike was run in Paterson. His criticism of the Lovestonette local chief of the silk Federation, Eli Keller, was greeted with vociferously expressed approval by the workers present.

During the same afternoon, a group numbering about 700 had gathered at union headquarters to complain about the fact that the strike had been called off without a membership meeting and that Keller, in order to maintain power, was violating the union constitution in a dozen ways.

Comrade Cannon said that it was not surprising that Southern mill workers, holding a union card for the first time in their lives, should be unable to offer resistance to the sell-out perpetrated by Green, McMahon and Gorman.

"Paterson, however," he continued, "is the bearer of the great tradition of militant struggle in the industry. Here every militant union current has found full expression in its time. Here the I. W. W. had its stamping ground in its halcyon days. Here the workers are always ready for struggle; they have been through the mill, they are union men from head to toe and know the meaning of that. How come that in such a town this rotten settlement could be perpetrated by a pint-sized Gorman without a single obstacle being put in his

(Continued on Page 4)

Youth Demonstrate Against Italian Fascism Friday

A monster united front demonstration will be the reply to the New York workers, on October 12, to the Yankee Stadium pageant in greeting of 300 Italian Fascist students. A United Youth Committee has been set up including the Y.P.S.L., the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartacus Youth League. Both the Young Communist League and the National Student League refused to participate in this arrangement committee on the grounds that the Lovestonettes and Trotskyites were in it. All youth organizations have been invited by the United Youth Committee to join the united front.

The Yankee Stadium pageant for the 300 Italian Fascist students is part of a systematic campaign of Mussolini's to popularize Italian Fascism in this country. The students are to tour the important cities and universities of the country. In addition Mussolini's "Fascist Band" is touring the country. Already they have been "greeted" by demonstrations of New York workers when they appeared at a theater in this city.

All anti-Fascist organizations must be rallied to protest this arrogant provocation. Wherever they appear the working class organizations should stage a counter-demonstration. A united front of these forces must be consummated. It can become the starting point of

genuine common action against Fascism and all forms of capitalist reaction.

Assembly before Yankee Stadium on Oct. 12th! Protest the provocations of Mussolini! Forge the united front against Fascism!

Members and sympathizers of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League will meet at their central headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on Friday, Oct. 12, at 11:00 A.M.

The Stalinists, through the American League Against War and Fascism, held a rival conference on Thursday for a demonstration for the same purpose, on the same day and place. Hardly twenty-four hours intervened between the call and the meeting of the conference.

The Y.P.S.L., the S.L.I.D., and the United Youth Committee sent observers to the conference, the first two organizations having been invited. Ben Fischer and Joe Carter representing the Committee and Aaron Levenstein of the Y.P.S.L. and Hal Draper of the S.L.I.D. protested the holding of a dual conference. They scored the refusal of the Y.C.L. and the N.S.L. to join the united front. The invitation extended to the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism, they stated, had not been answered.

A representative of the American League Against War and Fascism (Continued on Page 4)

BUILD THE LEAGUE

The Stalinists disagree with us once again. They object to the unification of the Communist League and the American Workers Party into a revolutionary party in America. They are issuing advice to the membership of both organizations. They even warn the leaders of the two organizations against the fusion on the ground that it will not do Stalinism any good.

They realize that a new revolutionary party will be able to challenge them on every front. While they fear the new militancy of the Stalinists, they nevertheless figure they can handle them. The prospect of a new revolutionary Marx-

ist party, however, throws them into a panic.

But we still think the new party is necessary. Let us not delay this important step. You can help. Build the foundation of the new party by helping now to build the Communist League. We have issued one-dollar and five-dollar certificates. Every reader should buy one. Send in your contribution at once. You will receive a NEW PARTY CERTIFICATE by return mail. Every member of the League and every sympathizer should buy one of these certificates. Each branch is organizing a special drive to recruit members and collect the new party fund.

ARMED CLASHES IN SPAIN AS CIVIL WAR BEGINS

Spanish Workers Destiny Hinges on Militant Action

The Spanish Revolution began in the spring of 1931 with the overthrow of the monarchy and was carried to great heights by the mass action of the workers and peasants. Its further progress was checked by the betrayal of the Socialist party leaders, who at the time shared power with the Republicans and the sectarian putschism of the anarchists. Between them they objectively prepared the way for the present rightist regime.

With the setting in of reaction in 1933, the political forces of the nation gravitated to both extremes. The Socialist party, in an attempt to rectify its past, has pushed its more conservative leaders to the background and forged ahead under a new banner—that of the Proletarian dictatorship. Important sections of the anarcho-syndicalist movement have oriented towards political action. On the other extreme the Catholic Popular Agrarian (Fascist) Party of Gil Robles has come to the fore, anxious to fulfill its historic role in Spain as has been done by the Fascist parties of Italy and Germany.

Political Crisis in Spain
The last few weeks have witnessed the development of a serious political crisis in Spain. The right-centrist government of Samper is on the verge of complete collapse. Representing a minority of the Cortes, it has been unable to solve any of the pressing economic and political problems of the day. The Fascists are demanding the formation of a "majority" government which means that they would have to be included. Gil Robles openly announces that this would be only a temporary arrangement, and that the time when the Fascists will make a bid for complete power, is not far distant.

Faced with this situation, the Socialist Party, claiming to speak for the majority of the proletariat of Spain issued a manifesto in El Socialista on Sept. 28 in which it is predicted that the decisive showdown with Fascism will take place during October. This manifesto, reads in part as follows:

Socialist Party Manifesto
"Next month may well be our October. The maneuvers of the reactionaries should catch no one in the proletarian camp off his guard. We must be prepared for anything. . . . The great army of workers of field and city should from this moment consider themselves mobilized, so that at the proper moment, everyone will know his post and his mission and carry forward his task without any wavering or doubt."

Declaring that the Socialist Party does not pretend to foresee the events of October, the manifesto adds, "But we do know that the horizon has not yet cleared. The rightists will attempt to get far as they can. Days of difficult trial for us are ahead. Our preparations must not fail. Everything must be completely organized, no longer must anything be left for the morrow. We must have every detail prepared for our victory. Thus there will be no risk of awakening one day to find ourselves under a Fascist dictatorship."

After stating that the party will not back out of the most costly sacrifices, El Socialista goes on to say, "Our responsibilities before the Spanish proletariat are enormous because there does not exist in Spain any other organized force with as concrete objectives as the S. P. The now weakened bourgeois parties will have to seek difficult twisting bypaths if they are to win; but, on the other hand, the working class knows what it wants to achieve, and how to accomplish its ends."

Aim to Conquer Power
The manifesto goes on to relate the efficiency with which the Spanish workers even today are collectively and successfully working the land, mines and enterprises of many industries that the capitalists were forced to abandon because of their inability to make profits. These enterprises are now functioning under the direction of the Socialist Union, which is pointed

to as the model for the future workers' state. The manifesto continues: "We have our own army, already prepared for mobilization. We have our international ally, our plans for socialization, our ideas concerning the reorganization of institutions and universities, our own plans as to the banks. We have the masses of those who produce. The only thing we lack is power and therefore we must conquer it. . . . The conquest of power is not and cannot be achieved by a minority but rather by the whole mass of working people. . . . It is no longer possible to progress by democratic means beyond the point reached in the first two years of the republic. We must now take a much greater leap forward. If this leap is not made, not only will Social Democracy be lost, but we will fall into the abyss of white terror, repression and ignominy."

Sabotage of United Front

An unfortunate circumstance in the present situation in Spain, is the fact that the Socialist party insists on its preparations to seize power unaided. Even if we recognize the hegemony of the Socialists over the majority of the proletariat, the very important minority which maintains its organizational and ideological independence should not be left out of account. The National Confederation of Labor, controlled by the anarcho-syndicalists, has a following of several hundred thousand of the country's industrial workers, precisely those with the most militant traditions during past years. The Syndicalist Libertarians with their important trade union following in the Opposition unions, and the three communist groups, must all be taken into consideration in any serious attempt to carry through a workers' revolution.

But the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party have consistently sabotaged every attempt to form the Workers Alliance on a national scale. This united front organization, from which the future Workers Councils of Spain may well emerge, is functioning efficiently in a number of provinces with the participation of organizations of different tendencies, but it appears to be the object of the Socialist leaders, to prevent interference as much as possible by the various labor minorities, organically ally themselves with these lesser groups only on a local scale in those regions where said groups constitute a considerable force.

The Minority Groups

The labor minorities, represented by the Communist Left (Bolshevik-Leninists), Iberian Communist Federation (Maurin group), Syndicalist Libertarians and the Opposition Unions, are exerting pressure to force the Socialist Party into a National Workers Alliance. The truly sincere revolutionary elements within the Socialist Party are aiding in this struggle. To sabotage the Workers Alliance at this time, is to pave the way for defeat. Only a united front of all working class tendencies can defeat fascism and clear the way for the proletarian insurrection in Spain. Within the framework of the Workers Alliance, and in the course of the struggle, will be tested the theories and policies of each tendency, thus giving the best guarantee for a successful revolution.

Today, with reaction advancing throughout Europe and the world, the countries of Western Europe are next in order for the decisive struggle. A proletarian victory in either Spain or France would turn back the tide of Fascism. Such a revolution could not but immediately overflow the national boundaries, becoming international in character. All of Europe west of the Rhine would present a solid proletarian front against which the barbaric regimes of Hitler and Mussolini could not long stand. On the crest of the new revolutionary wave, a new international of labor and a new, brighter perspective will be opened to the workers of the world.

—R. B.

Workers Conduct Militant Struggle Against Fascism

The Spanish working class has answered a threat of fascist rule by the declaration of a revolutionary general strike.

The political crisis, long developing, came to a climax this week when the Samper government presented its resignation at the opening session of the Cortes. A new government has been formed under the "radical republican" Lerroux, representing a coalition of the blackest reactionary elements of the country, with the inclusion of Fascists (Popular Action) in three ministries.

Armed Clashes

Everything is tied up throughout Spain, armed clashes have taken place, the country is being placed under martial law. As this issue of the Militant goes to press, the death toll has reached 50. The National Army and the Assault Guards are mobilized for suppression of the strike, which is already being carried over into insurrectionary action in several provinces. The miners of Asturias are in open revolt in a body, and appear to be well supplied with rifles, ammunition and even with machine guns.

Workers of every tendency in the labor movement are fighting side by side in the streets against the fascist danger now clothed in the vestments of governmental authority. It is reported that the Socialist Party has seized one of the country's largest munition plants. With their backs to the wall and the lessons of Germany and Austria still fresh in their minds, Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists are fighting with a determination that cannot but inspire every class conscious worker throughout the world.

Socialist Party Appeal

In its issue of October 4, El Socialista, central organ of the Socialist Party, says editorially: "All who, as workers, are in our ranks, must add their strength to the common cause. The gravity of the moment requires absolute subordination. Victory is closely linked to discipline." However, in spite of the Socialist Party's assumption of the right to undisputed leadership, its own criminal negligence and conscious sabotage of the building of the National Workers' Alliance as a united front movement of all organizations and tendencies, as well as their refusal to give full support to partial struggles during recent months, will be the principal source of weakness in the present movement. It will be necessary to translate the unity of action of the workers, as expressed in the present revolt, into a well-knit united front between the different organizations and tendencies, if the class is to realize its opportunity and not waste its energies. As the only existing united front of this character, the provincial Workers Alliances must strive to become the national center of the class war.

World Labor Must Aid

Meanwhile it will be the duty of all workers and all working class organizations to give their wholehearted support in action, to the efforts of the Socialist Party, while not failing at the same time to point out its political and tactical errors, in an effort to correct them.

Ex-premier Manuel Azana, left petty bourgeois republican, has broken with the national government and now maintains himself in readiness, according to current rumors in Spain, to head a liberal regime to be proclaimed in Catalonia. It will be the task of the Workers Alliance of Catalonia at this juncture to raise the issue of national autonomy against the semi-fascist central authority, at the same time tying up the struggle for national emancipation with the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of all Spain.

In this life and death struggle, the fate of Western Europe and, in a sense, of the entire world, will be vitally affected. Workers of all countries should organize united front movements in support and defense of the Spanish revolution.

Read the Crime News and Forget Your Troubles

First it was the dashing bandit Dillinger, now the sullen Bruno Hauptmann, reputed kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby, latest bourgeois contribution to a Roman holiday, crowding off the front pages of the capitalist press such minor items as the textile strike, arms inquiry, NRA steel sell-out, and similar stuff calculated only to disturb the working class.

Accordingly, the Hauptmann mess has been served up to the public in all its insidious details, the bewitching Anita Luxemburg, Mrs. Hauptmann crooning a cradle song to her tiny baby, Hauptmann as Don Juan, Hauptmann the monster, Hauptmann snarling at his captors.

Newspapermen are snatched from off their routine prosaic tasks, and converted into the dashing sleuths we see in moving pictures. No expense is spared; not a crumb, not a drunken panhandler with a Hauptmann story to tell, but is given an eager hearing. A howling mob dashes through the corridors of the Bronx County courthouse, trampling innocent victims, making mince-meat of youthful assistant D.A.'s, pouncing menacingly upon the witnesses. They are reporters hunting interviews, with anyone, about anything, so long as it connects with the Lindbergh case.

All this lunacy, all the slobbering details, the sob and sex angles, the general hysteria, is carefully prepared, well in advance of its release, anticipated and even manufactured.

First, because it sells papers; second, because it is part of a deeper purpose.

Sensation Made to Order

Flatly, the capitalist press prints news—is forced to—but welcomes sensation with open arms; in fact, with obvious and almost comical

relief. How gratefully it turns to the Hauptmanns, and the latest American Tragedy! The crimes of Sir Basil Zaharoff are exciting and dramatic enough, but Pretty Boy Floyd furnishes less dangerous copy.

To Make the Workers Forget

Never mind the alibis: The boys only want to sell their papers; they'd print news but the public isn't interested. The interest in the Hauptmann case is genuine enough, but still not to a degree to satisfy the press. They must magnify this interest a thousand times, dimming the public ear until it can hear nothing else. Strikers must abandon the picket lines to discuss the Hauptmann clues; workers must forget that they are hungry in their absorption with the job of most dangerous criminal? Who is your real monster, thirsting for human blood, greedy, insatiable? Hauptmann? Even if he is guilty of a dozen such crimes, horrifying the world, he is a petty amateur in crime as compared to any church-going, philanthropist arms manufacturer. Set the newspaper hounds truly on the Du Pont trail, and they will uncover as choice a mess as ever the late lamented Graphic or the Mirror printed. And the boys have the talent to dramatize the stuff, too, if they so desired, examining every inch of wood in the Hauptmann garage.

It is not true that there is only one thought in the public mind; that nothing else is discussed in the home and public places; that there is only one issue before the world, that the world has stopped and the Depression suspended, merely to see Hauptmann go to the electric chair. The newspapers are merely trying to give you that impression.

—HENRY CAPE.

DEBATE:

ADMISSION: 35 CENTS

Auspices: International Workers School

FARMER-LABOR

Alfred Bingham
Editor of COMMON SENSE

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

Max Shachtman
Editor of the NEW INTERNATIONAL

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

STALINISM ON PARADE

Some Lighter Touches of the Chicago "Anti-War" Congress
Chicago, Oct. 3.—The Stalinists running this spectacle tell us that there are more than 3,300 delegates at the 2nd Congress of the League Against War and Fascism. Chairman Harry F. Ward adds this bit of data: "We have here a mass of representatives in a personal capacity." That is, a mass of delegates representing themselves. Then why did they stop at 3,300? There are at least several hundred Chicago members of the I.L.D. quite capable of representing themselves. Why weren't they here as delegates? Why are things being done so half-heartedly? Isn't this a serious business? It's a shame.

Chairman Ward gives high praise to the editor of *Flight*, the League's official organ. Credit, he announces, "we must place on the brilliant shoulders of Joe Pass." We always knew Joe's head was muscular, but this is the first time we heard that his shoulders were brilliant. Now all is explained.

Some Socialists attending this fiesta have signed a statement in favor of the "united front." Somebody here told me there were fifty of them. But I see by yesterday's *Daily Worker* (page 1) that there are 49, and by the same holy writ (page 6) that there are 41. Oh well, what the hell.

In any case it's a grand turnout. There are Methodists, Republicans, Victor Berger's relic, vegetarians, Quakers, the 57 varieties of Stalinist "front" organizations wearing different color beads, and Roger Baldwin (representing himself, as usual). Nevertheless, it is officially announced, last year's "principal weakness," the absence of organized trade union support, "continued to constitute the chief weakness" of the Congress and the League.

Well, if that's all that's wrong...

As a matter of fact, this little deficiency is going to be solved right smart. Somebody has discovered "a feasible and simple" scheme for getting into the A. F. of L., not to speak of "other important trade union bodies (the T.U.C.L., maybe). Here it is, as summed up by Joe North, the *Daily Worker's* Special Correspondent on this lot:

"The League is printing hundreds of thousands—millions if necessary—of questionnaires for reference to union locals and for distribution in the shops. This questionnaire asks quite simply whether the group or the individual would join in a national protest in the event of impending war? Of impending fascism? Of those engaged in the transport of manufacture of war materials it asks whether they or their union would register disapproval of impending war by refusal to continue to work."

Now we know why Hitler came to power! The German C. P. omitted this questionnaire. True, there were 5,000,000 C. P. voters, and 8,000,000 S. P. voters, and an enormous union movement. But they had not taken the pledge, so when Hitler grabbed for power, they did nothing.

Here the Stalinists ("League Against War and Fascism," if you please) can't get into the unions; the C. P. and the S. P. have only about 50,000 members between them. But everybody is going to take the pledge. And take it from Chairman Harry F. Ward ("The Fighting Non-Political Parson"), when you take the pledge, that means business.

Two to one this pledge business was just tossed off Parson Ward's own brilliant left shoulder.

Everybody here is telling me that it is "highly significant" that Louis Perrigaud, editor of *Le Populaire*, official organ of the French S. P. (Section of the Second International, by the way), is participating in this masquerade. But I can't find out what the devil it is significant of.

I started to ask one Stalinist socialist whether it signified that the honest rank-and-file editors of the official organ of the French S. P. were not Social Fascists any longer, but he ran away, leaving me in the middle of the sentence.

I guess it's just significant, that's all. Well, that's something, anyway. Most of this parade is just "sound and fury, signifying nothing."

I wonder whether I will ever get the floor or whether this variety show is only going to have trained seal and tight-rope acts? Greetings—
—A Left Social-Fascist Kunk and File Renegade Dishonest Worker

CLASSES

Announcing the opening of classes of the International Workers' School on
Monday, October 15, 1934.

Registration now going on for classes on ABC of Communism, economics, State and Revolution and Principles and History of the Left Opposition. All students are urged to register early at 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Young Socialists Give Young Stalinists an A.B.C. Lesson on the United Front

MARCH OF EVENTS

(Ed. Note: We publish below a document of historical importance on the question of the United Front. It is the reply of the Young Peoples Socialist League of New York City to the demand of the Young Communist League (Stalinists) that the "Trotskyites and Lovestonites" be excluded from the united front demonstration against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12. The reply of the Y.P.S.L. is being widely distributed in mimeographed form to the rank and file of the young Stalinists at Y.C.L. and C.P. meetings. Thus the Yipsels have not only taken the weapon of the united front out of the hands of the Stalinists but are also carrying the propaganda offensive into their ranks. Incidentally, the Yipsels' flat rejection of the demand to exclude the "counter-revolutionary renegades" from the united front forebodes a strong opposition in the Socialist party to such a demand in the event of a united front between the S. P. and the C. P. We do not agree with everything that is said in the Y.P.S.L. letter but we publish it in full below for the information of our readers.)

The Y.P.S.L. Letter

September 28, 1934
New York City Committee
Young Communist League
35 East 12th St.
N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:

The Young People's Socialist League has always looked forward to the time when the working class, now unhappily divided, would march forward to the attack on capitalism and reaction in unified ranks. Realizing that basic differences in tactics and philosophy existed, we have felt that at least a united front on certain questions could be carried through. The united front agreements between Socialists and Communists by various sections of the Labor and Socialist International and actually effected in France and Belgium led us to the hope that similar efforts in the United States between the Y.P.S.L. and other working class groups might also prove fruitful. We therefore invited your organization and several others to confer with us on Thursday, September 26, for the purpose of demonstrating against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12. We are disappointed by your reply.

In your letter of September 25th, you state your reasons for refusing to enter our proposed united front. The summary of your argument is that you would rather prevent a united front than sit at a united front meeting with Trotskyites and Lovestonites. The Y.P.S.L. disagrees entirely with your attitude on this question.

For all our differences with them, we look upon the Trotskyite and Lovestonite, as well as the Stalinite, Communist groups as working class organizations. They are such in aim and class orientation. To exclude the Trotskyites and Lovestonites from this demonstration would be to raise these

very sectarian barriers which stand in the way of a true united front.

The Y.P.S.L. does not imply that all working class organizations, at all times, at all places, in all circumstances, must be included in every united front. Certain organizations may be so entirely without influence as to make it unnecessary to include them. But such is not the case in this instance. The question before us is not whether it is wise to include an organization because of the numerical advantages it may offer to the demonstration, but whether we should EXCLUDE A WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL ATTITUDE. According to your letter the Y.C.L. insists upon the exclusion of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, not on tactical premises but as a MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. We maintain that it would be nothing less than sectarian opportunism if the Y.C.L. were to make a broad united front impossible for the reasons you have advanced.

The arguments which you raise to exclude the two groups might just as easily be used to exclude us. In fact, the very language you use to characterize them has been and is being addressed by you even at the present time to us. You maintain in your letter that the Trotskyites and the Lovestonites are "the worst enemies of the working class." Have you not on many occasions said the same of us? In the Y.C.L. Builder of March-April 1933, in your official organ, you label us as "the worst enemies in the ranks of working youth." We are not interested in contesting any other organization's right to this dubious distinction; yet logic impels us to ask, are we both the "worst enemies?"

You go further and maintain in your letter that it is their sole aim and purpose to "sland the Soviet Union." This too has a familiar ring. Are we now to imply from this that the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party do not "sland the Soviet Union"? We are gratified that we have at last convinced you.

You say that these "renegades" are intent upon carrying out "a violent struggle against the Communist Party." But do you not also accuse the International Socialist movement of fomenting and supporting armed intervention against the Soviet Union, a policy which certainly would constitute a "violent struggle against the Communist Party"? Or do you now imply that you no longer believe that we Socialists are guilty of this crime? Again we are glad to learn of your conversion.

Finally, you accuse the Trotskyite of being "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." This charge is hardly worse than the one you level at us frequently, namely, that we are fascists. Surely the quotation from Stalin which you cite concerning the Trotskyites is not harsher than his statement that "Fascism and Social-Democracy are not antipodes, they are twins." Or—do you believe that we are not the twins of Fascism?

All these charges, right down to the very wording, have been also leveled against us by your movement. In the Thesis of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., under the heading, "Social Democracy in Support of Imperialism," we are charged with giving "service to international capital against the U. S.S.R. and of trying to 'ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.' in the 'Program of the Communist International,' under the heading, 'The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social Democracy,' we are referred to as "a powerful counter-revolutionary force." There are any number of such statements that we could recall to you, but we assume that you are as familiar with your own literature as we. However, we cannot refrain from pointing out the fact that even today's *Daily Worker* (September 28, 1934) carries an article by Alex Bittelman with the heading: "Why a United Front with Social Fascists? ... Workers are honest but deceived by Leaders' Social Fascism." Why does the Y.C.L. overlook these charges against us, but raise them as obstacles against other groups in the united front we have proposed?

We raise these questions not for the purpose of opening old sores but to determine how serious or how frivolous is your objection to the united front offer we have made. You have rejected our proposal—temporarily, we hope—on the ground that you cannot tolerate the presence of certain working class youth organizations with which you disagree. Since you hold the same disagreements toward us and bring the same charges against our movement, we cannot take your objections seriously. If the Y.C.L. can overlook their accusations against us, why not against these others? Only one explanation is possible: your complaints are not made in good faith.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that we have observed the Y.C.L. on previous occasions in united fronts that did include these other groups. You tell us that we are placing obstacles in the way of a successful united front by making the united front broad enough to include the various political tendencies with which radical youth is familiar today. To shut the door to them would be to affirm the very sectarianism which we hope by our united front to destroy. You insist that we are placing obstacles in the way of united action by including these organizations which you describe as insignificant, if they are indeed as you describe them, you are admitting that you reject the united front because of obstacles that are insignificant, that you are willing to let small things stand in the way of unity.

We had frankly not expected such a state of mind on your part. When we sent out our letter inviting you and these other organizations to confer with us in order to achieve this united front, we hardly suspected that you would in any way whatsoever object to the presence of the Lovestonites and the Trotskyites. You must surely realize

that this is the FIRST TIME in the history of our united front negotiations that you have ever raised this "obstacle"—though negotiations have been frequent between us. You sat with us, for example, in a committee for the arrangement of a united front for May 30th together with the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. You did not raise their presence then as an "obstacle," but insisted at that time that all organizations join under the banner of the National Youth Day committee to celebrate a distinctly Communist holiday.

You did not think at that time that common action between such organizations was impossible. In the American Youth Congress, your representatives co-operated with the group which included Trotskyites and Lovestonites. We could not therefore visualize that you would raise such objections on this occasion. Your decision comes to us as a complete surprise.

You imply that we should have known that you would not treat with these "renegades" from the general attitude of the Communist International towards them. Surely, you do not seriously offer this argument. You call them "counter-revolutionary" and you call us "counter-revolutionary." If we are supposed to conclude from your hostile attitude toward them, that you cannot sincerely join with them in anti-fascist struggle, we would be forced to conclude, on the same premises, that you do not really want to enter into a united front with us.

As a matter of fact, a study of your own literature will reveal that the Y.C.L. does not consider it beyond its principles to enter into united front activity with organizations of the clearest anti-working class character. The Ninth Plenum of your own Communist Youth International calls upon you to "struggle for the masses of the toiling youth who are in Socialist Youth, reformist, fascist, syndicalist, church, militarist and other organizations, drawing the members of these organizations into the class struggle on the basis of the united front from below." Certainly, if your organization can find it in its heart to enter a united front with fascist youth groups you should be able at least to tolerate the presence of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. After the many indiscriminate, and rather promiscuous, united fronts your organization has been advising and participating in, like that with Father Divine, the religious quack, your present strictures against the "renegade" Communists come as a surprise.

It comes not only as a surprise but as a disappointment. As you know, the united front has in the past been left unrealized because of a mutual suspicion on the part of our organizations as to each other's sincerity. Recent events, especially in Europe, seemed to be the dawning of a new era. Of particular effect in awakening the hope for unity was the pact concluded by our comrades and your comrades, together with the Trotskyites of Belgium. We hastened to follow their example. Much to our

dismay and disappointment we were informed on meeting with your representative, John Little, that the Belgium pact, which had brought together tens of thousands of radical youth in that country, was a serious "mistake" which was already "repudiated" by the Communist International and the Young Communist League of Belgium.

Certainly you cannot accuse us of raising the issue of Trotskyism and Lovestonism just to create obstacles. In Belgium it proved no obstacle, until the Young Communists, after the pact had been concluded and signed, decided to break the united front. Our crime, if any, is that we want a united front which will not exclude other radical youth organizations BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEAS, BUT WILL INCLUDE ALL IN SPITE OF THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES.

We are certain that you will see that the reasons you offer against coming into this broad united front are entirely specious. The chief argument, that your former comrades are "counter-revolutionary" would apply, according to you, with equal weight to us. Yet in our case it is no obstacle although you make one in their case.

You will also understand that if we are to accept your proposal to exclude the Trotskyites at present we could only do it on one ground; namely, that we accept your characterization of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites and omit them from the joint action which we plan for October 12th. We must, however, refuse to act as your tools in the sectarian war that you are waging with other Communist factions.

If your argument would be that these former comrades of yours are renegades who are at present outside the ranks of the Communist and are therefore especially despicable, may we point out that your organization is, by the same token, a "renegade" party from the Socialist International.

In the interests of unity, however, we feel it possible to forget these political differences and to leave old wounds untouched. It is hardly too much to urge you to abandon your present illogical and inconsistent position. We urge you not to make the animosities and rivalries between working-class organizations a "principle" question which stands in the way of united front. No matter what differences exist between us and the organizations we have invited, we are convinced that they are all opposed to fascism. On that we agree. Why should we not all unite on this occasion to demonstrate against the Italian Fascist manifestation to be held on October 12th. We want unity of action regardless of our momentary disagreements and, therefore, have determined to forget those differences. We sincerely hope that you will be able to do likewise, smash the gates of sectarian division, join us on the road to working class unity.

Fraternally yours,
N. Y. City Executive Committee
Young Peoples Socialist League
BEN FISCHER,
Executive Secretary

Doumergue Prepares the Next Stage

Doumergue is preparing the next stage in the laying of the road to fascism in France. Just as Hitler worked under the forms of legality until these could be cast aside as of no further use, so Doumergue proposes in the present situation to cloak his designs under the Constitution. To achieve his real aim of destroying the parliamentary system and bourgeois democracy, he intends first to weaken and discredit this system sufficiently from within so that the forces of fascism that are meantime arming and drilling with the direct connivance of the army generals, will have their later tasks facilitated and their road made smoother. As the new sessions of parliament begin, Doumergue is attempting to force through certain "reforms" of the Constitution which would give greater power to the President (a figurehead under the control of the reactionaries) and to himself as Premier. Entire control of the budget is to be taken over by the cabinet. The right to dissolve the house of deputies is to be given to the premier, who would naturally become the sole authority in the period intervening between dissolution and the following elections—if any. Although the parliamentary struggle against these fascist reforms will be an indication of political forces and where they stand, yet the question has become one that can no longer be solved in this arena. Events in France are heading at tremendous speed towards an armed struggle between the working class and the fascists.

Palestine and the British Empire

Palestine is becoming increasingly important to the British Empire as a military outpost for the control of British communications with the Eastern and Near Eastern Empire. "Angur," journalist for British imperialism, revealed for the first time recently, the role to be assigned to the Jews in Palestine in this connection. The Jews have an "unprecedented opportunity" to make themselves "important" to English imperialism; they have their chance to make good their position in this Empire. King Fund of Egypt has gone over finally to the anti-British Waft Party of Egyptian nationalists, says Angur. Egypt thus becomes an uncertain quantity in case of war. Egypt can no longer be relied upon for controlling communications through the Suez Canal. Palestine assumes more and more the role of military outpost and trade distribution center. Even more important: the route to India has been shortened by the airline across the Arabian Desert as well as by the railroad built across the Gulf. Palestine, thus becomes a center for the British air forces. For safety and protection, however, Great Britain needs a friendly population in control of Palestine. The Arabs are too much entangled with the neighboring countries and are naturally hostile to the country that enslaves them. Hence the strategic value of the Jews. "It is for the Jews to see that by the weight of their national unity, and by their enterprise and industry, they remain in an increasing degree the dominating factor in the physical and economic consolidation of the British mandate in Palestine." Britain needs Jewish support. It is the business of the Jewish "leaders" to "identify themselves with the Empire and to oblige all those whom this may concern to accept the obvious fact."

The Jews must by all means reject this reactionary role. There is only one course for them: to throw in their lot with the oppressed, to act at once, without delay, to unite forces with the workers and poor peasants of Arabia and the Near East for the purpose of overthrowing both British imperialism and the native exploiters, including their own treacherous Jewish bourgeoisie.

—JACK WEBER.

Trade unionism, were curbing capitalism, that crises were growing fewer, that war was unprofitable, have been proved false at every turn. Their reformism has helped brew the catastrophe of world war, of more devastating economic crises, of fascism. The capitalist class refuses to be dispossessed by the formality of the ballot—it resorts to force. The workers cannot afford to be lulled by constitutional illusions. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Communism is the road to freedom in the true sense, freedom from blind dependence on the forces of nature and the market, freedom which is the conscious and willed direction of human destiny. The Workers' Party declares that the only way to end the misery of capitalist peace and the butchery of imperialist war is by the Revolution in Permanence. Workers of the World, Unite!

—Provisional National Committee
Workers' Party of Canada

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Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada

(Continued from last issue)

At this momentous time, the Workers' Party, based on the needs and struggles of the working class, guided by the scientific principles of Marxism and the strategy of Leninism (first four Congresses of the Comintern and subsequent development of the International Left Opposition) organizes for leadership of the class in the struggle to realize its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State. The party of social reformism, the C.P.C., definitely constitutionalist, parliamentary and anti-revolutionary, is in reality a third party of the bourgeoisie. It is founded in the same "gradualism," opportunism and national reformism, the same hostility to mass action which governed the European Social Democracy and paved the way for the victory of Fascism. But neither is the official Communist (Stalinist) Party capable of fulfilling the role of a party of working class emancipation. Under the impetus of the crisis in response to the clearly felt need of the unorganized, the Stalinist party has registered successes in the virtually uncontested field of industrial organization. But this party is bound hand and foot to the regime of the bankrupt Comintern. As a party of bureaucratic centrism, wavering between the positions of social-democracy and communism, zig-zagging between spells of cheap opportunism and ultra-left adventurism, it shares responsibility for the treacherous doctrine of "socialism-in-one-country," and the criminal policies of "the third period," "social-fascism," "red trade unions," spurious Amsterdam anti-war congresses, Lord Marley methods of "fighting" fascism. The Workers' Party recognizes that there are valuable elements of the rank and file in both the C.C.F. and the Stalinist

Parties and will bend every effort to win them; the principal reservoir of its recruitment lies, however, in the still politically and industrially unorganized masses.

The United Front

At the same time the Workers' Party is prepared to cooperate with all political and industrial organizations of the working class in a united front on all specific issues of common interests in the struggle against capitalism—reaction, fascism and the war danger. The failure to set up such a united front contributed heavily to the tragic capitulation of the German proletariat. Our Party decidedly rejects the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism" to the effect that the "twins" and that fascism cannot be resisted without first destroying the social-democracy. The fact is that victorious fascism smashes the socialists along with the communists. The United Front is a means of mobilizing the masses for struggle, regardless of their party differences of principle. We reject equally the conception of the United Front "from above" (parliamentary deals; the Anglo-Russian Committee; Stalinist alliance with the Kuomintang) and the "united front only from below" (the refusal to enter into negotiations or conclude practical working agreements with the leaderships, in addition to the direct appeal to the masses. The united front recently set up between the French Socialist and Communist Parties evidences the further bankruptcy of the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism."

The Trade Unions

The Workers' Party fully recognizes the indispensable role of the trade unions as organs of the defence of the workers' living standards. Under the circumstances of the sharpened international

competition, large-scale production, employers' associations, interlocking directorates, and military intervention of the capitalist state in strikes, the trade unions can only counter the capitalist offensive for the reduction of the value of labor power, by resisting all forms of compulsory arbitration and conciliation, and adopting instead methods of the class struggle, direct action against the employers and the state. The trade unions must change their structure and their policies. The antiquated craft organization must be replaced by industrial unionism, one union for all the workers in one industry. The division of the ranks in rival trade union centres must be replaced by the maximum trade union unity in a single trade union centre, and immediately by joint action committees of the workers of different affiliations, for the every day struggle against the employers. To promote the further unity of the workers against the employers, the activity of the trade unions must be supplemented by the formation of factory or shop committees on a non-partisan basis. The processes of capitalist rationalization, the continual displacement of living labor by machinery, the growing industrial reserve army of the unemployed, the increase of women and youth labor, demand a policy of the closest cooperation of the employed and unemployed, and the organization of the unorganized. Such policies will not be adopted without an unceasing struggle to purge the trade unions of the class-collaborationist bureaucracy and to establish real trade union democracy and rank and file control. There is no royal road to the radicalization of the masses by the "short cut" of building pure "red" trade unions which only isolate the militants. Work in the conservative trade unions is

essential. The Workers' Party cannot be "neutral" to the policies of the trade unions. The extent of its influence in the trade unions will be an important measure of its progress in winning over the majority of the working class. To promote the realization of these tasks, the Workers' Party will lend its efforts to organize the left wing and progressive forces in the trade unions as a militant minority.

Program of Action

The aim of the Workers' Party of Canada is the nationalization without compensation of the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange, (industry, banking, natural resources, wholesale trade and departmental stores), by the dictatorship of the proletariat (Workers' Councils) in economic and political solidarity with all existing Workers' Republics. Not as a minimum program for the reform of capitalism, but for the purpose of mobilizing the masses in the struggle for control of production and conquest of power, the Workers' Party sets up the following Program of Action.

1. **Standard of Living**—Struggle for wage increases without regard for the profit system—maximum six-hour working day—five-day week—opposition to piece-work and other forms of the speed-up—equal pay for equal work—abolition of child labor.

2. **Social Insurance**—Non-contributory unemployment insurance—health and accident insurance—reduction of old age pension age—Mothers' Allowances for one or more dependent children.

3. **Civil Liberties**—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly and press (repeal of sedition and censorship provisions of Criminal Code, Naturalization and Immigration Acts, Customs Act, etc.)—liberation of all class-war prisoners.

4. **Trade Union Rights**—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of association—the right to picket and to boycott—prohibition of injunctions in industrial disputes—repeal of legislation for compulsory conciliation and arbitration.

5. **Taxation of Capital**—Abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation and tariffs on articles of mass consumption—tax-exemption and cancellation of mortgage and other indebtedness of small impoverished non-exploiting farmers—cumulative income, corporation and inheritance taxes—taxation of ecclesiastical institutions.

6. **Struggle Against Unemployment**—Maintenance of the unemployed or relief work at full trade union rates—tax-exemption and cancellation of debt and mortgage indebtedness of unemployed—no evictions.

7. **The War Danger**—Imperialist war is inherent in capitalism and can be abolished only by the overthrow of the profit system—Capitalist self-disarmament and hour.

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QUESTION BOX

HARVARD STUDENT, Cambridge—

Question: What is the basis upon which an appeal can be made to the petty-bourgeoisie without the making of concessions?

Answer: A revolutionary party would be lying itself hand and foot if it approached problems this way. "There are compromises and compromises." The question of whether or not "concessions" are to be made depends upon the relationship of forces, and this may particularly apply where the petty bourgeoisie is concerned. There may be no other road. An example of such a "concession" was the division of land among the peasantry by the Bolsheviks. In his "History of the Russian Revolution," Trotsky comments on this as follows: "The equal distribution of the land—objected Rosa Luxemburg... has nothing in common with socialism. The Bolsheviks, in going without saying, had no illusions upon this point..."

"It would be possible to speak of socialist perspectives only after the establishment and successful preservation of the proletarian power. And this power could preserve itself only by giving determined co-operation to the peasant in carrying out his revolution. If the distribution of the land would strengthen the socialist government politically, it was then wholly justified as an immediate measure. The peasant had to be taken as the revolution found him..."

To return to the rest of your question. In appealing to the middle class the proletariat has two levers. 1. It must constitute itself as a force capable of inspiring confidence in its ability to realize its program. This is the long lever and it is precisely because of its failure to do this that the German proletariat lost the middle class of that country to Hitler. 2. The support of certain sections of the middle class may be mobilized on the basis of immediate demands. This is the short lever for which no general formula can, a priori, be written.

The latter condition flows from the heterogeneity of the class itself, which contains within it all kinds of farmers, shopkeepers, professional people, business agents, etc., with roots extending into finance-capital above and the proletariat below. Certain reactionary strata will have to be fought, some can be neutralized, and others won over.

For that section, who are, or are rapidly becoming, degenerated, the slogan of "social insurance" applies. For certain sections of the middle class no immediate demand can have any value and even amelioration of their lot can be found only through the proletarian revolution. To the farmers, the most important section of the class, slogans around the question of evictions from farms and around the matter of mortgages and taxes, would, no doubt, find a response. These demands must, of course, be properly connected up with the struggles of the workers and with the general propaganda and agitation for a final revolutionary solution.

It is necessary to emphasize here that we are treating on historically unexplored, or little known, territory. Only a revolutionary party testing its slogans in the actual events, can find the correct road to winning the middle class. The primary task, therefore, is to build such a party.

JAMES SH., New York—

Question: Can you give me quotations from Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky where the "law of uneven development" is dealt with?

Answer: Your editor knows of no work of Marx in which the expression, "law of uneven development" is used as such, but his economic and political writings are permeated with the conception. His remark that the advanced nations hold up to the backward ones the mirror of their future is an expression of his concept that the evolution of society proceeds unevenly in different countries.

Here are two quotations from Lenin: "Uneven economic and political development is an unconditional law of capitalism." (Quoted by Trotsky from Lenin's collected works, "The Draft Program of the C.I.", p. 29.)

"... there cannot be, under capitalism, an EQUAL development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industries or countries." ("Imperialism," Vanguard Press edition, p. 99, emphasis in original.)

Here is one by Trotsky: "... the whole history of mankind is governed by the law of uneven development." ("The Draft Program of the C.I.", p. 21.)

Question: Where does Stalin say that the "law of uneven development was unknown to Marx and Engels?

Answer: In the "Draft Program of the C.I." (p. 20) Trotsky states as follows: "On September 15, 1925, Stalin wrote that Trotsky has no reason to refer to Engels, who wrote at a time 'when THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION of the law of uneven development of capitalist countries.'" (Emphasis in "Draft Program.")

Stalin's absurd statement was made in a speech at the Plenum of the E.C.C.P. which preceded the expulsion of the Left Opposition. It was published in English in the *Inprecor*. We will dig up the exact quotation.

Question: Who first referred to the "law of uneven development" as such?

Answer: As far as this editor knows Lenin was the first to describe the phenomenon in these words.

Question: Can you give a definition of "the law of uneven development"?

Answer: The definition is contained in the very words themselves. The following, using as illustration only a few of the advanced countries, may help you to understand what is meant: Germany came to capitalism later than England or France. Then it outstripped the latter in its economic development and was passing the former when the world war broke. France came to capitalism later than England and continues to this day to lag behind her in economic development. The United States lagged behind England in economic development only to later outstrip the world. Russia, one of the last of the countries to be seized by capitalism, remained behind most of the advanced countries up to the time of the revolution. Nevertheless it produced the most politically developed proletariat who were able to seize power. The proletariat of the most advanced country, the United States, is yet in an early stage of its political development. A disproportion between the political development in other countries is also to be observed. The starting point of capitalism for the various countries is uneven, the rate of economic development is uneven, the political development is uneven.

P.S. The rest of your questions will be dealt with in a subsequent issue.

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A Reformed 2nd or a 4th International?

A Discussion of the International Left Socialist Declaration

(Note: The following critique of the new international declaration of the Socialist left wing appears in the latest issue of *Verite*, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the French Socialist party (S.F.I.O.). This is the first number of *Verite* to appear since the members of the former Communist League of France joined the French Socialist party as a step in the building of a new revolutionary movement in France. The declaration under criticism is signed by Spaak (Belgium), Zyromski (France), Alter (Poland), Pivert (France) and David Felix of Local Philadelphia of the American S.P.; Felix was one of the American delegates to the 1933 session of the 2nd International and a member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which made such a poor showing at the 1934 Detroit Convention of the S.P. Since the Detroit Convention he has rejoined the "Militants" group—Tr.)

The bankruptcy of the German Social Democracy and of the Stalinist Party, reinforced by the crushing of Austro-Marxism, not only encouraged the development of centrist movements apart from the two internationals, but also lies at the bottom of strong centrist currents within the 2nd International (France, Belgium, Spain, Austria, U.S.A., etc.).

The declaration of the international left wing published in the *Bataille Socialiste* of July-August 1934, is the first effort since the memorandum of the 1933 international conference toward concerted action of the left centrists evolving inside the 2nd International.

Taking this declaration along with the conflict respecting the united front, which recently broke out at the session of the executive of the Socialist Youth International, one may record the first indications of a sharp crisis in the L.S.I. The successive collapses of all aspects of reformism (parliamentary, trade union, municipal), and the 180 degree turn executed by Moscow, have their inevitable consequences on the international scene. It is quite clear that the crisis, marked by successive regroupings which are developing in France, has and will have still more profound repercussions on an international scale. In Belgium, Spain and the U. S., the conflicts between the centrist tendencies and the majority groups of self-confessed reformists will sharpen rapidly from now on. The recent decision of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party (S.P.)—which declares as irreconcilable membership in the Party and collaboration in the *Action Socialiste* (a left centrist periodical—Tr.), gives high significance to the Belgian crisis.

The Left Socialist Declaration

The declaration of the international left wing must be studied as a part of this struggle. Unlike all the right wing statements, whether open or concealed, it poses sharply the current dilemma: fascist dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat. The few lines on Fascism indicate considerable progress in the political analysis made by the left wing. It finally abandons the shop-worn argument constantly resorted to by opportunists, that "it is enough to have some big meetings, to have great masses in order to conquer power," an argument of parliamentary traders gone mad under the pressure of the masses. This is rejected by means of a clear declaration that, on the one hand, Fascism has never conquered power but that the bourgeoisie have al-

ways handed it over, and that, on the other hand, force is essential. It is indispensable that the comrades of the left wing become more precise on this point, and express themselves concretely on the question of the soviets, the absolutely essential question of this period.

But the declaration seems to be dangerously akin to right wing opportunism policy on a whole series of points. It does not say a word on the subject of national defense. It is impossible at the present moment to build a revolutionary movement without clearly condemning national defense and thereby the Second International as the typical exponent of this treasonable policy.

On this second point, too, the declaration seems to be tied to that of the right wingers. It calls for a reform of the International, and assumes collaboration with the reformist right. Here is the knot which still closely binds this left movement, not only to such lackeys of the King and the bourgeoisie as Vandervelde, but through them

to the bourgeoisie itself. The left wing must sharply cut itself off from such policies under pain of being irretrievably dragged along into bankruptcy with the opportunists of every shade.

Bankruptcy of Second International

It is necessary to proclaim the complete bankruptcy of the 2nd International, which occurred in 1914. The crushing of the revolutions of Austria and Germany, immediately after the war, alone gave to Vandervelde's International a chance to survive, no longer as a revolutionary party but as a conservative movement of labor. When the bourgeoisie went over to the offensive, however, the Wels and Leipsart abandoned treacherously every position which had been won in the past; on an international scale they went from defeat to defeat, from disaster to disaster. Under the pressure of these events, an international left wing has appeared. It should be consistent in its actions. To drive out the lackeys of the bourgeoisie is not to divide the

forces of labor; on the contrary, it is to work for an international reorganization on the revolutionary path. In order to build a united front in France, to make progress towards the left, it was necessary to expel the Deats and Renaudels; similarly, on an international scale, in order to create a genuine revolutionary current, it is necessary to break with all movements linked to the policy of Vandervelde and Co.

The international left wing is today confronted by a concrete problem which it can not ignore in any way. The decision of the General Council of the Belgian Party is a direct blow at the *Action Socialiste*. Here the dilemma is posed: either the abolition of the *Action* or its expulsion. Are its international representatives, who are allied with Spaak (Belgian signer of the Declaration and editor of the *Action*), who is threatened by Vandervelde with expulsion—Tr.), going to give the right wingers an open road? This is not simply "a Belgian problem"; it is a question which faces all the working masses evolving toward the left.

It is essential to let loose in the French party and in all the other national sections a forceful campaign against the reformist and reactionary leadership of the Belgian party, and in support of the left wing current. If the representatives of the left wing keep silent, it will mean that all their declarations are mere words and phrases. It is necessary to join battle, and in this battle to raise all the political problems and to cut off internationally by a break, all those currents supporting the "democratic," reformist and patriotic policy.

If the 2nd International, charged with treason, is dead, the 3rd International has lost the confidence of the masses by its policy of liquidation, written in a series of defeats running from Germany in 1923, passing through the Anglo-Russian Committee and the smashing of the Chinese Revolution, and coming down to 1933. Since the decisive defeat of 1933, the internal regime of bureaucratic suppression has only grown, stifling every serious discussion of the political line and forbidding thereby any possible correction. An international, which, after the German catastrophe, has not known how to grasp any of the facts, which has purely and simply covered up its past policy in a bureaucratic fashion, is a dead international.

In the daily struggle the question of the Fourth International is posed more than ever before. This is not, as comrades of the center and left wing may think, simply a little group of "Trotskyites" isolated from the masses. It is the organic expression, the revolutionary regrouping on an international scale. The Fourth International will build itself by the movement of the centrist masses to a revolutionary position through their daily struggles. It is up to you, left Socialist workers, who have already fought for a revolutionary policy of expelling the neo-Socialists (Deut, Marquet, Renaudel—Tr.), who have made the united front, to build the Fourth International by fighting side by side with

us for a break with all defenders of "the Fatherland," for the preparation of an insurrectionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is in this struggle that the New International, the only instrument capable of smashing the bourgeoisie and Fascism, will build itself. —ROUS.

Bolshevik-Leninists in the French S.P.

The extraordinary international importance of the step taken by our French comrades in their decision to join the Socialist party of France demands the closest attention of all the International Communists. To facilitate acquaintance with the progress and the methods of work employed by the Bolshevik-Leninists under the drastically changed conditions imposed by the march of events, we print below a review of the latest issue of *La Verite*, the central organ of our French comrades:

La Verite No. 220 is a special issue dedicated to the new tasks of the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Appearing under the old masthead, with the Soviet emblem, it bears the new legend: "Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Labor and Socialist International)". Alongside the masthead appears the following slogan:

"Tardieu is appealing to the 'moral forces'..."

"It is high time to form the People's Militia."

The front page is devoted to the Declaration and the account of the Third Conference of the Ligue (both reprinted in the last issue of the *Militant*) and to a stirring editorial entitled: "Substitute the GENERAL STRIKE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF DOUBTERGUE for the ballot-box united front between the C. P. and the S. P. Anti-Fascist Militia—The Need of the Hour." On page 1 also a meeting of the Parisian District of the Bolshevik-Leninists is announced for September 17, and there is a letter from a group of soldiers hailing the united front, protesting against the Stalinist withdrawal from the united front in Belgium and against L'Humanite's attack against comrade Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

On page 2, under the rubric "The International Movement", we find an article which polemicalizes sharply against Spaak, Zyromski, Alter, Pivert and other Left wingers for their advocacy of the reform of the Second International. The article attacks the latest declaration of the Lefts in *La Bataille Socialiste*

for its opportunist failure to take a position on the question of national defense, it takes them to task on the point of their collaboration with the right wing and their tendency to capitulate to the demand of the Belgian reformists for the dissolution of the Left wing *Action Socialiste*. The polemic is concluded with a call upon all genuine Left wingers to join with the Bolshevik-Leninists in the preparation of the Fourth International. Under the same rubric there are news accounts and comments on labor struggles in North Africa, the Saar, U.S.A., Spain, Bulgaria, etc.

An editorial on the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the League of Nations, drawing the conclusions from ten years of Stalinist foreign policy and casting historical light on the National Socialist degeneration of the C. I. sections, starts off the third page. In reply to the boosters of "organic unity" as a panacea, we find on that page the famous Liebknecht article "Against the Unity of Fire and Water—for REVOLUTIONARY UNITY". A profound analysis of the problem of unity in the trade union movement appears on page 4. It occupies itself chiefly with the question of preparations for the general strike in connection with this question. Trade union correspondence fills the rest of the page.

Letters from militants and a penetrating account of fascist activities headed "More than Ever—We Need the People's Militia", are featured on page five. The last page contains a programmatic statement by the Central Committee on the dialectic transformation of the French socialist and communist parties. A translation of this important document will appear in the forthcoming issue of the *New International*.

All in all, one gets the impression from a perusal of the contents, of the extreme tenseness of the situation prevailing in the country and of the earnest determination of our French comrades to fuse the great capital of Leninist Bolshevism with the stirring mass of French workers.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETLINGER

(Continued from last week)

A short time previous to the appointment of the strategy committee of the Labor Council, the joint strike committee of the Marine Workers which had been set up following the rejection of the June 18 agreement had made plans for the calling of a mass meeting of trade unionists. A circular letter was sent out to all local unions requesting them to send delegates to a meeting to be held on July 7. It was the intention of the strike committee to have delegates selected from this meeting to act as a general strike committee for the calling of the general strike. But since on the previous day the Labor Council had appointed the strategy committee they decided it would be better to leave the situation in their hands. If a general strike committee had been formed at this meeting there would have been grave danger of a split in the labor movement as most of the unions at that time had not as yet acted on the question of the general strike. Twenty-five unions, however, reported at this meeting that they had taken favorable action on the strike but were waiting the action of the strategy committee before going out.

The strategy committee made no recommendation to the unions between July 6 and July 13. On July 13 the committee at a meeting of the Labor Council stated that they, the strategy committee, had no power to call the general strike

but that five delegates from each union should meet the next day, July 14 and act on the general strike. By this move the bureaucrats succeeded in maintaining control, for due to the shortness of time, the delegates from the local unions, which met the next day in most instances consisted of the business agents and other officials of these unions. In spite of the reactionary composition of these delegates, the pressure of the rank and file was so powerful that the meeting overwhelmingly voted for a general strike to begin Monday morning, July 16, 1934.

The calling of a general strike in San Francisco, a city noted for its conservative labor movement reveals clearly the tremendous pressure of the rank and file on the officials and the solidarity they felt with the striking marine workers. For once they clearly realized that the battle of one section of the labor movement was the concern of the entire labor movement. In fact, the calling of the general strike was an uprising of the rank and file of the labor movement against the craft ideology of their reactionary leadership. This uprising, however, due to the lack of an organized militant leadership and the naive belief that by merely calling the general strike the waterfront workers would win, enabled the bureaucracy to quickly and effectively liquidate the strike.

From the very first the reactionaries were in control. A general

strike committee of twenty-five, overwhelmingly reactionary in outlook, was appointed by Vandervelde, the president of the labor council. Even on the first day of the general strike, when the city was completely tied up and the overwhelming majority of the masses were in sympathy with the general strike, they forced back to work, under pressure from the city administration, the Municipal Carmen who had walked out with the other strikers. This first treacherous act of the strike committee reveals clearly their future activities. They were not out to win the general strike but to call it off as quickly as possible.

While the capitalist press was conducting a furious campaign against the strike, calling it unlawful, and predicting its collapse, filling its columns with a vicious propaganda that the strike was inspired by the "reds", the strike committee countered with no publicity of any kind to undermine this attack which was bound to cause demoralization in the ranks of the strikers. In this connection the contrast between the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike and the general strike in San Francisco is very illuminating. In the former city, the publishing of the *Organizer* as a daily strike paper was a tremendously effective weapon in the hands of the strikers. Just the reverse was true in San Francisco. The only available news was the capitalist papers whose only con-

tribution naturally was a vicious campaign of slander. In addition, no attempts were made to mobilize the strikers by means of mass meetings or parades. Nor was any attempt made to call out the printers. The strikers were left leaderless, most of them remaining apathetically at home, and the rest congregating at the headquarters of the various unions.

Following its action of ordering the municipal carmen back to work, the strike committee on the second day of the strike in violation of its pledges that the demands of the maritime workers were just and could not be arbitrated, presented a resolution calling for the arbitration of all issues in the waterfront strike. Such an open betrayal naturally precipitated a bitter fight but the machine succeeded in passing this resolution by a vote of 213-160 by a show of hands but refused the demand for a roll call vote on this important question. The employers, acting through the city and state officials, were now out for complete surrender, and demanded the unconditional calling off of the general strike. At a secret meeting held on Wednesday evening, July 18, between General Johnson, city officials and "labor leaders", the latter agreed to call off the general strike, and presented such a resolution to the union delegates the following day which motion passed by the narrow margin of 191 to 174.

(Concluded in next issue)

INTERNATIONAL

TENSE SITUATION IN COSTA RICA

The tense situation created by the governmental attempts to smash the general strike of Atlantic Coast workers threatens to get out of hand. It is the object of the Costa Rican reactionaries in their role as lackeys of the United Fruit Company, to provoke armed clashes in order that the workers' organizations can be destroyed under pretext of "putting down an insurrection."

A demonstration of several thousand students and workers was held last week in San Jose to protest against the action of the Guatemala government which recently summarily executed several army officers and students who had been charged with communist activities. This demonstration of solidarity with the Guatemalan comrades was broken up by the police after a fierce clash in the streets of the capital, in which many were injured.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the banana workers are waging an unequal battle against the United Fruit Company. This imperialist monopoly is international in scope, controlling the banana industry of all the Caribbean countries. The imperialists realize that a victory for the workers in Costa Rica would be the beginning of a general movement of all plantation workers of the Caribbean area, for joint organization and joint action. Wall Street intends to prevent this at all costs.

MENDEIETA REGIME IN CRISIS

The reactionary regime of Mendieta-Batista, in spite of the very definite political and practical support rendered to it by American imperialism—annulment of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty—is today in the greatest crisis since it came to power last January. The forces opposed to the regime have intensified their activities in recent periods and the Government has cracked down on them with violent repressive measures.

A strike wave is rising in Havana and throughout the provinces where transportation workers are tying up the bus, tramway and taxi lines. Attempts are being made to pull out the stevedores and railway workers, and a general strike throughout the island such as that which overthrew General Machado, now threatens Mendieta and his would-be Bonapartist colleague, Batista. The latter is losing no time in mobilizing the army against the workers of city and plantation against the peasants of Realengo 18 (Oriente Province) who are defying the government that threatens to evict them from their lands which are claimed by the Royal Bank of Canada, and against ex-president Grau San Martin's "Autentico's", who are said to be preparing another revolution.

Many Communists and other labor leaders have been arrested, and the National Revolutionary Party ("Autentico") is being persecuted by the authorities. Several of the leaders of the latter have already been imprisoned and Grau himself has fled to the United States. Constitutional guarantees have been suspended and martial law proclaimed in the provinces of Havana and Oriente; the army is held in readiness to put down the threatened uprising. Events point to a new turn in the course of the Cuban revolution. It is doubtful whether Mendieta can hold out much longer. The contradictions facing his regime are too great and he has been unable to really solve any of them.

For the immediate period the most probable perspectives are either for a military dictatorship under Batista or else a new edition of the petty bourgeois "Authentic Revolution."

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS REORGANIZE

The Bolivian Communist Group has recently declared its adhesion to the idea of the Fourth International, according to *Izquierda*, organ of the Chilean section of the International Communist League. At the beginning of the Chaco War the Communist Party of Bolivia, which was even then not very strong and influential, disintegrated and disappeared from the scene. During the whole course of the war, only isolated individuals have dared oppose the imperialist conflict and the working class has been without even the semblance of a revolutionary vanguard.

The orientation now, of this small newly formed group towards the Fourth International, is a hopeful sign for the future of the Communist movement in that country.

CHACO WAR THREATENS OTHER COUNTRIES

The years-old see-saw war between Bolivia and Paraguay, continues with unabated fury in the Chaco region, where the lackey regimes in the service of American and British oil interests, continue to hurl thousands of workers and peasants into the slaughter. Right now it is the Bolivian army that is covering itself with "immortal glory" by three important victories over the Paraguayan forces. The artillery roars, several forts have been taken and the "peace" chorus composed of the members of the League of Nations commission, sings all the louder its hymn of international goodwill, in an effort to drown out the sounds of war.

However, all of the intrigue and activity is not being carried on by the "peace makers". Other forces are at work just as actively, if more silently. An independence movement has been set under way in the Tarija and Santa Cruz provinces of Bolivia, a region that borders on Argentina and on the war zone. It is quite evident that this agitation is inspired from Argentine sources, in an effort to weaken the position of Bolivia in the war and to either establish a new buffer state, tributary economically to Argentina, such as is the case with Paraguay today, or else to bring about the eventual annexation of the region to Argentina.

It should also be noted that within the territory of Argentina itself, the Standard Oil Company, which has quite extensive holdings in the Salta region bordering on Tarija and the Gran Chaco, is engaged at present in a furious struggle with the Argentine government. Many miles of pipeline were laid by the company in defiance of a governmental order. Having discovered that Standard Oil was using its private radio station in Salta, for the sending of military communications to the Bolivian Army, the Argentine authorities have closed down the station.

While Argentina backs Paraguay in the interests of the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Co., Chile on the other hand, is supporting Bolivia in every possible manner. Recruiting for the Bolivian Army is being conducted openly in Chilean cities and many Chilean army officers are already serving with the Bolivian forces at the front. In spite of the "embargo" Bolivia has been importing armaments through Chilean ports. Of great importance also are the aids that the Chilean authorities are rendering Bolivia to keep the economic and industrial structure of the latter from cracking under the strain of the protracted war. Indications are that if the present negotiations fail to contribute anything to the solution of the Chaco deadlock, both Argentina and Chile may become directly involved in open warfare. An old, unsettled territorial dispute between Argentina and Chile, over several small islands in the Beagle Channel (near Cape Horn) is being revived and cannot but contribute more fuel to the conflagration.

EDITORIAL

Trade Union Perspectives

(One year ago, on the occasion of the A. F. of L. Convention at Washington, we analyzed the trade union situation from the Marxist point of view and outlined the perspectives in an editorial in the *Militant*. It appears to us that the events of the past year have confirmed our prognosis in the most striking manner. What we wrote a year ago can stand today without alteration. Herewith we reprint extracts from this editorial as a statement of our opinion today. The editorial, entitled "The A. F. of L. Convention, the Strike Wave and Trade Union Perspectives," appeared in the *Militant*, October 14, 1933.)

"... The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to 'plan' industry on a basis of capitalist private ownership is inevitably doomed to a resounding collapse, and that very probably in the near future. With that, and with the failure also to satisfy the expectations of the workers which were aroused by the ballyhoo campaigns of the NRA, will come a tremendous disillusionment of the workers and a rapidly increasing tendency on their part to resort to more aggressive struggles; to rely on their own strength and organization. Trade unionism which was held out to them in the first stages of the NRA as a device to restrain their independent movement, will become for the workers the medium for its expression on a colossal scale. The workers will turn to trade unionism in real earnest, and they will be bent on making the unions serve as instruments of struggle against the exploiters.

"Then, as has already been clearly intimated in the speeches of Roosevelt and Johnson at the Washington convention, the benevolent mask of the Roosevelt administration will be taken off. The unions they encouraged, and even coaxed, as long as they thought they could serve as 'harness' will meet open opposition from the government. All the forces at its command, from systematic anti-union and anti-strike propaganda, to police and military force, will be brought to bear. The unions, insofar as they really fight—and that is the function which the conditions of the times impose upon them—will have to fight for their existence against the government itself.

"The capitalist attack against the trade unions as organs of struggle will be carried inside the unions. Green, Lewis & Co. will be called upon to purge the organizations of their militant elements and restore the union to conservative and respectable docility. The prompt response of these treacherous agents of capital to this demand is assured in advance....

"The trade unions, swelling into larger proportions by the influx of new members on one side, will witness wholesale expulsions and splits, engendered by the reactionary bureaucracy, on the other. Insurgent workers who insist on striking—the 'horses that refuse to work in harness'—will meet the condemnation of the labor bureaucracy. Their strikes will be outlawed and denounced as communist plots. A campaign of red baiting will be inaugurated against revolutionaries and communists. Where these do not exist they will be invented. Every worker who wants to fight for his rights and wants to make the union fight for him will be branded as a 'red'. The next developments of the trade union movement will unfold in a seething tide of labor rebellion—of 'outlaw' strikes, clashes with the authorities, fierce internal struggles in the unions, expulsions and splits.

The movement of the masses into the trade unions can be seriously influenced only from within. From this it follows: Get into the unions. Stay there. Work within.

"Before any serious development of a revolutionary organization can be expected in America this penetration must be begun in earnest. The militants who undertake this task now, after all the discredit brought to the name of Communism by the Stalinists, will labor under a double handicap. The complete and unchallenged supremacy of the reactionaries in the trade union leadership; the weight of the government and of all capitalist propaganda and repressive forces on their side; the popular hostility to Communism and the relationship of forces in general—these circumstances will constitute huge obstacles at the beginning. Besides that, the new left wing movement will have to pay for the sins and failures of the old.

"The labor fakery will start new expulsions against the radicals the moment their influence is felt again in the mass movement. It is folly to think that the task of penetrating the mass unions, under the given conditions, and of reconstituting a vigorous Left wing within them, can be accomplished with brass bands playing and banners flying. Quiet and persistent work, loyal cooperation with all progressive workers who want to build fighting unions—this simple prescription stands first in order. The rest will follow.

"We give no pledge to refrain from revolutionary activity in the unions or to turn our back on 'outlaw' strikes. We leave such trade union tactics to opportunists and traitors. It is our aim, on the contrary, to be with the masses, especially at the moment of their sharpest collisions with the capitalists, whatever form these collisions may take. In order that this association with the revolting masses can have a fruitful revolutionary influence, it has to begin now by the entrenchment of the militant and class conscious elements in the A. F. of L. unions and the formation of a left wing within them."

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL TO OPEN OCTOBER 1st

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor
Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
2. Organization Principles Instructor to be Announced
Every Thursday at 8:00 P.M.
3. History and Principles of the International
Communists Max Shachtman
Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
4. State and Revolution Jack Weber
Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
5. American History Felix Morrow
Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
6. Elementary Marxian Economics Alfred Weaver
Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-9624.

BOOKS

BOUGHT AND SOLD SPECIAL

- "Left Wing" Communism—by Lenin.....\$ 25
- Lenin on Britain—316 pages..... 2.50
- Development of Agriculture in the U. S.—by Lenin..... 30
- History of the Russian Revolution—by Leon Trotsky
3 vol. (Publishers Price \$10.00)..... 8.50*
- Whither England?—by Trotsky..... 1.00
- Minutes of the 3rd Congress of the C. I.
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- Letters of Rosa Luxemburg..... 1.00
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- The Militant—Bound Volume (1933)..... 1.50

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PHILADELPHIA CLASSES
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Held Every Thursday 8:15 P.M.
Starting Thursday, October 4th
at 1207 North 5th Street
Instructors:
R. CAREY and T. HOLMES
(To enroll, get in touch with one of the instructors at above address.)

Drug Clerks Union Calls Bronx Strike

The deadline in the general strike of Bronx drug clerks was set for Thursday night at midnight. At the date of this writing, more than 40 per cent of chain and independent stores in the Bronx have already settled with the Union. Picketing of those stores that have refused to settle is well under way.

The Pharmacists Union is more than 90 per cent organized in the Bronx, and expects quick victory. Thereafter, the Union will concentrate on other sections of the City where it is strongly entrenched, until union conditions prevail throughout Greater New York.

The settlement terms obtained by the Union in nearly half of the employing stores is hailed by Union leaders as a signal victory. Under these terms licensed pharmacists will receive a minimum of \$32.50 for a 54-hour week, with proportionate increases for junior pharmacists and sales help. The contract includes the closed shop.

Inasmuch as licensed pharmacists have been working 75 and 80 hours a week, for \$15 and \$20, these terms obviously will attract new members into the Union, and greatly expedite the city-wide fight. The Pharmacists Union, organized less than a year, already boasts of 1,600 members in Greater New York.

In a statement to the press, Chairman Dreyer, of the strike committee, announced that pledges of support had been received from New Jersey and Pennsylvania pharmacists.

"We have the men and the resources to fight this thing to a finish," he said. "Drug clerks everywhere are in revolt against sweatshop conditions, and they mean business. The Bronx is only the beginning."

Workers must patronize only those stores in the Bronx that have signed with the Union, and lend every possible support to the strike.

Anti Fascists to Rally on Oct. 12

(Continued from Page 1)
denied having received the invitation, which had been delivered by messenger, and proposed a joint committee elected by his conference and the United Youth Committee. The spokesman for the Communist party, who also spoke for the Y. C. L., stated that his organization cannot have a united front with the "enemies of the working class", etc., etc. If the Yipsels wanted a united front with the C. P. and Y. C. L., he added, they would "not have to recognize them (Lovestonettes and Trotskyites) as enemies of the working class" but would have to throw them off the United Youth Committee. When asked whether the C. P. would accept the proposal of the American League delegate for a joint committee with the United Youth Committee, he replied in the same vein: only if the Lovestonettes and Trotskyites were barred.

The Y.P.S.L. repeated its position on the united front. (See its letter to the Y.C.L. printed elsewhere in this issue). Another American League representative replied by stating that the "American League cannot exclude every or any group from united front action", despite differences that the C. P. has with the United Youth Committee. The Communist party and the Y.C.L. have helped build the League and he hoped that they will support this action. He again proposed that a joint committee be set up.

The United Youth Committee reiterated its desire for common action. It proposed that the American League conference elect a committee which would work with the United Youth Committee for one mass demonstration. The delegation then took leave.

The United Youth Committee will have a delegation at the conference called by the Italian Socialist Anti-Fascist paper, *La Stampa Libera*, to organize a demonstration on October 12. The organizations which participated in the May 1st united front demonstration have been invited. This includes the Communist League of America. Proposals will be made by the United Youth Committee for a common demonstration of all anti-Fascist youth and adult organizations.

HOT SPOTS IN THE WORLD SITUATION

The Need for the 4th International

FRANCE—October 7, 1934, 8 P.M.
Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
SPAIN—October 14, 1934, 8 P.M.
Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN
UNITED STATES—Oct. 21, 8 P.M.
Speaker: HUGO OEHLE
IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place & 15th St., N. Y. C.
Admission: 15 Cents per Lecture.
Auspices: Communist League of America, New York Local

Robins-Gras Appeal

With impressive backing from the labor movement, the appeal of Harold Robins and Andre Gras, imprisoned strikers, will be heard in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, on Oct. 9.

Convicted of assaulting a scab during the general strike of New York hotel workers in February, Robins and Gras were sentenced last April to Sing Sing, for two to four years and one to two years respectively, by General Sessions Judge, Joseph Corrigan.

According to the Socialist Lawyers Association, now in charge of the legal aspect of the case, "the conviction was based on flimsy testimony and prejudicial remarks and errors of the Court which prevented these workers from having a fair and impartial trial by jury. Judge Corrigan's charge to the jury was no more than a second summation for the prosecution."

Among the unions and fraternal organizations which are backing the Robins-Gras Defense Committee and which have contributed the funds for the appeal are: United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, the Joint Board Dressmakers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Millinery Workers Joint Board, the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, Waiters Union Local 1 and the Delicatessen and Confectioners Union Local 302, and the Forward Association.

Attorney Abramowitz, in a statement to the *Militant*, after commenting on the case, said: "The lesson to be drawn from the Robins-Gras case is that there is a desperate need for a permanent, non-partisan united workers defense organization fully equipped to fight these injustices."

New York Newstands

The *Militant* can be bought now at the following stands:

Delancy and Clinton St. North West
Suffolk and Delancy Subway Sta.
Stand in front 128 Delancy St.
Delancy and Essex St. N. E.
Houston and Clinton St. S. W.
3rd St. and Ave. B. S. E.
5th St. and Ave. A. N. E.
6th St. and Ave. A. N. W.
7th St. and Ave. B. S. E.
8th St. and 2nd Ave. S. W.
9th St. and 2nd Ave. S. E.
10th St. and 3rd Ave. N. E.
Shuyesant St. and 3rd Ave. S. W.
Ave. A and 10th St. N. E.
Pioneer Bookshop, 102 E. 11th St.
14th St. and 2nd Ave. S. W.
14th St. near the Jefferson Theater
14th St. and 3rd Ave. N. W.
14th St. and 3rd Ave. S. E.
14th St. and 3rd Ave. S. W.
14th St. and 4th Ave. S. E. 1st stand
14th St. and 4th Ave. S. E. 2nd stand
14th St. and 4th Ave. S. W.
14th St. and Broadway, S. E.
14th St. near 44 E. 14th St.
14th St. and University Place, S. E.
(Blind man)
Union Square (B.M.T.)
14th St. and 6th Ave. N. E.
14th St. and 6th Ave. S. E.
14th St. and 9th Ave. N. W.
14th St. and 7th Ave. S. W.
23rd St. and 4th Ave.
42nd St. and 6th Ave. S. W.
42nd St. and 6th Ave. S. E.
42nd St. and 6th Ave. N. W.
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Oct. 28—"A United Front with Whom and How"

Nov. 4—"The NRA and the Strike Wave"

Nov. 11—"Bureaucracy or Democratic Centralism"

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Socialists - Stalinists - Fourth

Internationalists?

Speaker:

AL DASCH

Friday, October 12, 8 P.M.

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Questions and Discussion

Admission Free

Auspices: Communist League of America, New York Local

PHILADELPHIA FORUM

Will the United Front in France

Stop Fascism?

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLE

Member of National Committee

Communist League of America

Sunday, October 14, at 8 P.M.

431 Pine Street

Lecture Series

HOTSPOTS IN THE WORLD

SITUATION

The Need for the 4th International

Subject:

FRANCE

Speaker:

ARNE SWABECK

Sunday, Oct. 7, at 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza

Admission 15c

Issues at the A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

organization to satisfy the requirements of the thousands of new recruits from the basic and mass production industries must be considered; the question of the government in its real expression will arise to bound the unions and throw the officials out of their tranquility. Suppression of these issues under the acceptance of the strike true proposal by the A. F. of L. convention will weaken the crust that covers the more volcanic eruptions to come.

Strike in War Time

Even during the war the no-strike pledges were of little avail. In 1917 there were a total of 1,227,254 men involved in strikes with a total of 15,000,000 man-days lost. In 1918 these figures were respectively 1,239,989 and 17,000,000. And these years were merely the rehearsals for the gigantic strikes of 1919 involving a total of 4,160,348 with 99,000,000 man days lost. The war declaration could not declare the class struggle at an end, nor can the attempted recovery measures, even when supplemented by a formal strike true agreement do so. On the contrary, every step taken toward recovery, which is recovery for the employers and financiers' profits, will intensify the class struggle and lead to more strikes. This is what the A. F. of L. officials now gathered at San Francisco fear above all.

In its acceptance of the strike true proposal, the National Association of Manufacturers says that "neither employers nor employees... should attempt to take advantage of existing abnormal conditions and the country's necessities to change existing labor standards in employment relations which they are unable to change under normal conditions." This is merely a polite way of saying: "During the strike we will not tolerate unionization of our plants; we will maintain the open shop." That is their demand for the security of the strike, knowing that if they really acquiesce to collective bargaining, to unionization of the plants, they could not rely on the ability of the trade union officials to tie the workers' hands.

Green's Record

It is reported that when the Republic Steel company last summer cancelled its contract with the steel workers union the president of the company, T. M. Girdle, said that he would rather go back to cultivating his apple orchard than deal with radical labor leaders like Wm. Green and John L. Lewis. This sounds paradoxical in view of the unanimity for the strike true proposal. Mr. Girdle may even have known of Green's pleadings at last year's A. F. of L. convention: "We must have faith," pleaded Green, "faith in the New Deal; faith in the principles of this act; faith in those who are honestly and liberally administering it, and most important of all, faith in that great, fearless leader, the President of the United States." "The right to strike," he admonished, "involves so many serious considerations that it ought to be utilized only as a last resort." And after that he proceeded to put over the agreement in the automobile industry, burying the strike weapon and legalizing the company union. He took a hand in the textile strike settlement, helping to defeat the strike when it was at its height of militancy.

Organizing the Unorganized

But, at the last A. F. of L. convention, Green also issued what he termed his clarion call to "Organize the Unorganized in the Mass Production Industries", with a membership of 10,000,000 as the next goal and after that 25,000,000 "which will bring the majority of Americans genuinely and actually within the trade union family." It had become a matter of compulsion. The working masses were surging toward union organization and, had the ranks of the A. F. of L. been closed to them, they would have found their medium of organization within a new framework. The last convention reported a recruitment of 1,300,000. This convention reports a gain in average

GOOD NEWS

The Youngstown Branch, through comrade Koehler have donated an addressograph to the *Militant*. This means a saving of at least \$150. We need say no more, as all our readers know exactly what such a sum means to our paper.

We expect to have the addressograph delivered to us by one of the Youngstown comrades within about two weeks. We will then have to buy the stencil cutting machine which is necessary. That will cost about \$50.

If any of our members or readers can help us secure this additional machine or know of a place we can buy it cheaply, please get in touch with the *Militant* office.

THE NEED FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Lecture by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of New International

Sunday, October 21, 8 P.M.

at Bronx Free Fellowship

1591 Boston Road, Bronx

(Corner Suburban Place)

paid-up membership of 897,893. With these hundreds of thousands of new recruits the A. F. of L. is undergoing a change. It is not static. It is a living organism which can be understood correctly only when viewed in motion. The changes in the economic structure of the country are producing ideological regroupments and changes in relationship of class forces.

Pressure on the Workers

It is not necessary to cite facts and figures to prove the growing economic pressure upon the working masses and the growth of the speed-up system and the increase in intensity of exploitation, nor the misery of mass unemployment. This the American workers experience and feel, even if they lack understanding of its real cause. But this is what moves the masses—and with them the trade unions—regardless of all the official brakes, the traces and the sell-outs, onward to greater militancy and inexorably to greater and deeper struggles. With this, and with the ever sharper clashes with the government in its real expression, the contradictions within the trade unions between a militant rank and file and

a reactionary officialdom come ever more to the fore. These contradictions the officialdom in its present position, make-up and outlook cannot solve. That much Wm. Green and his lieutenants sense instinctively; and that they fear.

The demand for security during the proposed strike true advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers is a challenge which can be met only in open struggle. Within the A. F. of L. there is not yet a national left wing to lead this struggle. Nevertheless the A. F. of L. is arriving at a crucial point in its history. The leaders may set the stage at the San Francisco convention for the strike true, but the contradictions will remain and intensify. Regardless of what they do to try to stem the tide a modern American trade union movement is in the making. Whether its whole development will continue within the framework of the A. F. of L. is not now the essential question. What is important is the fact that it has its beginning there. This determines the central slogan of the revolutionary militants—deeper into the A. F. of L. unions! —ARNE SWABECK.

Paterson Silk Meet Huge Success

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by the militant workers? Is this not something for every Paterson militant to be ashamed of?"

Both speakers pointed out that the failure to offer proper resistance to the sell-out settlement endorsed by Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co., was due to the single fact that the militants in the union were unorganized and without competent leadership. They urged the immediate formation of an organized opposition bloc of militant unionists to overturn the present Paterson misleaders, to reorganize the union and infuse it with a militant spirit, and to prepare for another test of strength with the bosses.

"You have not been defeated," said comrade Cannon. "In your hearts you know there was no real test of strength in this strike. You had all the fight still inside you when you were cheated out of victory by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and their little imitators in the Paterson locals. If you now take the proper steps, the new struggle and the victory which is bound to be yours may come sooner than you expect."

The two speakers pointed out that in order to organize a successful opposition group in the U.T.W. political understanding and political direction is indispensable.

"We are unalterably opposed," said comrade Muste, to the mechanical control of trade unions by any political party. The union is the organization of all the workers, and to put political barriers in the way of any worker's membership in a union, is to split the working class on the fundamental immediate economic issues. This does not mean, however, that politics is barred from trade union struggles. It can not be barred. Green, McMahon and Gorman have their politics: it is the politics of the national leaders of the Democratic Party in Washington. This is where they get their advice and their orders. Similarly, the workers must have political advice and direction in the struggle or they will fall into the trap of these leaders, who care more for the approbation of President Roosevelt's political bosses than they do for the interests of the workers.

"This leadership can come only from a genuine revolutionary party. Only such a party can organize, coordinate and lead the activities of a militant trade union group. With such leadership, the militants will go far. Without it, they flounder as they have in this situation, and the McMahons and Kellers put their sell-outs across without effective opposition."

Comrade Cannon and comrade Muste both concluded with brief mention of the A.W.P.-C.I.A. unity negotiations, and expressed hopes that in the near future a new banner of a united revolutionary party would be in the field, under which all militant, class-conscious workers could take their place for organized struggle, not only to clean up the unions and win immediate demands from the bosses, but to bring about the final smashing of capitalism and the ending of all exploitation, through the workers' rule and the socialist society.

The meeting terminated with questions and discussion. Several workers, disgusted by the actions of the A. F. of L. leadership, made brief speeches reflecting a profound pessimism about the A. F. of L. as such, without offering any alternative. Comrade Muste answered these speakers by pointing out that the masses of organized workers today are to be found in the A. F. of L. and nowhere else, and that the task of the militants is to get in with them, show them the difference between class-collaboration leaders and fighting leaders, and remake the A. F. of L. in the interests of its members.

Much of the discussion was by Stalinists, who had brought a group of about 25 to the meeting. Moe Brown, yesterday's leader of the Stalinist dual union, the National

Textile Workers, made several speeches attacking Muste and Cannon as allies of McMahon and Keller, bourgeois nationalists, counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, etc., etc. Following his lead, the Stalinist cohorts began a steady howl, making discussion impossible for some time. The plain intent to terminate the meeting in confusion and disorder was foiled, however, by the way in which comrade Cannon stood his ground.

"Do yourself a favor," he said, "You just liquidated the private 'Red Union' of the C. P. to join the U.T.W. You are supposed to be trying to make a good impression on the workers here. You're not doing it. Anyway, you can't shut me up. If you want to stop me you will have to drag me off the platform and, as has happened before when you tried that, you'll have a fight on your hands."

Workers in the audience began to yell their approval of this condemnation of the Stalinists' disruptive tactics and finally the howling disruptions were stifled. Comrade Cannon then gave a thoroughgoing criticism of the Stalinists and all their ruinous policies, heard with great interest by the workers. He challenged the Stalinists to pick their best leader to debate him in Paterson on the trade union question or any other aspect of Stalinist policy.

When Moe Brown yelled in answer that the C. P. "would not lower its intelligence by sending Browder or Ithaway to oppose Cannon", a loud laugh swept the hall. Comrade Cannon pointed his finger at Brown, and with a sweep of the hand took in the little knot of Stalinists, saying:

"There is not one among you who does not in his heart know that your policy in the unions has been wrong for years, and that because of the stamping out of democracy in your party, there is nothing you can do to improve it." Cannon waited a few seconds for an answer, but the Stalinists by this time were in a state of confusion. The once-noisy hecklers had nothing to say in reply to this charge of hypocrisy and cowardice.

The Stalinists now tried a last desperate maneuver: they rose in a bloc on a signal from Moe Brown, and shuffled noisily out of the hall, urging the workers not to listen any longer to these "counter-revolutionary agents of the bosses" who were slandering the Lord's own chosen revolutionary party. They were followed out by exactly nobody. Crestfallen, they hung around outside the door, and when the meeting was over tried to start an argument with comrades Muste and Cannon on the street. "How about that debate?" a dozen workers asked. This question, to which Browder's followers have no answer, ended the Stalinists for the night.

Many workers came up to the speakers after the meeting to congratulate them, to express their intention of joining a militant opposition group to oust Keller and Co., and to ask for further news about the development of a new revolutionary party. An understanding was reached whereby further joint A.W.P.-C.I.A. lectures are to be held in Paterson in the near future.

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Vertical Union Plan Is Adopted by A.F. of L. at Convention in Frisco

But Right Wing Steers Towards Class Collaboration Policy

Green's policy has met more opposition at the current convention than it has for a number of years. This opposition is not even tinged with progressivism. The real left wing has no voice in the convention. In the main the opposition that received a hearing on the floor primarily concerns jurisdictional disputes, and a clique fight between the labor leaders. These disputes over the question of enlarging the Executive Council, over the building trades jurisdictional dispute, and other such clashes, as well as the difference of opinion on the question of craft vs. industrial union, reflect the difference in policy among the labor leaders, not over the question of how they can aid the working class, but over the question of how they must act in order to retain their organization and its grip over the workers who are moving to the left.

The NRA and Richberg came in for criticism as the convention warmed up. The speakers did not point out the strike breaking role of the government in the recent strike wave. Rather, their criticism points out that there is not a sufficient development of the policy of class collaboration. They desire equal representation on the NRA Boards. The workers must realize that the main trouble with the A. F. of L. in the present strike wave was too much class collaboration and not enough class struggle. To "remedy" this error the labor agents of the capitalists are going to give the working class an increased dose of this poison.

Anti-Labor Drive Prepared

The A. F. of L. convention skips over the most important issues confronting the working class and organized labor. The reorganization of the NRA is merely the first indication of a new attack upon the workers' standard of living. All indications of the present economic and political moves that are being made by the bosses and their government point to a bitter drive against the workers. Before the drive has gotten under way Roosevelt is asking labor and capital for a truce. In fact every time an emergency situation exists, one which is favorable for the workers, the bosses' government asks for a truce. Capital gives this pledge and the labor leaders do likewise, and then under the cloak of this false harmony, the bosses' drive back the working class. Unorganized and betrayed by the leaders of the few millions of organized, the class cannot put up effective resistance. This is the main danger now. The truce is another knife in the back of the workers.

The bosses have taken advantage of the possibilities offered them in the NRA and have organized powerful national associations and trusts that are legally not "trusts". In addition to this the bosses have organized their company unions, which have become a powerful factor in industrial relations in many industries. On the other hand, the upsurge of the workers toward organization and struggle for better conditions has been checked by the policies and betrayals of Green, Lewis, Tobin, Woll and Company.

A. F. of L. Gains and Loses

The convention reports showed that the increase in membership is constantly wiped out or lowered considerably by the turnover due to unemployment. It must be remembered that these industries have been in chronic sickness for some time and the conditions here are relatively worse than in the other organized industries.

The jurisdictional fight and raids on the Brewery Workers Union by the Teamsters, Firemen and Engineers brought to the surface the issue of industrial unionism, but this issue was successfully sidetracked, and a vote of 15,558 to 9,305 favored the Executive Board's decision to uphold the position of 1933.

The jurisdictional fight over the three "outlaw unions", the carpenters, electricians and bricklayers, was brought on the floor and the body by a vote of 19,398 to 3,325 were for readmittance. The convention went on record for the 30-hour week and for wage increases. However, the Executive Council supports the Black Connery Bill, which calls for the 30-hour week but implies a proportionate wage cut. The Stalinists try to make capital out of this, but the

fact remains that these muddle-heads advocated the seven-hour day, instead of the six for several years, until the workers themselves laughed them out of court. They now keep silent or call for the shorter work week, except where the workers' pressure is sufficient to force them to adopt the slogan for the six hour day, five day week and no reduction in pay.

The Vertical Union Decision

A compromise has been reached at the convention on the question of the vertical union. The report of the resolutions committee calls for the issuance of international charters in the auto cement and aluminum industries. This was adopted by the convention. In these basic industries these international charters will be constituted as industrial

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Prices to Rise In Fake Truce Of Roosevelt

An industrial truce is to be declared in the war between capital and labor, and prices are to mount upwards.

These two pronouncements of our "Firebrand" President are of course not unconnected. They mean that the worker is not to demand increased wages when the prices of food, shelter and clothing begin to skyrocket. Otherwise, what would be the point of the National Recovery Act, designed entirely to end the slump in price levels?

In a word, industry and business are to find recovery at the expense of the workers.

Again and again, this has been evident in the acts and speeches of the benign Mr. Roosevelt.

"President Roosevelt today emphasized his belief," says the N. Y. Times of Oct. 11, "that prices should go higher, and that the administration would continue on its course toward this goal."

And who is behind the President in this program? The Times' story is clear on this point.

"The price-raising aims of the administration grew out of conferences more than a year ago between the President and representatives of industry and agriculture, financial authorities and spokesmen for mortgage and farm credit institutions."

"Mortgage and farm credit institutions." The farmer must get more for his crops so that the bankers can get back their loans. Otherwise the mortgages they hold will be worthless.

The wages of the workers are to be drained by high prices for the benefit of the manufacturer. The returns the farmer gets on his crops will be drained for the benefit of the mortgage holder. Beyond that, the deponent sayeth not.

Wages have been stabilized by the codes. But no check is to be placed on prices. Was there ever a more gigantic frame-up of the workers? Was there ever a more perfect swindle?

Who does not remember that the New Deal was to regulate both wages and prices in the interests of a better standard of living for the worker and consumer. Wages were to go up, and with increased wages the worker would buy more, and prosperity would again rule in the land.

Who does not remember the tremendous hullabaloo when the 20 employers of the Eureka Noregacy Bindery were given increases of 60 cents on their weekly pay checks, or when Mr. Fuzbuz of the Ajax Celluloid Collar Plant stated that he was putting ten (10) workers back to work to take up the slack in employment created when he discharged 25 men the week before. Meanwhile, not a word about steadily mounting prices, until it became apparent that the manufacturers were getting restless. Prices were mounting, but not rapidly enough to suit them. Hence, the recent assurances. Prices will mount still higher. Wages will remain where they are. An industrial truce between capital and labor on wages. Unrestricted warfare on the workers' pocketbook.

Vote for the New Party in The Elections

Once again, the workers in New York have the opportunity of voting while they starve. After five years, in which hunger was a constant guest at the family table and the bull-headed, quick-to-club cops an ever-present companion on the picket lines, the sober realization must be sinking in—the ballot is a worthless scrap of paper unless the night of organized, fighting labor stands behind it. Even then it is a subordinate weapon.

The New Deal versus the Old Deal, and a furious battle of the gold-dust parties for the workers to get exercised over. The Old Deal, the workers have associated with the "great engineer", Herbert Hoover. His regime of "let them eat cake" and gassing bonuses will not soon be forgotten by the workers despite all the prattle of "liberty".

The Gift-Horse

Then came the promises, fast and thick. Right to organize, "no body will starve". "Peter will not be robbed to pay Paul". Hopefully the American workers looked to the 20th century Moses, taking his word on faith. But like the promises of Wilson "to keep us out of the war" the New Deal of Roosevelt turned out to be a gift-horse. Company unions, pernicious strike settlements, bullets, gas, bayonets, murdered strikers tell the story of the New Deal.

Yet the stories of Roosevelt's achievements are still being marched up and down the country like some biblical tale of how a savior brought succor to a suffering people. What are the facts? Prices have risen, profits have mounted while U.S. Steel threatens a new wage cut—that is all forgotten by the nearly-mooned politicians. Stability to the capitalist system is what they see and what they want—and Roosevelt is their God. To vote for the subalterns of Roosevelt in New York State is to forget the battles of Frisco, Minneapolis, Toledo and textiles.

Perfidy at the Ballot Box

The labor skates in the New York State Federation of Labor counsel the workers to mark an X besides the "Democratic" Star. They do it with a purpose and not for the workers' interests. The plums of office, and positions on code authorities dangle before their eyes. Just as they tighten the vise of arbitration on the workers in every strike, these bureaucrats betray them at the ballot box, urging them to cast their votes for their worst enemies.

Not votes but struggle, on the picket line and not in the polling booth will win the most elementary needs for the workers. Not election but revolution will lift forever the sufferings of the working class. But contrary to what the capitalist politicians say, no working class vote properly directed is thrown away. Every vote for a revolutionary party is a vote against capitalism and a measure of the consciousness of the working class of its will to make an end to the system. ("Candidates, if and when they are elected, cannot collect concessions for the working class in the legislative chambers. They can, however, speak the message of proletarian revolution to the working masses from the capitalist tribune. And that is a great service, indeed!")

Don't Vote for Parties of the Past!

Is there such a revolutionary party in the election campaign today? Certainly it is not the reformers of the Socialist party who would make claims to that title. Their offer is to alter the system piece-meal, to vote it out of office, to abolish capitalism gradually without violence. This ostrich program brought the workers to grief in Germany. A mere glance at the bloody vengeance with which the capitalist class contests the workers in strikes for union organization will show how utopian is this program. More, in the face of all that has happened in Germany, Austria and elsewhere such a program cannot but fail to strengthen the capitalist system and maintain it at its weakest moment.

The Communist party, with all its blare of trumpets and noisy demonstrations, has failed, misled and disrupted the working class movement wherever it was most needed. Its record in the face of fascism is a picture of helpless impotence. In "smaller" matters, like the trade unions or strikes it has won a big zero for its efforts and left an everlasting stench on its name in militant labor circles.

To vote for either of these bankrupt institutions, Stalinist or reformist, would really be throwing

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Scottsboro Boys In Danger As I.L.D. Tactics Enable Lawyer to Knife Defense

Samuel S. Liebowitz, chief I.L.D. counsel in the Scottsboro case during the past year and a half, has quit the case after roundly denouncing the I.L.D. and the Stalinist party for their Scottsboro policy. He joins Alabama's legal lynchers in their efforts to harm the nine defendants by charging I.L.D. attorneys with attempted bribery of witnesses. More than this, Liebowitz, with the backing of a handful of Negro parsons has ordered the I.L.D. to get out of the case, and to turn it over to the Negro churches. The Daily Worker charges that Liebowitz has turned against the I.L.D. because that organization preferred to have the next appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court managed by Walter Pollak, who served in the first Supreme Court appeal. It seems that Liebowitz is another of those shocking "traitors", who somehow always turn up among the Stalinists' best buddies.

Joseph R. Brodsky, the I.L.D.'s leading staff attorney, who has repeatedly praised Liebowitz's work, now announces with pathos that he "never was so disappointed in any one" as he is in Mr. Liebowitz, and charges him with motives of self-aggrandizement.

The truth of the matter is that Sam Liebowitz has always been a doubtful ally, whose intention it was to get what he could out of the case while knifing the working class and the Negro people in the back. This he did effectively for a long time, and the I.L.D. let him do it!

On March 25, 1933, the Militant commented on the hiring of Liebowitz as follows:

"Liebowitz... is getting a free hand to attack the defense from a platform given him by the I.L.D. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an N.A.A.A.P. lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the I.L.D. were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism."

"Democracy" in the I.L.D.

Unknown to the Militant, leading members of the I.L.D. and of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of the I.L.D. had, even earlier, carried on a struggle on this question within those bodies. The Stalinist bureaucrats advocated the hiring of Liebowitz without putting to him the demand (compulsory, according to I.L.D. rules) that he maintain political silence during the case. Some members of the National Executive Committee objected. As a result, the N.E.C. by a resolution adopted at a meeting early in 1933 against the expressed wishes of the National Bureau and by the votes of the N.E.C. majority including half the C. P. fraction, instructed National Secretary Wm. L. Patterson not to retain Liebowitz without sending him a letter that, while lawyers were not required to espouse the I.L.D.'s views, they were not permitted to enter into political discussions of the matter on lines

opposed to the I.L.D.'s line during the case.

Despite the passage of the resolution, Patterson never sent such a letter; instead he sent one which the N.E.C. had rejected, giving Liebowitz a free hand. This, Patterson confessed later, he did under orders from his "political friends", that is, the C. P. Political Bureau.

The Executive of the N.C.D.P.P. (including a party fraction) soon after unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the I.L.D. to publicly dissociate itself from Liebowitz's first vicious anti-Negro and class-collaborationist statements uttered before the opening of the Decatur trial. The I.L.D. ignored the request.

Not even when Liebowitz endorsed lynching in court, saying that if he believed for a moment that these nine "niggers" were guilty of rape, he would be "the first to swing a rope" did the I.L.D. protest! The Daily, staunch defender of Negroes, never reported this horrible statement of the chief I.L.D. counsel!

Those who had advocated the Leninist position ("The lawyer should be warned in advance. If you son of a b—h, you play any dirty trick or commit any political OPPORTUNISM... then, I, the accused, will immediately interrupt you publicly, call you a scound, and announce that I reject such a defence, etc.; and carry out this threat.") were forced out of the I.L.D. and the N.C.D.P.P., and charged with "white chauvinism" (!) and "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

Now the chickens have come home to roost. Liebowitz, having extracted from the case all the personal glory and political capital he expects (he is no longer just a yegg's "mouthpiece"; he is a defender of the oppressed) who dares call the boys "my clients", leaves the I.L.D. flat in a critical moment and stabs it in the back. And the Daily has discovered that he is a "traitor". And Joe Brodsky is disappointed!

The situation is now complicated by the fact that Liebowitz and his parsons claim to have induced the prisoners and their parents to sign statements ordering the I.L.D. out of the case. If young Haywood Patterson writes that he would have "been released long ago if it hadn't been for that I.L.D.", he is mistaken.

The case has been in a stalemate for some time. If the I.L.D. had not played with Liebowitz, and had it continued to develop a militant mass campaign on the basis of a genuine united front, the boys might have been freed by this time. Certainly, their chances would be brighter now. But had it not been for the I.L.D. and those who cooperated with it, the boys would have been in their graves long before Liebowitz was heard of outside the New York criminal courts.

As a matter of fact, we may be quite confident that nobody knows this better than the boys and their parents. Of course, somebody might trick them into choosing Liebowitz against the I.L.D. by assurances that if the I.L.D. is kicked out, the boys will get off. How much such assurances are worth is

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RAISE NEW PARTY FUND! RECRUIT SYMPATHIZERS! BUILD THE LEAGUE!

"Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolution." The triumph of Fascism in Germany clearly revealed the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and the correctness of the International Communist League in proclaiming the need for a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties based upon Marxism. Since then the events in Austria, and now the revolution in Spain further confirm this position. A revolutionary Marxist party must be built in France and the United States before it is too late.

The steps toward organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers' Party is a development in the United States that all revolutionary workers should welcome. To speed up the unification and to launch the new party upon a firm foundation with strong cadres and Marxist theory should be the aim of every revolutionary worker. A new revolutionary party in the United States, the dominant imperialist country of world capitalism, will give a powerful impulsion to the revival of the international movement and the creation of the Fourth International.

You can help. You must help. You must help us in the establishment of a new revolutionary party. Help us build the League. Join the Communist League of America and become a foundation member of the new party.

Buy a Certificate and help build the foundation of the new party. Every member, every reader of our press, every sympathizer should buy a certificate. These certificates come in one dollar and five dollar denominations. Send in your contribution. COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

Workers Battle Heavy Odds in Spain Against Onslaught of Reaction

Best Fight Is Waged in Districts Led by Worker's Alliance

In spite of very serious setbacks to the insurrectionary movement in Spain, the miners of Asturias are still putting up a valiant defense against all the armed forces of the semi-Fascist regime, dominated by Lerroux and Gil Robles.

As warships shell coast towns in the workers' hands, the embattled miners are barricading themselves in mountain strongholds, where they are besieged by the combined land and air forces of the government. In Madrid and many other cities, throughout the country, street fighting still continues, but all indications now are that the premature, improperly prepared uprising has but small hope of success.

This does not mean that Fascism is already triumphant in Spain. The very fact that the workers have fought so valiantly,

in spite of the confusion caused by the lack of a truly united leadership, undoubtedly indicates that the Robles will still have much to contend with before he can consolidate a dictatorship.

In this interim, there is still a possibility of reforming the proletarian forces forging the vanguard party so necessary if final victory is to be achieved. The heat of the present struggle will be followed by a regroupment within the working class movement in Spain. The new party must then be created, if the final triumph of Fascism is to be prevented. There is but little time left if complete disaster is to be averted.

United on the Barricades

In practically every city and factory town of Spain, the red flag was raised during this past week, as the workers staged their first desperate fight against the forces of reaction. Having learned from the German events, of last year, the Spanish Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists waged a united struggle on the barricades against the common enemy.

It is still too soon to draw the balance sheet and to make a detailed and intelligent analysis of this heroic struggle. We can only say that the revolutionary party capable of giving Leninist leadership was conspicuous by its absence. The Socialist Party, which has played the leading role, has demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill this necessary role. In the months prior to the events, the Socialist Party prevented the workers under its leadership, from participating in any serious partial struggles, explaining that all energies should be conserved for the insurrection itself. Thus the working class was led into an insurrection without having any partial gains behind it, and at a moment when the bourgeoisie felt most confident of its strength. We see therefore a combination of errors of opportunism and adventurism in the policy of the Socialists.

"July Days" in Spain

The present stage in Spain can be said to correspond roughly to the days of 1917 in Russia. The task of the moment was to stop the Spanish "Korniloffs" in their march towards power—and not to attempt a direct assault on power. But the Spanish Socialist Party mistook July for October and called for the transformation of the general strike into a general assault for power.

At precisely the time when the enemy, flushed by a series of recent partial victories over the workers, would be best able to defeat the as yet imperfectly united working class. The inability to win over any appreciable section of the armed forces is another indication of the lack of serious preparation by those who insisted on an immediate insurrection at any price. Once under way however, there was no way to avoid the open armed struggle and the workers of every tendency realized that their duty was to strain every effort for victory even though the odds were overwhelmingly against them.

Another serious shortcoming for which the proletariat has paid dearly, is the lack of an organized, well functioning national united front. As pointed out in previous issues of the Militant, the S. P., while permitting its local and regional organizations to participate in the Workers' Alliances wherever these existed, sabotaged nevertheless the formation of the National Workers Alliance.

The anarchists in control of the C.N.T. on the other hand prevented their local organizations from joining the Alliances (excepting in Asturias), while the Stalinists decided to join only at the last moment (Sept. 12 to be exact), reversing completely their previous attitude under which they considered the Workers Alliances as "instruments of Fascism". Throughout the whole period, it is the revolutionary minorities (Communist Internationalists, Syndicalist Libertarians, Maurin Group) who have been giving their complete and whole-hearted support to the Alliances.

Power of Workers Alliances Experience has demonstrated that it is precisely in those regions

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Kidnapping

The capitalist newspapers, which so lightly pass over the starvation of the children of unemployed and half-paid workers, strive to work themselves and their readers into a frenzy over the Lindbergh and other kidnappings. In Detroit a girl of 11 years was sent out from house to house selling chances on a punch-board for the benefit of some Holy Catholic cause. She never came back. After several days of intensive search her body was found in the hastily vacated apartment of a morose son of a preacher. The child had been attacked and then killed with a hammer. In the apartment were found some pictures of nude women. The murderer is still at large. He had previously, on two occasions, been sent to lunatic asylums for attack on young girls but was released. The police, in their usual inimitable fashion, went to all bookstores and stopped the sale of "Art" magazines. A campaign against house-to-house canvassing has also been started. But strange to say, no one in authority has had a word to say on the closing down of the Catholic school that sent the young girl out nor has anyone proposed the sterilization of all Christian preachers. Both measures appear more pertinent to the case than the raids on bookstores.

"Periods"—Second or Third?

In the second period of wars and revolutions, Lenin's Communist International, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, will lead the proletariat of all countries to the Socialist Revolution throughout the world."—*Pravda* editorial as reported in the N. Y. Times, Sept. 29. Wasn't the "third period" a period of wars and revolutions? Haven't we been in that period since 1929? And wasn't Comrade Stalin "at the head" during the entire period? In the "third period," the period of wars and revolutions, Comrade Stalin led "Lenin's Communist International" from one defeat to another, culminating in the smashing of the powerful labor movement in Germany. Is it some more of such "victories" that *Pravda* promises for this "second period of wars and revolutions" which is also the first period of collaboration with the League of Nations?

With the "Daily Worker"

"Overjoyed at Entrance of U.S. S.R. into League of Nations"—headline, *Daily Worker*, Sept. 25. Canceled lecture by George Siskind on "International Importance of Stalin's Foundations of Leninism." It was a tough assignment for George. No wonder he canceled it.

What! No Father Divine?

The American League Against War and Fascism held an anti-war, anti-fascist rally in Mecca Temple. The speakers' list included Theodore Dreiser, Kurt Rosenfeld—"Refugee Prussian Minister of Justice" (an out and out "social-fascist"), a couple of "respectable" preachers, a professor and Charles Krumbein. The program included "Dances of Revolt," "Songs of Strife" and "Anti-war Skits." It seems an eminently fit gathering for Father Divine and his dancing angels and yet they are not listed in the attractions advertised in the *Daily Worker*. Can it be that Father Divine is reserved for street demonstrations and is barred from the more "respectable" anti-war meetings?

Browder Analyzes Textile Strike

"Yes comrades, the betrayal was possible also because we have not taught the workers to conduct a strike over the heads of their leaders."—Earl Browder, *Daily Worker*, Sept. 25. Isn't it just possible that it instead of setting up paper "Revolutionary" unions, had the comrades been instructed to work to build the regular unions they might have been themselves the leaders in some of the strikes. Instead of shouting "over the heads" of both leaders and workers. Browder says further: "Yes, the betrayal was possible. That is their business! But the task of revolutionists is to prevent betrayals, to make them impossible." But in America as in Germany the policies of Stalinism made betrayal and defeat inevitable. The task today most pressing of all is the building of a revolutionary party in America that will liquidate the Stalinist helpers of betrayal and make such betrayals as the textile "settlement" impossible.

"A Truce in Industry"

Roosevelt, in 1934, like Hoover in 1929 proposes a truce between capital and labor. And the same labor fakery who agreed to Hoover's proposal, now joined by such "fighters" as Gorman, are falling over themselves for the chance to lend the workers into the "truce" trap. "Once bitten, twice shy." It will not be easy this time. —BILL.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

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Workers «Greet» Black Shirts in New Haven

New Haven.—Two anti-Fascist demonstrations greeted Mussolini's salesmen upon their arrival in New Haven. Both were small in number, one extremely mismanaged and the other surprisingly militant. Both occurred on the historic Yale campus among million dollar buildings—buildings supposedly dedicated to academic freedom, culture, etc.

The first occurred as the Fascists descended from buses near Woolsey Hall. Cries of "Down With Fascism!" filled the air. A scuffle immediately followed during which a Spartacus youth, an Anarchist, a few Y.C.L.ers and a C.P. member were beaten by spectators. The Anarchist stood off three attackers armed with umbrellas until knocked down.

The second took place when the Fascists emerged from the Yale dining hall. Communist League members and sympathizers, a member of the League Against War and Fascism, and members of the National Students League, eleven in all, and including two women, banded together in a compact unit and rent the air with "Abasso il Fascismo!"

They were immediately surrounded by Mussolini's henchmen, some 15 in number and mostly laughing. The demonstrators kept on. "Abasso il Fascismo, abasso il Fascismo" was flung into the faces of the Fascists. They soon lost their good humor and began to sneer, jeer, and swear in Italian. "Abasso il Fascismo, abasso il Fascismo" was still being flung into their faces. By now they numbered fifty.

Suddenly they turned into raging beasts. Cursing and shouting aloud they attacked the group of eleven with feet and fists. The women were struck over the head repeatedly with a heavy package. Blow for blow was given until the Fascists numbered 75. The anti-Fascists then retreated to the other side of the street. Still blow for blow was given. The demonstrators gave ground slowly, fighting every inch of the way until, on the campus of the new Berkeley College, they were dispersed by odds of nine to one.

Ten of the Fascists pursued an instructor down Wall Street. Halfway down the block he made a stand. After smashing one of them a policeman intervened and he made his escape. The entire affair was characterized by the brutality of the Fascists. Groin kicking and rabbit-punching were their specialties. With unanimity they preferred the use of the feet to that of the hands. Their attempts to reach the groins of the males were executed with military precision. The events leading to both demonstrations are important. Friday, Sept. 28, the acting chairman of the League Against War and Fascism appeared at the weekly meeting of the Spartacus Youth League and issued an invitation for participation in a united front demonstration in connection with the visit of the Fascist students to New Haven.

This being in line with the N.Y.C. policy of united fronts on specific issues, representatives were sent. In the following Tuesday, to the meeting of the League Against War and Fascism. After a prolonged discussion during which the old arguments against "Trotskyism" were paraded a vote was taken and the N.Y.C. was refused participation by 7 to 5.

The League Against War and Fascism went ahead with its plans for picketing with posters. When the time came to swing into action the 25 organizations affiliated with the League Against War and Fascism failed to materialize. Few posters were in sight, there was practically no picketing, and absolutely no organization. As a result the sympathy of the spectators was lost due to their failure to understand what it was all about.

The second demonstration was hurriedly improvised by Communist League members and sympathizers and others including N.S.L. members and one member of the League Against War and Fascism who were disappointed with the first. Its aim was to reach the Fascist students themselves and let them know of the militant opposition in New Haven to them and their creed. From this point of view it was a success. Their equanimity was disturbed.

The solidarity shown by several intellectuals in connection with the second demonstration was heartening. A woman graduate student and an instructor and his wife stood in our ranks, using their fists for intellectual freedom side by side with unemployed and Communist League members. To them we extend our respect and admiration. To the N.S.L. members and the member of the League Against War and Fascism, who gave a good account of themselves, we extend the same. We shall always stand shoulder to shoulder with them on the field of battle. We deplore the fact that the 25 organizations affiliated with the League Against War and Fascism, that the C.P. and Y.C.L. were not present and had no organized resistance at the second demonstration. —JAY HARDE.

The Electrical Workers Struggle

For 29 years, in good times or bad, the Brooklyn Edison Company has not failed to pay its regular 8% annual dividend.

From 1910 until 1932 the workers also got a "dividend". It was called "profit sharing" and amounted to 8% of the yearly wage. But this had to be voted on each year. Since 1926, when the Brooklyn Edison came into control of the Consolidated Gas Company, there was increasing hostility on the part of the Board of Directors to continue this "labor dividend". The plan was to take this bonus from the workers of the Brooklyn Edison to make up the deficit of other subsidiaries of the Consolidated Gas.

In 1931, the sum of \$13,400,000 was available for dividends. Actually, \$8,800,000 were paid out, and \$4,600,000 added to the already piled up surplus of \$26,500,000. But the company decided it was in a tight hole. So it laid off 1,600 employees. This gave rise to the organization of the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees, an independent union.

Dividends and Relief
In 1932, \$10,000,000 were paid out in dividends and over 3,000 employees were laid off. But Parker, the president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, told the workers not to despair as he had been appointed Chairman of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee. The relief committee generously paid the rent of the unemployed and allotted families of four or more \$2.50 a week to cover all other expenses.

In May 1933, the employees were "given" Saturdays off at their own expense. The following month the NRA was launched with the stipulation of the 35-hour week. Could it be that the Brooklyn Edison had had some advance information? Profits meanwhile had been soaring to a dizzy height. Something had to be done. So on Aug. 18, 1933 the Public Service Commission ordered a rate cut which was to save consumers some \$9,000,000 a year. This cut was never put into effect, however, as the New York Supreme Court granted a stay.

Bonus Cancelled
But the Brooklyn Edison Company was still in a terrible predicament. The only thing the starving directors could do to remedy their plight was to cancel the 8% bonus of the workers.

As a result, the Brotherhood grew by leaps and bounds. It asked a charter of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America and received it, becoming Local 102. It petitioned the Edison Company with the signatures of 600 employees, asking for an explanation for the withholding of the bonus. The answer received was that the employees did not get it because it was withheld—or words to that effect.

The union then started an organ-

izing campaign with the following demands: 1) restoration of the wage cut of May 1933; 2) restoration of the bonus; 3) higher wages.

Unrest Grows
As a result of the NRA, which had been in effect about 9 months, there was an increase in power consumption and a nice gain in profit for the Edison Company. This served to increase the unrest of the workers.

The employees, alarmed at the growth of the Brotherhood, issued in April 1934 the "Employees Plan for Collective Bargaining", a company union idea which was to be rammed down the workers' throats. The circular which was sent out by Parker might have sounded fine to the naive, but the vanguard of the workers was not to be fooled. Of all the subsidiaries of the Consolidated Gas, the Brooklyn Edison had the best showing in the vote against the company union.

Afterward, the company thought that more bait was needed, especially did it want to take some of the wind out of the Brotherhood's sails: it restored half of the wage cut of May 1933.

"Loyal" Workers See Trick
But in spite of its spies and thugs, its cajoling and intimidation, it got a little more in the company union than it had expected. Working in conjunction with the Brotherhood, certain members of the company union circulated a petition asking for the restoration of the bonus and the full restoration of the wage cut. The company union backed up the petition, and it was sent to the management. The reply was a flat refusal, and as a result the eyes of a number of "loyal" employees were opened to the worthless nature of the company union.

One of the many purposes of the company union, and particularly of this one, is the use of the employees against taxation legislation. The company can "threaten" the legislators with wage cuts if the taxes are not to its liking.

Brotherhood Strengthened

In the meantime the Brotherhood had become a real threat to the bosses. Its total membership swelled to 2,500, and at the power station on Hudson Avenue alone it had 80% of the workers organized. This was a little too much for the benevolent Mr. Parker. He fired Donegan, the president of Local 102, and Neilly and O'Reilly for "inefficiency". That this "inefficiency" was only discovered after a longer period of employment (the newest of the workers had been employed for over a year) shows that their discharge was the result of other causes—union activity.

Strike Threatened

Whether the Labor Board mediator, Mrs. Herrick, had turned the union's books over to the bosses or whether it was just company plain clothes men who had spotted the three union workers, is not known. At any rate, the union threatened to strike, putting forth the following three demands: 1) immediate reinstatement of Donegan, Neilly and O'Reilly and the right of all

employees to organize into a union of their own choosing (the Brotherhood); 2) return of the bonus and restoration of the wage cut; 3) recognition of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

What is to be done? 1) Break up the company union as fast as possible and have the members openly join the Brotherhood; 2) Organize the office workers into the union; 3) Replace the cowardly leadership with men who will fight for the union, not for themselves; 4) Prepare to strike for a) union recognition and the closed shop, b) full restoration of the wage cut and the payment of the bonus.

—KARL OSWALD.

Drug Clerks Strike Winning

More than 65 per cent of the employing drug store owners in the Bronx have signed up with the Pharmacists Union, officers of the union announced today.

The retreat of the bosses followed the calling of a general strike of all drug clerks in the Bronx, with picketing of those stores that refused to sign.

The N.Y.P. and Melburn chains signed up immediately, and a flying picket squad was kept busy getting individual employers into line. The union anticipates that all of the larger employing stores will be signed before the week is over.

The terms of the contracts include a \$32.50 wage for a 54-hour week, with closed shop.

The strike was in protest against sweat shop conditions. Drug clerks were working 70 and 80 hours a week for as little as \$18 or \$20 a week. The Druggist NRA code, drawn up by the bosses, "generously" offered a \$16 minimum for a 60-hour week, but even these sweat shop conditions were not observed.

The Bronx County Pharmaceutical Association, a paper organization of the owners, has been vociferously attacking the union and raising the red scare, but the majority of its members have signed union contracts.

The union plans to extend its line of battle to other boroughs following its "mopping-up" campaign in the Bronx. Its membership has largely increased as the result of the Bronx victory.

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Stalinist "Facts"

"Then comes the explanation—the usual torrent of epithets and curses. And then a few 'facts'—real, good Stalinist facts. For example: 'Trosky... since 1903 has been against the Bolshevik Party.' Especially in his job as chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905. And more especially as chairman of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee in October, 1917. And most especially as Commissar of War in the first years of the Soviet Republic, and most, most especially when the names of Trosky and Lenin were international shorthand for the Russian Revolution and the Communist International."

But that's not all. Trosky, it appears, is now in France living "in a villa, with neatly arranged portfolios, surrounded by pedigreed hounds, by servants and secretaries!" No doubt it is because the French bourgeois government has made such splendid arrangements for his care that nobody has seen comrade Trosky for six months, since he was spirited away from Fontainebleau by cops, and that the Militant has not had a line from him in the same period. What is he doing with those portfolios and secretaries?

"Troskyites" and the United Front
Now the C. P. letter deals a really telling blow:

"The Troskyites are in every country the enemy of the united front." We challenge the Belgian Communist Party and any other Stalinist party to produce a copy of their official documents concerning the united front and dated any time between 1928 and 1933 which does not brand the Troskyites as "the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie" just because we were advocating the united front with the Social-Democracy.

We recall to the attention of workers of all political faiths the role the C.L.A. played in bringing about the united May Day demonstration of left wing and Socialist organizations, characterized by the Stalinists (who held their own private double-Red counter-demonstration) as a hodge-podge of Social-

Belgian Y. C. L. Divides on United Front Issue

BULLETIN

The latest issue of *La Voix Communiste*, weekly organ of the Belgian Communist League, reports that the Charleroi District of the Y.C.L. under orders from the C. P., has voted to withdraw from the united front agreement they signed with the Young Socialist Guard and the Young Bolshevik-Leninists (Troskyites). The decision was taken at a membership meeting of the District. The vote was 1,722 against 1,044. ALMOST 40 PERCENT OF THE Y. C. L. MEMBERSHIP FAVORED STAYING IN THE UNITED FRONT, ONE OF WHOM EXPLICIT AIMS IS THE DEFENSE OF COMRADE TROTSKY AGAINST CAPITALIST PERSECUTION! The report adds that the Young Socialist Guard has thus far ignored the C. P.'s demand that it choose between a united front with the C. P. and one with the "counter-revolutionary Troskyites."

Recently a united front agreement was reached by the Belgian Young Socialist Guard and the Belgian Young Bolshevik-Leninists ("Troskyites"). It calls for general united front action against war and Fascism, and in defense of democratic rights and the rights of the working class. It takes in the struggle on behalf of class war prisoners, including Stalinists, Troskyites and Socialists in Fascist prisons and concentration camps, and specifically mentions the defense of comrade Leon Trosky, class-war prisoner of the French capitalist government.

The Political Bureau of the Belgian Y.C.L. (Stalinists), after much discussion and many fruitless efforts to get the Socialists to abandon comrade Trosky, signed this joint pact. The pact, as we indicated in the Militant of Sept. 22, had objectionable features of

the "non-aggression" variety, but in other respects represented an enormous step forward for the Belgian working class.

Whether the Y.C.L.'s action reflected a genuine turn to a revolutionary position, or simply over-zealousness developed in an effort to obey Moscow's orders to get next to the S. P. at all costs, we cannot say. In any case, it is now catching holy hell from its elders. The Belgian C. P. Chatelet District Committee (why not the national office?) has addressed a letter to the Y.C.L. demanding that the impudent (or imprudent) youngsters pull out of the united front. The sole reason is that they must not defend comrade Trosky!

The Stalinist Letter
This letter is one of the most interesting of recent products of the Stalinist mind. It has all the clarity and straight logic of a plate of well-cooked spaghetti.

"The Young Socialists," this document declares, "defend unity of action (on the basis of) a living unity of the fight of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." The Young Socialists in this case, of course, are none other than the official S. P. youth organization (rank-and-file, lowest functionaries, middle functionaries, top functionaries and everything else). Good: there are no more Social-Fascists among the Belgian Socialist youth. That ought to be worth a headline in both the *Daily Worker* and the *New Leader*.

"Under no persuasion and at no period of our agreement," the letter continues, "can we subscribe to any united action with the Troskyites or the protection of Trosky himself." Which recalls the days when every Stalinist declared in equally certain terms: "Never will we sit down around the table with the leaders of the Social-Fascists and discuss a united front against Fascism. Never!" What, never? Well, hardly ever.

Letters to Editor

Dear Editor:

The *Daily Worker*, you will be gratified to learn, has not succumbed entirely to the sobering influence of its New York Times ex-editor, or its three (count them) daily editions. One may still cull from its columns the choicest tidbits and most delicious morsels of idiocy.

I submit for this week's prize the contribution of Mrs. Lincoln Steffens who writes under the name of Miss Ella Winters. It appears under the heading: "Three Well-Known Writers Add Their Bit to Daily Worker Drive." And Miss Winters' bit is a bit indeed.

She writes: "The Captain of the Morro Castle may have thought sincerely that the fire could be put out and the insurance, if not the liner, saved. Even then it was tough on the passengers to be left asleep. It was fierce. And so unnecessary. The crew knew and could have warned everybody aboard that doomed ship. (Emphasis ours.) Well, on our good ship, the Earth, the crew knows, and here it is shouting 'Fire!' We are not asleep, nor are we very drunk. I suggest that we stop, look and listen, passengers, crew and captains too."

"Read and heed the *Daily Worker* and the *Western Worker* and if they are not as 'good' technically as they should be, contribute some capital goods to them, and make 'em right—I mean Left. (Signed) 'Ella Winters'."

Don't ask me what the lady means. Ella dances and flutters through the English language as she does through life (see Steffens' autobiography), and is not to be pinned down to ordinary sense or meaning. But will you just cast your eye over her sentimental defense of the captain of the Morro Castle (who blamed the Reds for the disaster) and her scurrilous attack on the crew. Could the Ward Line desire a more ardent defender?

Since the Pleistocene God first brought order into chaos, has there ever been anything as hopelessly muddled as a Stalinist liberal? And Ella Winters has devoted her life (God save the mark!) to workers' defense!

—LEWIS BURKE.

"Off Again, On Again, Gone Again, Finnegan"

According to the latest Communist, the Stalinist Party is growing by leaps and bounds. Leaps into the organization, and bounds out of it.

Earl Browder reports to the C.C. that there were some 24,000 members in January of this year. He adds that 17,000 new members were admitted between January and August. As a result, the actual membership in July was 20,000. How come? Simple: during the same period 21,000 members quit. This means that almost everybody who joins the Stalinists these days, quits within a period of eight months... and often takes along somebody else with him.

The omniscient Browder "explains" this interesting phenomenon. It seems that "politically" the masses are coming to the C.P., but the C.P. is falling down on the job "organizationally". Strange, how the line can be correct and the application correct, and the objective situation correct... but 21,000 people walk out—because the unit organizer is no good.

The truth is that, sailing under the stolen banner of Leninism, the C. P. is able to pick up many workers who want to take their place in a revolutionary party, but who soon find that they can not stand for the wild and woolly antics of Stalinism. Another factor is that the standards set for admission to the C.P. are incredibly low. Neither ideological development nor testing in action is required. Anybody who can cheer the local functionaries can join the C. P. Consequently, all sorts of petty-bourgeois and even lumpen-proletarian elements drift in for a diversity of rotten reasons... and drift out as soon as it pleases them to do so.

One of the tasks of the American section of the new international, as soon as it is formed, is going to be to save the serious elements from the disheartening experience of a few months in the Stalinist movement, which often disables them for the struggle for a long period.

Fascists with a "counter-revolutionary tail". As for Madison Square Garden—the less said the better.

Finally, this interesting fact: the Troskyites "discredit" the Soviet Union and try to hinder the international proletariat from coming to the aid of the Soviet Union." No doubt by our criticism of Stalin's theory and practice of "Socialism in One Country". Interesting—but... the Yipsel-Troskyite pact which the Y.C.L. signed includes the following agreement:

"Active organization of the defense of the U.S.S.R., without thereby meaning the elimination of the freedom of criticism, independent of the common action,

(Continued on Page 3)

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Spanish Insurrection

The insurrection of the Spanish proletariat against the pro-fascist Lerrox ministry, comes as the result of the direct provocation of the reactionaries in their assumption of three strategic posts in the government—the ministries of agriculture, justice and the interior. Gil Robles, head of the Catholic party of the big landowners and industrialists, gauged the moment when the power of reaction had reached its new height under the republican regime and would have declined without a direct assault on the workers and peasants for the consolidation of power. The hatred of the monarchy taught these monarchists to proceed cautiously, to put forward the lying slogans of "defense of the republic" at this stage so as to prepare the way for restoration at a later stage.

The direct challenge of the Spanish fascist forces could not be ignored by the working class parties despite its character of provocation. The ardent and fierce struggle of the industrial workers, the miners, the farm laborers after the calling of the general strike sets forth in bold and flaming relief once more the will of the workers to resist and sacrifice for the common good. Even defeat in a battle of such intensity is the guarantee of renewed and victorious struggle on the morrow. This outburst of the masses adds new splendor to the heroic traditions of the Spanish proletariat.

Lessons of the Struggle

The outstanding lesson of this struggle against fascist consolidation of power is the absolute need for revolutionary leadership having clear aims and capable of guiding the masses with correct revolutionary policies. The working class cannot achieve success, cannot establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, without a trusted revolutionary leadership that has gained the hegemony of the working class in the course of historic struggles, "partial" battles, political and economic, that lead up to the final decisive bid for power. Such a leadership did not exist in the present instance. The forces of the Bolshevik-Leninists, handicapped by the existence of the two bureaucratic forces of the Socialist and Stalinist forces, as yet too small in numbers to have deep roots among the masses, despite their correctness of policy, could not play at the moment the decisive role. The socialists broke only yesterday with the "republicans" with whom they had been in a treacherous bloc to keep the workers under the yoke of bourgeois democracy; that is, under the yoke of the ruling class. None of the "left" forces showed that ability to supply, in the every-day struggle, the program combined with the leadership in the "partial" demands for which the masses could have fought properly and eagerly, that would have rallied the workers and peasants to the revolutionary party and the revolutionary cause. The Cortes was never made a tribune from which to establish those necessary bonds with the masses. Thus in the present situation the masses showed their readiness to rise to the heights of proletarian revolution and victory—but the leadership was insufficient.

The United Front

This fact is also shown in the united front established so late in the day. This united front gives birth to incipient Soviets at the very moment when insurrection becomes the order of the day. The Stalinists halt the Soviets uncritically now, not understanding that Soviets cannot be built only for immediate insurrection, that Soviets have first to be fostered in the form of a united front of all forces of the working class for smaller aims of defense, for the carrying out of strike struggles, for the fight for working class relief, etc. Only through Soviets (Juntas) thus created early in the struggle can the working class make the necessary contact with the soldiers and peasants that will help to win over these forces to the revolution when the decisive moment arrives. Otherwise only the miscarriage of the revolution can result. Otherwise the peasants do not rise in overwhelming numbers with the workers to seize the land and disarm reaction, the soldiers are not ready to turn their arms against their officers, etc. Otherwise the united front becomes a matter of manipulation from the top in which the Companies can agree with the Aznars that they will not permit the workers to take the offensive and lead the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat—but will merely defend bourgeois democracy. Otherwise no Marxian vanguard can, in the course of every-day struggle, show its militantly correct leadership and win the masses away from the misleaders and betrayers whose sole aim is to put a brake on the action of the masses in order to maintain their own bureaucratic control. —JACK WEBER.

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QUESTION BOX

N. L. RICHMOND—

Question: In the automobile and steel industries there were threats of a strike a short while ago, but this was choked by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Since then there has not been much sign of a strike revival in these lines of production. In the textile industry the labor leaders were able to prevent the first threat of a strike from maturing but were unable to resist the pressure of the ranks a second time. How do you explain the difference in the attitudes of the workers in these industries?

Answer: The attitude of the workers in this instance is conditioned by the state of the industry itself. In general, the workers can go on strike during a period of revival from a crisis, primarily because they find themselves back again in the factories. It is obvious that unemployed workers cannot strike. Textiles, being an industry devoted chiefly to producing means of consumption is less affected as far as its market is concerned than the industries producing means of production. In 1932, 41.7% as much textiles were produced as in 1929 whereas only 18.5% of the 1929 exports were realized by the machinery and vehicle industries in 1932. As compared to 1929, about 73% of the textile workers had employment in 1932, whereas only 50% of the workers in the heavy industries were working that year.

The threat of a steel strike came at the time when steel was operating at about 55% of capacity. The automobile strike threatened at a time when production and sales rose to their highest in four years. Steel has since dropped to around 20% of capacity, and automobile production has likewise fallen off. Many of the workers are back on the streets, and if they are talking strike, are in no position to materialize it. The number of textile workers who remained in the factories has for the most part been stationary. This, essentially, is why they appear more militant than their brothers in heavy industry. A revival of the latter will quickly demonstrate that the appearance is deceptive.

L. B. NEW YORK—

Question: In the *Daily Worker* of October 2, 1934, the editor, in explaining the difference between the Socialist and Communist parties, makes the following statement: "Socialism is defined as that society in which the ruling class is the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship, through Soviet power. In the Soviet Union today, the proletariat has already laid the basis for a Socialist society, but they are still on the way to a Communist society." This seems contradictory but I am not clear. Can you explain?

Answer: The contradiction is self-evident and flows from the "theory of Socialism in one country." The Socialists simply attempt to distinguish the difference between the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism in order to harmonize the "theory's" contradictions. At the present time the ruling class in the Soviet Union is "the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship." According to the *Daily Worker* this is Socialism, yet in the same breath it states that only the basis for Socialism has been laid. What profound wisdom! The above-quoted Socialist definition for Socialism is false. Under Socialism classes will have been abolished and the ruling class and its state power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, will have withered away, since coercion of one class by another cannot exist in a classless society. Under Socialism there will no longer be a proletariat since the existence of the latter implies the existence of a capitalist class whether or not the proletariat has seized the power from it.

G. T. AND E. L.—

Question: A recent issue of the *Minneapolis Labor Review*, official organ of the Central Labor Union, reports the C.L.U. has adopted a resolution approving Governor Olson's conduct during the drivers strike, and stating he did not use government power against the workers. That this misrepresents the truth is known to everybody who knows anything about the strike. The *Labor Review* adds that the resolution was seconded by one of the leaders of the drivers' union, Grant Dunne. What is the position of the League on this question?

Answer: The League has openly and consistently attacked Olson's strike-breaking moves, during and since the strike. Similarly, the members of the League in Minneapolis warned the workers against Olson and his troops before the troops came in, denounced Olson when he brought the troops in, and took the lead in arousing working class sentiment which eventually forced Olson to retreat to an extent that saved the strike. The League has not changed its position on the question since the strike. Governor Olson stands convicted of using the troops in strike-breaking activities, the only way in which the National Guard of the boss state can ever be used. It was not Grant Dunne who seconded a resolution praising Olson's strike policy, but William Brown, President of the union. The *Minneapolis Labor Review* statement is incorrect, and we are informed that the editor intends to publish a correction; it may have appeared by the time this issue of the *Militant* is off the press.

The facts are these: The Central Labor Union is made up of union delegates who are almost without exception members of the Farmer-Labor Party. They strongly disapproved the attitude of the C.L.A. during the strike; they were deeply concerned to protect Olson's reputation with the workers and, even at the cost of letting his attacks on the strike go unanswered, they did not want him to be criticized. When the C.L.U. headquarters was raided by the troops and the C.L.U. functionaries chased into the street, for example, the *Labor Review* quoted in black-face type a statement by Olson that this was done for the benefit of the workers!

Now that the strike is over they are doing their best to restore the gilt to the exposed clay feet of their idol, Olson. Hence the resolution adopted by the C.L.U. This resolution was introduced by an official of the milk drivers' union who is a member of the F.L.P. It was seconded by William Brown, who is a member of the F.L.P. and has been for some years.

The League, which was glad to see Brown go into the Hennepin County Central Committee of his party during the strike and demand that they protest against Olson's policy, and which was glad to see Brown denounce Olson's policy publicly during the strike before scores of thousands of workers, cannot agree with his change of estimate of Olson. Of course, the League has no responsibility for Brown, who is not and never has been a member of the League.

The manner in which trade union struggles are translated into political struggles is clearly illustrated by this incident. The particular strike struggle having ended, many workers turn their thoughts to other problems and cease to guard themselves against the misleading effects of such resolutions as this one of the Minneapolis C.L.U. Only a new revolutionary party, with its own ticket in the field to keep these issues before the working class and to teach them to vote as they strike, for the class and its vanguard, can counteract the reformists of all varieties.

Program of the Latin American Bourgeoisie

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (better known as the Apra) is the most important organization of the Latin American left bourgeoisie. Centered in Peru, it claims sections in all or most of the countries that make up Latin America. For a while, just as Calles of Mexico, it was represented in the Stalinist Anti-Imperialist League of Brussels. It is vociferous in its praise for the Soviet Union and the methods used by the Bolsheviks in Russia—but only for Soviet Russia, and not for Latin America, the term they use when speaking of Latin America. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin are cited in defending their arguments—of course a misuse of all but the last. Undoubtedly large numbers of workers and peasants follow this organization. For this reason, and for the reason that all conditions affecting Latin America react in the United States, this group deserves some attention, not only by the comrades of Latin America but also in the United States.

The Apra Program

The theoretical bases of Apraism can be summed up in the following points:

1. Co-operation of the three classes, who are oppressed and repressed by imperialism is necessary to solve the problems of Latin America. These three classes are the proletariat, the peasantry and the native capitalist class. The aim of this co-operation is to set up a democratic republic that will free the native capitalist class from the strangulating hold of imperialism, and will allow the development of a native industrial class.

2. The state that will be set up as a result of the three classes above named joining in a united front within the Apra will be the democratic republic, which will, according to the theoreticians of the Apra, represent all three classes.

3. The establishment of the democratic republic and the freeing of native industry from the bonds of imperialism will allow the development of the proletariat, so as to—in the future be sure—take over the nation and set up socialism. Up to that time the proletariat must co-operate and support the bourgeoisie in the development of industry and be only the left wing in the national bloc.

4. It is not necessary to banish imperialism from Latin America, but only control it, so that the advanced technique that imperialism brings will be utilized for the development of national industry. How imperialism will be controlled is not stated.

5. Co-operation with the liberal groups of Latin America in favor of the above program and against imperialism, particularly Yankee imperialism.

Menshevism in a New Guise

It is clear that in the main we have in the Apra an organization that in nearly every point is a repetition of the program of the Menshevik wing of the labor movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. To us who were in the Communist movement at the time of the Chinese events of 1925-27, this program has also a familiar ring. Were we not told in China that the Kuo-Min-Tang was a bloc of four classes:

bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat, and that the class struggle between these four classes must be placed in secondary place until the solution of the "national task?" That the victory of this four-class party would allow the development of the proletariat?

The Chinese proletariat was chained and delivered to the executioner's sword by this Menshevik policy of Stalin and Co. Hayn de la Torre, the very able leader of the Apra, stole his program from the Stalinists and the Stalinists from the Mensheviks. That each thief curses the other is not at all strange but very natural. But these denunciations do not hinder the basic theoretical unity of all these groups.

Hayn de la Torre has this to say describing the native capitalist class of Latin America: We are as a child already senile without having enjoyed maturity. This statement is much more profound than de la Torre imagines. He hopes to be able to rejuvenate this senile class by a number of utopian measures. For the aid of the proletariat in this task he solemnly promises that when industry is developed, well, we will then talk about the emancipation of the proletariat. To make this hoax go down more smoothly, with less gripping on the part of the proletariat, he sugar-coats it with a quotation of Marx:

"That the economic forces of one society must be developed before it can be replaced by a more progressive one; and that the forces of the new society must be prepared to take over the economic structure. And since the bourgeoisie cannot exist without a proletariat, and there is no bourgeoisie talking about in Latin America, obviously before a social change is possible both the Latin American industrialism and the bourgeoisie and proletariat must appear. Industry must develop on a bourgeois basis."

All very erudite and all showing a basic kinship with Stalinism and with reformism. Did not reformist socialism about that the proletariat revolution was impossible in Russia because the economic forces of Russia were not sufficiently developed for the transition to socialism in Russia? Stalinism just reverses the coin and, basing itself upon the same conception, argues vehemently that the economic forces of Russia were sufficiently matured for the construction of socialism in one country, Russia.

Neither Stalinism, nor Menshevism, nor the Apra, can understand that the fundamental ideas of Marx were built not upon one country but upon capitalism as a world system and that the economic forces of capitalism as a world system are now sufficient for the transition to a higher stage in the evolution of the human race, socialism, as a world system.

This scientific truth works out in Latin America as follows: that while there is not a large developed native capitalist class there is a large developed proletariat. This proletariat is an integral part of the world proletariat, an integral part of world economy.

The Latin-American Proletariat

This large proletariat is employed by the imperialist firms, im-

perialism directly through foreign ownership, or indirectly through the banks, is directly involved in the agriculture (fruit, cotton, rubber, coffee, hemp, cocoa), meat and leather, wool, in mining, in railroads and power and light. In these industries high grade, advanced technique is used. The proletariat, organized in huge works, uses the most modern tools.

The native bourgeoisie on the other hand is mainly occupied in producing for the local market, the peasantry and the above described proletariat. It is of a low level technically, bordering on artistry, using antiquated methods.

The proletariat of Latin America is the product not of the native capitalist class but of the world capitalist class, of imperialism. Latin America as an independent entity, is not and never will be ready for socialism, but the world of which Latin America is part, is ripe.

The Road of the Proletariat

The Latin American proletariat must not wait to make the proletariat revolution, neither for the development of native capitalism, as advocates of de la Torre, nor for the proletariat of North America. It can disregard all those holding these ideas and who use Marx's and Lenin's names in defence of their bourgeois point of view. The proletariat must go forward to the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship which will at the same time liberate Latin America from imperialism, divide the land and give it to the peasants on either an individual or collective basis, according to the peasants' wishes, confiscate the wealth of the imperialists and, without waiting for de la Torre's "invariable" development of industry, crack the chain of imperialism in its very weak Latin American link.

Before that can be done Stalinism and its brother, Apraism, must be driven from the field. The permanent revolution is the only road the Latin American masses can take. The proletariat of Latin America, using advanced technique industrially, should become the bearers of advanced proletarian thought.

De la Torre imagines a three class party. It is logical that he should imagine a three class state, where the only repression would be against the imperialists. That would be a wonder to see: a state representing the workers as well as the capitalists. Such is the Marxism of de la Torre.

In a previous article we discussed the idea of controlling imperialism, which is the watchword of the native bourgeoisie of Latin America. We explained the economic impossibility of the weak native bourgeoisie controlling powerful imperialism which can bring such a vast amount of pressure against the native bourgeoisie, up to the point of intervention.

Perspectives

It is true that a proletarian dictatorship, under the direction of a Marxist party with certain conditions can and, in Russia, did allow an amount of controlled foreign capital to enter its country. The proletariat, however, is quite dis-

tingled from the native bourgeoisie. One is strong, brave; the other weak, cowardly. The native bourgeoisie may start a movement against imperialism but this movement is carried through by the proletariat, far beyond the point of "controlled imperialism", far beyond the limits set by the most radical bourgeoisie. Terror stricken, the native bourgeoisie will flee to the arms of imperialism for protection from the aroused masses. In such a condition of affairs "control" is a phantasm of impotence.

The emancipation of the Latin American proletariat lies in the abolition of imperialism. Such a gigantic task requires the unity of all of Latin America's proletariat (as well as the aid of the North American wage slaves) against the military and economic aggression of Wall Street. Summarizing this unity is the slogan of the Soviet United States of Latin America.

Weakened by the loss of one of its major sources of super-profits, and faced by a working class inspired by the revolution in Latin America, the master class of the United States will be more easily vanquished by its revolutionary proletariat.

—C. CURTIS.

Belgian Y. C. L. Divides

(Continued from Page 2)

with regard to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reservation is made by the Young Socialist Guard and the Trotskyist Youth.

Does this not make the Young Socialist Guard also "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" seeking to discredit the U.S.S.R. But the Belgian C. P. wants a united front with them, all right. How come?

After all these interesting educational arguments, the C. P. informs the Y.C.L. that "you must be convinced that we really desire to accomplish the united front and unity of action with the Young Socialists and their leaders."

The whole delightful document winds up with a slogan: "Forward to the united front of action without the Trotskyites!"

O tempora, a mores! What has come of the proud boast of the Socialists that they could not be bothered with the Trotskyites because the Trotskyites have no influence in the working class? Nowadays the poor Stalinist bureaucrats have to have special campaigns to leave out the Trotskyites.

What the answer of the Belgian Y.C.L. will be to the lying, slanderous, bulldozing document of their elders, we cannot predict (although a guess would be pretty safe), but this much is becoming clearer:

The unprincipled bureaucratic disrupters who once would not "sit down around a table with the Social-Fascist leaders" journeyed all the way to Milwaukee last month to beg unsuccessfully for a chance at that table. They will in not too long a time make a more unwilling journey, a real trip to Canossa, to sit around the table with the Bolshevik-Leninists too.

—HARRY STRANG.

WORLD OF LABOR

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE CHACO WAR

It is becoming apparent that both Bolivia and Paraguay are already breaking under the strain of war in the Chaco. Unless other countries of the South American Continent are drawn into the conflict, the struggle between the local agencies of Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell reflected through this war may be obliged to seek other forms of solution.

In Bolivia, the last recourse, general mobilization is already being taken. At the commencement of the struggle all of the bourgeois political parties waved the banner enthusiastically, inflated with optimism. The war would be brief and with booty for all. Every dispute between these parties: Nationalist, Republican-Socialist, Liberal and "Genuine", revolved around the best method of serving the imperialist master. The bourgeois oppositions vied with each other as to how to wage a bigger and better war.

Only one voice of absolute opposition to the war was heard. This was in the two or three proletarian demonstrations in Cochabamba, La Paz and Potosí, calling for the fraternization of the soldiers at the front. These demonstrations took place in May 1932, two months before the mobilization and were immediately followed by a wave of merciless persecution of the revolutionary workers and students. The prisons were opened, and two months later the military "trials" took place and the "eliminations" at the front in the Chaco. From that time, the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie was able to smash the revolutionary organizations. Many revolutionists gave way to panic while others went over to the service of the class enemy, but the greater part fulfilled their duty under conditions of the greatest difficulty.

Faced by the rising tide of the bourgeois opposition, which criticized its manner of conducting the war, the Bolivian government found it necessary to resort to a stratagem in order to hold the various parties in line. Thus the Communist bog was raised. Pretexts were created for legitimizing the government's permanence in power and its rigorous measures. In this way its own bourgeois opposition was frightened. For this purpose cases of police provocations were prepared. Most prominent perhaps are the cases of comrades Duran Roger, Nin Caules, and Rodriguez, and that of the Indian insurrection engineered by the police agent Escobar, which cost the lives of more than five thousand Indians of the Altiplano region. In the same manner the system of provocations exist among the troops at the front for the purpose of "uncovering" and "eliminating" the Communists.

The young inexperienced Communist movement of Bolivia was unable to hold together under the trials and tests of the war period. It has finally reached the point where the only possibility of a revolutionary rebirth of the movement rests with the groups of exiled revolutionists whose hands are still free, who have had the opportunity of learning from international experiences, and among whom the sentiment for a new Communist Party and a Fourth International has already taken root. These comrades have already taken up the struggle for the defense of those imprisoned in Bolivia.

STRIKE WAVE RISES IN CUBA

The Cuban revolution, having suffered a serious setback in January 1934 when the Grau San Martín regime fell to make way for the reactionary Mendieta government, now gives strong evidence of preparing to take another leap forward.

Mendieta has had the unconditional support of American imperialism in return for the services he has rendered American interests in the island since overthrowing the weak-kneed petty bourgeois Grau government. Wall Street has tried to make things easy for him. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty, were expressions of this solidarity. It was hoped in this way to pacify the rebellious mood of the masses, by lulling their vigilance with a few well gnawed bones and a sweet lullaby. At the time that the Platt Amendment was adopted into the Cuban Constitution and formalized in the Permanent Treaty with the U.S. following the Spanish-American War, it constituted a certain definite safeguard for American interests against possible competition or conflict with those of any other imperialist power. The U.S. wanted to conserve the right to intervene in Cuba any time. Now this guarantee is no longer necessary because the American capitalists by the extent of their economic holdings on the island no longer have anything to fear from their imperialist rivals. It was therefore possible to give up the Platt Amendment as a concession to the masses without really losing anything essential thereby.

But in spite of sops and promises, the Cuban workers have learned that there is nothing for them but further misery and exploitation under the Mendieta regime which has come to differ but little from that of Machado. Furthermore, having once had a taste of their own power, during the revolutionary months from August 1933 to January 1934, they are determined to march forward to still greater conquests.

The present strike wave, while it indicates clearly the need for some sort of permanent united front organization, also shows that the masses who were able to overthrow the tyrant Machado through their mass action, having not forgotten the experience of that struggle. General strikes of revolutionary political significance have taken place in many cities and in many industries. The recent general strike in Santiago de Cuba was a model for solidarity and unanimity. Even the prisoners in the city jail declared a hunger strike in solidarity with the industrial and transportation workers.

In spite of the Stalinist policy not hitting too hard against American imperialism, the workers on numerous sugar plantations and transportation lines, are preparing for sharp battles, at the time of the coming zafra, or harvest.

REPRESSIONS IN COSTA RICA

As an aftermath of the heroic struggle of the Costa Rican banana workers, the government of that republic is carrying out a most brutal series of repressions against all who were known to have participated in the leadership of the movement. The issue of Sept. 30 of *Trabajo*, organ of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, informs us that 58 workers are imprisoned in the port of Limon, in addition to others who are held in the capital. Armed bands of police and gangsters at the service of the United Fruit Company are hunting many other strike organizers in the mountains and jungles as if they were wild beasts to be trampled to their lairs and exterminated. Through its mass following in the unions throughout the country and its parliamentary representatives, the C. P. is conducting a campaign demanding complete and general amnesty for all participants in the fruit workers strike.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETLINGER

(Concluded in this issue)

The deciding factor that carried this motion was the threat that, if it did not carry, martial law would be declared throughout the city and the general strike committee would be arrested.

It was during the heat of the strike that the "red raids" took place. The newspapers had been agitating for such a measure for weeks inciting the police and authorities to act. Starting with the raiding of the headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, every so-called radical headquarters were raided, the occupants beaten, arrested and the headquarters wrecked. The papers claimed that the raids were the work of union vigilantes, but it has definitely been established that they were organized by the police with the tacit if not open support of the labor officials. Following these raids the red hunt was on in earnest. On both sides of the bay hundreds of militants were beaten and arrested, and herded like cattle in jail. The center of the attack was the Communist Party, since it was the largest organization in the field, but all revolutionary groups suffered.

The "red" raids showed very clearly the isolation of the Stalinists from the masses of workers, especially those in the unions. The lack of base in the trade union movement prevented the rank and file of the unions from realizing that these attacks were directed against the general strike with the view of demoralizing the workers and breaking the backbone of the strike. The party did nothing to dispel this confusion. It fought alone and made no effort to bring into the struggle the other sections of the revolutionary movement nor the working class as a whole. Its tactics were based as usual on the

"united front from below" it rallied merely its own membership and a handful of immediate sympathizers.

In connection with the strike we must analyze the role of the Stalinist party. In the ranks of the waterfront workers they were an important factor and were in many ways responsible for the militancy displayed. But their past weighed heavily on them. They were still of the belief that the A. F. of L. was a company union in which there is little use to struggle. It is true they did not take this attitude as far as the I.L.A. was concerned. In that union they instructed their membership to work from within. On the other hand, in the seamen's organizations they made no effort to penetrate but brought to the forefront, in opposition to the A. F. of L. unions, their own Marine Workers Industrial Union. Within the ranks of the other A. F. of L. unions, having no organized fraction their influence was small in spite of the militancy of the rank and file. Also in the I. L. A. their refusal to build a genuine left wing composed of all militants and progressive elements narrowed their base considerably. The Western Worker in its attacks was equally bitter both towards the bureaucrats and towards elements in the radical movement who would not endorse the policy of the C. P.

Another crowning blunder of the Stalinists was that of permitting the Western Worker to become the official strike paper on the waterfront. This openly put the label of communism on the leadership and gave considerable support to the red baiting of the capitalists. Participated actively in the general attack on the strike. As was said before, what was needed was an official newspaper of the striking unions similar to the one published in Minneapolis, a newspaper which

could militantly fight and carry on agitation for the strike, but which at the same time, would not take on a communist party character. Here again in our opinion the interests of the masses were sacrificed to the immediate interests of the party, which hailed the fact of the Western Worker being the official strike organ as a great victory for Communism. Last but not least, one must bring to the front, the question of the general perspectives of the Stalinists.

It is true they modified to some degree their red trade union line to meet the concrete situation on the coast, but basically they never altered their policy. Their hopes were embodied in the formation of a waterfront federation or union which would include the Marine Workers Industrial Union and which would of course be under their leadership. Such an organization could only develop as the result of a split within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and the breaking off of the I.L.A. and sections of the other marine unions from that organization. In fact the line of the Stalinists had not altered. Only in its concrete application had it temporarily been modified.

Due to our lack of forces, the League was not able to play a very important role during the strike. We had on the Oakland side one comrade who was in the I.L.A., a militant worker who was a leading member of the picket committee. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the League never was able to concretely develop a policy for this comrade to follow in his union. Unfortunately also he died from heart attack during the course of the strike. We also during this period were able to play a leading role in the building up of a Shipyard workers union whose membership participated actively in the general strike. The League also issued a

leaflet analyzing the issues of the strike and calling upon the workers to present a solid front to the attacks of the employers. In San Francisco, two of our members were members of the Ladies Auxiliary of the I.L.A. and participated actively in the picketing carried on by this organization. For this activity they were arrested by the police and it is interesting to note that the I.L.A., in spite of it calling itself a labor defense organization refused to handle the case of our comrades on the charges that they were "Trotskyists" and "counter-revolutionists".

In concluding this analysis the outstanding lesson of the strike brings again to the front the all important necessity of militant leadership in any struggle. In spite of the fighting spirit of the masses the leaders were able to break the backbone of the strike. The fight to win the trade unions for a militant policy is the burning question of the moment.

The labor movement in San Francisco in spite of the defeat of the general strike and the "red" raids is not crushed. The unions are growing, the spirit of struggle is increasing, and the need for industrial unionism as the next step is being hammered home more and more.

The task is to build an organized left wing within the framework of the bonafide labor movement, a broad left wing, having for its aim the task of wresting the leadership of the labor movement from the conservatives on the basis of a program of militant action and struggle.

It is to this task that the League must devote its energy. Its ability to activate such a movement and play a dominant role in the building of such a left wing will determine whether or not it is capable of building the new party.

EDITORIAL

Stalinism in an Impasse --

IN another column appears a report of united front development in Belgium, where one of the slogans of the Socialist Young Guard and the "Trotskyite" youth is "for the defense of Comrade Leon Trotsky against capitalist persecution". The Y.C.L., after joining, has quit the united front on orders from its bureaucratic elders. The latest Communist, official "theoretical" organ of the American Stalinists, contains Earl Browder's most recent speech to the Central Committee of the C.P., in which he warns that "such dangers will arise here also". Indeed, they have already, with the New York Yipsels refusing the Y.C.L.'s demand that the "Trotskyites" be barred from united front actions. As a result, the working class youth of New York has achieved unity on anti-Fascist questions, and the Stalinist youth is on the outside.

In the same report, Browder discusses the C.P. attitude toward the Musteltes (who, in other recent official C.P. utterances, have been called left social-fascists, social-fascists and even fascists!). Browder announces that wherever the "Musteltes" have mass influence (as in the unemployed movement in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia), the C.P. will make a united front on the immediate issues involved. These remarks cast an interesting light on the *Daily Worker's* recent comical pleas to the "honest rank and file workers" in the American Workers Party and the Communist League (what a concession!) not to let their organizations fuse for the purpose of building a new party.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has seen the handwriting on the wall! Every day it becomes more difficult for them to isolate from the class as a whole the genuine revolutionary groupings, and when the banner of a new party, a Marxist party, has been flung to the breezes there will rise questions and situations which not even the oracles of 13th Street will be able to explain away. Every indication is that serious trouble will develop within the ranks of Stalinism itself, and the impending readmission to the C.P. of the right-wing Stalinists under Lovestone, will only accentuate these conflicts.

All this bodes well for the new party movement, but it should not lull comrades into happy dreams. The Stalinist bureaucracy, with its relatively powerful material resources, remains a force capable of tremendous destructive and disruptive work. And, as previously whenever it has gotten into an impossible situation with respect to the "Trotskyites", it will not hesitate to resort to the vilest tactics to drown out the voice of its revolutionary critics. When slander and maneuvers fail, outright physical "criticism" will again be on the order of the day. "Even" Jay Lovestone, who lately denounced the C. P. for breaking up his meetings, may revert to an earlier and more natural attitude toward such tactics.

We shall, however, as in the past, know how to give a good account of ourselves.

About Some Contemporaries --

LAST week's *New Leader* attacked sharply the editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic*, calling them "swivel-chair revolutionists", and condemning those who, contributing nothing to the workers' fight, assume a critical attitude toward "labor leaders". The immediate cause of the *New Leader's* outburst was the *Nation's* and *New Republic's* articles condemning the United Textile Workers leaders for the general strike "settlement".

The official organ of New York Socialism applauds the actions of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co., calling the settlement a strategic retreat. Much is made of the threat to the strike lying in the lack of relief funds. But nothing is said of the responsibility of this condition. As the *Militant* said weeks ago, Green could, with a stroke of the pen, have provided all necessary funds; had the A. F. of L. asked every affiliated union to levy an assessment for the strike fund of the textile strikers, millions of dollars would have been available.

"The union was saved," boasts the *New Leader*. The leaders' faces were saved . . . but is the union saved with those Southern workers who are paying for their first trade union action by the loss of their jobs?

In helping whitewash the U.T.W. bureaucrats, the *New Leader* shows itself unregenerate. The position of the Socialist "militants" is here put to a real test. Not by revolutionary phrases alone can they seriously differentiate themselves from the Old Guard, but primarily by their attitude on such questions as the textile settlement. Thus far they have not done so; as far as the class knows, they are at one with Waldman, Lee and O'Neal on this question. It is up to the Militants to show their colors in this situation.

As for the *Nation* and *New Republic*, there is ground enough for serious complaint. Their criticism of the textile settlement is, unhappily, justified. But more than once they have attacked labor leaders improperly.

Last spring, for example, Louis Adamic in the *Nation* criticized the leaders of the steel union. Good enough: nobody is more critical of Mike Tighe than we "Trotskyites". But when Adamic charged that the A. A. leaders' loud squawks against boss intimidation of union members were designed to scare workers into company unions, he was talking vicious nonsense taught him by Stalinists who have "proved" more than once that the A. F. of L. unions are "company unions".

And more than once these liberal papers have thus reflected Stalinist ideology in their appraisals and indiscriminate criticism of the trade union movement. And this at the very moment when the liberal editors are labeling Roosevelt's newest National Run Around wrinkle "an interesting innovation", and Upton Sinclair's dangerous fad "worthy of examination".

The Communist League has often suffered at the hands of these same liberal editors. Any bit of decayed Stalinist slander or baloney, if performed enough by the devils Louis Fischer or the specious Joe Freeman, can find its way into their papers. Their pages are always open to attacks on "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", masked as a "defense of the Soviet Union". The League's views, on the other hand, are rarely given a chance in these "open forums".

With the *New Leader's* view of the textile settlement, we have nothing in common, but we have a degree of sympathy with criticism of "swivel-chair revolutionists", whose petty bourgeois reactionism is reflected in their praise of the latest crackpot Utopia, and whose petty bourgeois radicalism is reflected in a fawning attitude toward the brass-lunged Stalinist bureaucrats. It is about time for a showdown with these liberals, and we put it to them this way:

You say you reject the policies of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co. Well, what is to be done? Stop wise-cracking, and give us your program for the American trade union movement.

Of course, if you have a program, that makes it more difficult. But the Communist League of America has, and it is on the basis of its trade union program that the League criticizes the labor bureaucrats. More than that: on this basis it acts, as the workers of Minneapolis and other cities will testify.

On this question, the *Militant* is prepared to debate not only with the liberal editors, but with the *New Leader* as well.

Crocodile Tears --

THE latest *Labor Action*, A.W.P. organ, publishes an "authoritative" report of developments in the International Communist League, especially in France. The author bewails the "tragedy" of the "disintegration" of the I.C.L. This mourning is as premature as the hortillings of the Stalinists over our oft-reported death.

This French "Trotskyite" faction, which has entered the French S. P. openly advocating a Fourth International based upon the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin, is, after a few short weeks, larger than it was when it entered the billowing sea that now rolls where once all was stagnant swamp. Latest reports from brother-sections in Spain, Brazil, China, South Africa and other countries indicate substantial progress. The American section is not only larger than ever before; its rate of growth undergoes steady acceleration. The *Labor Action* article is not only wrong as to facts. It is a work of questionable sincerity.

The author speaks of "tragedy", but his tears seem to be made in Hollywood. True, the French League split, and it is always to be regretted when not everybody does the right thing. But what was right? Does the author weep because a large majority went into the French S.P., or because a small minority stayed out? Did he want all the "Trotskyites" to go in, or all to stay out? Or is it all fiddlesticks to him? It certainly seems that he does not give a damn what

Anti-Fascists Demonstrate

(Continued from Page 1)

The demonstrators arriving at the Yankee Stadium found a meeting of the Stalinists, numbering about 500, going on. They assembled their forces about 150 feet from them. Lifting their banners, they started marching along Girard Ave., passing the assembled Stalinists with the slogan "We Will Fight Fascism to Death" emblazoned on an enormous banner. Many of the Stalinist workers set the about for one united front against fascism which was answered with cheering acclaim by the demonstrators in the united front. But the petty bureaucrats of Stalinism would not have it. Defying the wishes of the workers assembled, these puny bureaucrats, masquerading as working class leaders, set their bureaucratic foot down and answered NO!

From both sides came shouts of: let's unite! And so committees for both demonstrations met to see if the united front already in the streets could not somehow be realized. It could not. Why? Because the Stalinists would not have it. Because the Stalinists reiterated their anti-working class and reactionary demand that they would unite only—ONLY—if the "Trotskyites" and "Lovestoneites" were excluded. Not a united front of INCLUSION but of EXCLUSION!

In other words, no united front at all. Still determined to have the desired unity of action, it was decided to poll the Yipsels to see if they democratically desired the united front with the Stalinists to the exclusion of the "Trotskyites" and "Lovestoneites". So a vote was taken. All Yipsels were asked to raise their hands in agreement with the policy of exclusion of the two aforementioned organizations. An octogenarian Stalinist, disguised as a Yipsel, lifted his feeble hand. The demonstrations then went their respective ways.

Most, a member of the Y.P.S.L., then went over to the Stalinist demonstration asking for the platform as a rank and file young Socialist. He utilized the platform mainly to point out the reasons why common action could not be consummated between the anti-fascist united front demonstration and the Stalinists. A young Stalinist then demanded the platform of the united front (despite the fact that "Trotskyites" had spoken therefrom) and utilized it to enlighten the workers assembled that his organization, the Young Communist League, "was opposed in principle" to including in united fronts what he was wont to term renegades. And in the face of all the facts, in the face of Germany, in the face of their own disruption of the united front in Belgium, in the face of Madison Square Garden, in the face of the "united front from below", in the face of all this, this person attempted to make an impression on the workers with the statement that the "Trotskyites" have always been against the unity of working class action! Comrade Garrett of the Spartacus Youth League followed him on the platform and tore his arguments to shreds. At the conclusion of his remarks the workers who had remained apathetic to the exhortations of the young Stalinist, cheered comrade Garrett to the echo.

The demonstration before the Yankee Stadium (it never really came too close to the Stadium because of the formidable array of cops) dispersed about 4:30 in the afternoon. The demonstrators marched in orderly fashion to the nearest subway station. Most of the workers had assembled on the 161st Street station. While waiting for trains to come along the workers yelled their defiance at the fascists assembled inside of the

the French "Trotskyites" do, if only they will disappear. But they will not, never fear.

Although the editors of *Labor Action*, and in another article A. J. Muste individually, dissociate themselves from the tendency of the "authoritative" report, the piece can but confuse A.W.P. members. We can, however, hardly quarrel with the following statements concerning the French development in Muste's own article, and we commend them to the attention of his comrades:

"We are firmly convinced that this and similar tendencies must not be superficially accepted or dismissed, but very carefully evaluated. . . . We do not pretend to be able to predict in advance just how in every detail the revolutionary vanguard of the working class will be gathered into the new party. . . . These questions we are at all times ready to discuss. Once again we say: There is no time to be lost. We must get on the right road, the road of the New Party, and press forward!"

To this let us add that the National Committee of the Communist League of America, as well as some of the branches (others are now discussing the question), has considered the French comrades' action in a far from superficial manner. Because of the imminence of the decisive hour in France, because of the existing united front and the prospective organic unity of the Socialists and Stalinists of that country, because the French League had been barred from the united front, and because the French S. P. is in a state of flux with a leftward drift sufficiently powerful already to have expelled the right wing led by Renaudel, Deat and Marquet (an action still beyond the force or courage of the American S. P.), we consider our French comrades' action to be the best step they can make at this moment toward the concentration of revolutionary elements who will eventually become the backbone of the French section of a Fourth International.

True, this could not have been predicted six months ago, and Muste is correct when he remarks that we cannot predict every detail of the process of establishing a new party.

In this country, however, next steps are clear. We have every hope that the joint committee of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. will soon have produced a satisfactory programmatic declaration, and that we may go on to organizational steps. As the first organization in this country to raise the question of a new international and party in a revolutionary and realistic manner, we welcome Comrade Muste's statement: "There is no time to be lost."

Spanish Workers Fight Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)

where the Workers Alliances were functioning, that the general strike and the insurrectionary movement were most successful. Asturias is the clearest demonstration of this fact. This is the only province where every single force in the labor movement participated in the united front and it is precisely here that the struggle was best organized, and most tenaciously carried forward. Therein lies another experience that the world revolutionary movement should analyze and digest.

It would be presumptuous at the present moment, and from a distance, with faulty and insufficient information on the present state of affairs, to predict what the morrow may bring. However, we can and do affirm that there is still a way out and that the Spanish workers may yet smash Fascism before it is able to consolidate itself.

The present struggle is demonstrating in action that not one of the traditional tendencies of the Spanish labor movement can, as at present constituted, lead the workers to victory. The Socialist Party has shown itself to be a heterogeneous combination of reformist and revolutionary elements which by its composition is incapacitated to lead a successful revolution. The Stalinists, as elsewhere, having no real policy excepting that of vacillation and zig-zag which can permit of them being simultaneously for and against the united front, are equally impotent. As to the Anarchists—the less said the better—they refused to join the Workers Alliance, were the last to join the movement and the first to order the return to work. If the workers are to achieve victory, a new revolutionary communist party must be formed.

These experiences acquired in the crucible of the present civil war, will be assimilated and understood by the workers during the weeks and months to come, will be invaluable in laying the basis for future steps to be taken. With their heroic traditions and rich experiences, a breathing space, even with the minimum of civil guarantees, would give an opportunity for further development of the National Workers Alliance. This task must now take precedence over all others, and in the struggle to create the future organs of power of the Spanish working class, the new Communist Party, necessary for final victory, will be forged.

The proceedings of which could be observed from the elevated platform and began shoving and pushing those assembled on the platform into the first subway train that came along. But the subway cars couldn't get full enough for the cops and so they pushed, elbowed, squeezed and kicked people into them. This very naturally aroused the feelings of the workers. A few young workers protested against this and were immediately set upon by the cops and one young girl, a Yipsel, was attacked by literally ten cops in an effort to "quiet" her protests at being kicked into a subway car. At least two or three other young workers were severely beaten up.

BROWNSVILLE SOCIAL Fall Frolic and Dance
The 3 volumes of History of Russian Revolution will be offered as a prize.
Music - Dancing - Entertainment Refreshments.
Saturday, October 20, 8 P.M.
Admission 20c

Out in Russian WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
15c per copy.
10c in bundles of 5 or more.
Branches Order Your Copies Now!

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE

"The Road Towards a New Revolutionary Workers Party"

Speaker: A. J. MUSTE
Friday, October 19, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pittkin Avenue, nr. Stone St.
Auspices: Communist League of America, Brownsville Branch

BRONX OPEN FORUM

Return of the 2nd International or A Fourth International

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
Friday, October 26, 8 P.M.
1739 Boston Road, Bronx
Auspices: Bronx Branch C. L. A.

BORO PARK BRANCH ATTENTION!

Comrades and sympathizers of Boro Park, Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge are asked to note the address of the Headquarters. Forums are held every Friday night. Spartacus forums Thursdays. Affairs on Saturdays. Open every night.

1281 49th Street
West End train to 50th St. Station.

COSTUME DANCE

Saturday, October 20 at 8 P.M.
144 Second Avenue
Refreshments - Drinks - Dancing
Prizes for best costumes.
Admission:
15c with costume
20c without costume
Music by
Fred Barron's Jazzmaniacs
Proceeds to The New International.
Auspices: Downtown Branch.

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Vote for New Party!

(Continued from Page 1)

a vote away. Neither of these parties bear the banner of the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship. They are remnants of the past, carrying on only to the detriment of the working class.

For the New Revolutionary Party

A new working class revolutionary party must be and will be built. It will fill a vital need. The fusion between the American Workers Party and the Communist League is a milestone in this direction. We are working hard towards this end, and are confident that our efforts will come to early fruition.

In the meantime, the elections are before us. What are the revolutionary workers to do? The Communist League calls upon them to write in the name of James P. Cannon for Governor of New York as a vote for the new party. Such a vote for the new party is a demonstration for revolutionary action in the trade unions and the strikes. It is a demonstration for the proletarian revolution.

The Communist League of America, in the election campaigns now taking place throughout the United States, will not support the candidates of any existing political party.

In the past, when we were a faction of the Third International endeavoring to reform that body, we generally supported the candidates of Stalinism. Since the German debacle, and the failure of the C.T. to react, the hope of reforming the Third International has become as utopian as the hope of reforming the Second International. Neither of these internationals being a possible instrument to overthrow capitalism, we have made a turn toward the establishment of the Fourth International and jointly with all forces moving to the left, to the building of new revolutionary parties in every country.

In the United States we are in a transition stage from our existence as a faction of the Third International to our role as a political party. Organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party upon a Marxist programmatic declaration is an immediate objective. In this transition period before a new revolutionary party is formed, we are conducting a campaign for candidates under the banner of the Communist League of America. We will write in the names of our candidates, and a sticker campaign will be conducted wherever possible. Members will receive information from district and city committees.

The immediate demands of the workers in their struggle against the further lowering of the standard of living is the burning issue of the day. But this struggle cannot be led to victory by reformist or centrist policies, such as those of the Socialists, Stalinists or Farmer Laborites. The most important immediate task is, consequently, the building of a new revolutionary party in the United States. To further this end the C.L.A. will nominate its own candidates in the coming elections.

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Scottsboro Boys In Danger In New Turn of Case

(Continued from Page 1)

known to everybody who recalls the McNamara boys; after 22 years they still sit in San Quentin prison, because the judge did not keep his part of the deal when the defendants threw themselves on his mercy.

It is to be hoped that the treacherous Liebowitz will not get hold of the court-room aspect of the case. And in any case, the problem of the boys' lives and the problem of the principles involved, remain to be solved. The latest developments in the Scottsboro struggle, which leave the prisoners open to the treacherous attacks of an unscrupulous gangster's lawyer who regards them as "niggers" as pawns in his play for personal gain, are not simply a vindication of the position taken eighteen months ago by the *Militant*. They are a terrible blow to the prisoners and, of prime importance, to the principles and methods of "struggle which the prisoners' cause has come to symbolize. The principles are those of the rights of the Negro masses, of the war against lynching and Jim Crow. The methods are those of militant mass struggle. For, unhappily, large sections of workers (as well as the whole bourgeois press) thinks that the I.L.D.'s occasional adventurist stunts (designed to obscure the rotten opportunism of its deal with Liebowitz) constitute "mass pressure!"

Yes, the new developments are a blow to the cause of Negro freedom, to the tactic of mass pressure, as well as to the boys, and this is the greatest crime of the I.L.D. The Negro masses, the working class, the true militant defender of democratic rights against Bourbon reaction and tyranny, will have to foot this bill run up by the I.L.D. before we can wipe the slate clean. Those who talk "fight" on all possible and many impossible occasions, have, by their complacent association with a double-dealing scoundrel, jeopardized the interests of the whole Negro masses and the whole working class and of every enemy of lynch justice. The mud which the bourgeois, through Sam Liebowitz, will now sling upon the I.L.D., will also fall upon our banners, however undeserving. It must not be allowed to stick!

Sectionalism Bred Opportunism
We point all this out not to say "we told you so", but as a mere introduction to a vital problem: what are the next steps in the Scottsboro case?
In its discussion in 1933, the *Militant* showed that opportunism toward Liebowitz was combined with fierce sectarianism toward the working class. The line of the Stalinists was "Social-Fascism" and "united front from below." Like the Mooney Congress, Scottsboro united fronts included only the I. L.D. and other Stalinist "front" organizations. Indeed, the cringing before Liebowitz was Earl Browder's idea of how to surmount the I.L.D.'s financial and organizational bankruptcy without going into a real united front.

Today, as then, the *Militant* advocates an inclusive, militant, organizational united front on behalf of all class war prisoners, most immediately the Scottsboro boys. This united front should arouse the masses, so that, having observed them in action, the country's rulers shall know that millions of workers are passionately devoted to the proposition that the Scottsboro boys shall not die. This does not mean sending a dozen workers to be clubbed on the steps of the Supreme Court the day after (or the day before) the Justices' decision is crystallized on the printed page of the court record. It means bringing into great meetings, and onto the streets, scores of thousands of workers during the whole period which intervenes before the Supreme Court acts.

The slogan of the day is, above all others, **For a New Scottsboro Mass Movement!**

And by this we do not mean a "united front" of the I.L.D. with the N.C.D.P.P., the C.P., the W.I.R., the T.U.U.L., the I.C.O.R. and the Bronx Housewives League. We mean an entirely new movement which will be able to draw in all the conscious elements of the working class and broad strata of the Negro masses. Our organization is prepared to take its place in such a movement. Our present mass contacts are small—but what they are, we are ready to use them in the interests of the Scottsboro boys. Such a movement should also hope immediately to draw in the Socialist Party, Negro mass organizations still passive in this struggle, A. F. of L. locals, and many other organized groups.

The *Militant* calls to the attention of members of such bodies, the historic Scottsboro case. We well realize how you feel about the I.L.D., which derided your sincerity and insulted your intelligence. Do not, however, succumb to the temptation to "leave the I.L.D. out on a limb." The workers' task is to save the nine boys, whatever happens to the I.L.D.

The need of the hour is an organized progressive opposition in every union against the present conservative leaders. The Socialists and Stalinists have proven themselves incapable of this task. This task, like many others can only be accomplished by a new revolutionary Marxist party. Speed up the building of a new party and a Fourth International.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Raise this question in your organization and let your officials know you are deeply concerned, that you want your organization in the fight. There is no excuse, not even the I.L.D.'s record, for any organization claiming to represent the interests of democracy, the Negro masses or the workers, staying out of this great battle. Too much is at stake for quibbling.

The I.L.D. pretense to be a militant class organization fools nobody. It is but the defense organization of a sect, the Stalinists. More than that: it is too late to try to remake the I.L.D. into a non-partisan defense arm of the working class. We have, consequently, put on our program the task of building a really militant and really non-partisan defense organization. The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which advocates the formation of such a body to fill the need of the class, has our hearty support.

Consequently, any advice we give the I.L.D. is not for the purpose of saving that decaying relic of a once useful institution. But advice we must give, for the sake of the principles at stake and the Scottsboro boys themselves, and here, leaders of the I.L.D., here it is:

Do not impede those who try to bring the masses into the fight!

Today the Y.P.S.L. in New York is ready to enter united fronts with the Stalinists, but not to the exclusion of the Communist League, which is what the Stalinists demand of the Y.P.S.L. The League will do its utmost to create the broadest possible united front. And the League will not withdraw from it at Browder's behest or anyone else's. It will not remove from the struggle the one force which has consistently advocated a correct policy in the Scottsboro case. We warn the leaders of the I.L.D.:

The Scottsboro struggle is approaching another crisis; the masses are not actively interested; the danger is grave. If because of your hatred of the "Trotskyites", or for any other reason, you hamper the development of a militant united front movement, the working class will hold you to account!

Ordinary human beings, after having perpetrated such a mess as the I.L.D. now drops into the laps of the Negro masses and the working class, might be expected at least to maintain a momentary silence while others voice their views! But we do not expect that even their latest debacle will germinate humility in the stony chests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

To the members of the I.L.D., we say this: make your leaders abandon their horseplay and their sabotage of the Scottsboro united front: compel the Stalinist bureaucrats to take a serious class attitude before it is too late.

For a new Scottsboro mass movement!

For the united front on behalf of the Scottsboro boys!

A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

unions. This is a step forward. Again it must be stated that even those who support the industrial form of union and oppose the craft form are not favoring this step because they are left-wingers, as the press would have us believe. Lewis and his group are just a little more far-sighted than Green and Woll. Lewis had experience with the miners and knows that unless these new industrial forms are adopted the A. F. of L. cannot broaden its base and function effectively as a class collaboration machinery for the bosses.

Types like Lewis and Company desire to head off the real left wing. The right, however, does not revolve around this point. Industrial unionism is the first step. The next step is to obtain a leadership with a class struggle policy. The new developments favor the left wing. We must fight for the extension of the industrial unions throughout the A. F. of L. structure. We must fight for a class struggle policy. Only on this basis can we fight the bosses, their company unions, and their agents within in our ranks—Green, Woll, Lewis, Tobin and others.

The convention would not be complete unless at regular intervals the labor leaders drag out the "red scare". They did this through a speech that Lewis delivered at the Commonwealth Club when he warned them against a revolt by labor in the United States unless the employers recognize Section 7a, and live up to it. The fat boys are bargaining for all they are worth. Haven't they been good servants in the strike waves under the NRA? Give them a chance and they will do much better.

The need of the hour is an organized progressive opposition in every union against the present conservative leaders. The Socialists and Stalinists have proven themselves incapable of this task. This task, like many others can only be accomplished by a new revolutionary Marxist party. Speed up the building of a new party and a Fourth International.

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Arbitration Award Won By Local 574

Minneapolis Union Forces Wage Increases; Triumphs In Minor Strikes

We reprint the following from the October 10th *Organizer*, official weekly of General Drivers Union Local 574, Minneapolis:

"The completion of arbitration with the employers in the transfer industry has brought an agreement from all companies involved to increase the minimum rates of pay.

"The drivers are to receive not less than 52 1/2 cents per hour from Sept. 15, 1934, to May 31, 1935, and not less than 55 cents per hour from June 1, 1935, to May 31, 1936.

"Helpers, platform workers, and inside workers are to receive not less than 42 1/2 cents per hour from Sept. 15, 1934, to May 31, 1935, and not less than 45 cents per hour from June 1, 1935, to May 31, 1936.

"All members of Local 574 working in the transfer industry should now be receiving pay per the above schedule and they should receive back pay for the time worked at the old wage rate since Sept. 15, 1934. Report any violations of this to union headquarters.

"There shall be no reduction in wage rates which are in excess of the above minimum. In a few concerns it has been the past practice to pay some workers more than the newly established wage minimums. These wage rates were not to be reduced. Violations of this rule should be reported immediately.

Time and a Third for Overtime

"The arbitration board checked carefully the code provisions for hours and overtime wages and agreed unanimously that the code provided for overtime payment at the rate of time and one-third after eight hours in any one day and for all Sundays and legal holidays.

"The exact wording of the amendment to paragraph 8 in the strike settlement of August 21, 1934, follows:

"Each firm agrees to pay effective September 15, 1934, and until the 31st day of May, 1935, not less than 52 1/2 cents per hour to truck drivers, and not less than 42 1/2 cents per hour to helpers, platform workers and inside workers as defined in the August 21, 1934 agreement; and to pay for a period of one year from June 1, 1935, until May 31, 1936, not less than 55 cents per hour to truck drivers and not less than 45 cents per hour to helpers, platform workers and inside workers.

"The hours and overtime rates provided by the respective codes shall apply. In figuring overtime, it shall be based on agreement. It is understood that the minimum wages herein specified do not apply to boys temporarily employed on small package delivery trucks.

"It is further understood that no wage rates in excess of the minimums above specified will be reduced."

The strike settlement set a minimum wage of 50 cents for truck drivers and 40 cents for helpers, with arbitration to follow on demand of the union for higher wages. This clause the Stalinists denounced for many "reasons". One was that the union had been demanding 52 1/2-42 1/2 cents hourly, since accepting the Haas-Dunnigan proposals, rejected by the bosses. Secondly, the Stalinists (whose sole functioning union, the furriers, is subject to the rulings of an arbitration board with an "impartial" chairman) objected "in principle" to arbitration of any sort!

Another Bone to Chew On

No doubt we will now read all about this new "defeat" in the *Daily Worker*.

Perhaps the editor will add the story of the unions "defeat" two weeks ago at the Ready-Mixed Concrete Co. Here all the drivers were dissatisfied because the company made them report at 7:30 A.M., only to waste half an hour or more (unpaid) before loading. Furthermore, three active strikers were kept off their jobs, although men hired during the strike were still at work. When the company refused to negotiate, the union called a strike of Ready-Mixed drivers, and set up banners.

In response to 574's appeal, the building trades workers on a big construction job refused to accept delivery from scab drivers. The strike was settled on the day it was called. The 7:30 rule was abolished and remains abolished; the three strikers were put back on the job with seniority rights.

Poincare Dead; Slew Millions

Raymond Poincare, war-time President of France, who retired from active politics in 1921, died last week. The workers of France, and the world over will not mourn the passing of this infamous leader of the capitalists of France. As President of the Third Republic from 1913 to 1920, after a long career of reactionary statesmanship dating from the Dreyfus affair, Poincare carried out the mandate for war given him by the French bourgeoisie in 1914. It was he who directed the pact with the Czar, cementing the first big alliance of the Allies. The workers of today mourn not the death of Poincare, but the workers of yesterday who died as the human arsenal of French imperialism.

Stretch-Out Okayed by New 'Order'

President Roosevelt has affixed his seal to the Winant report which tricked the textile strikers back to work on the miserable slave conditions they had fought and bled to change.

Over the signature of Franklin D. Roosevelt appears the "Order for the Textile Work Assignment Boards". Translated into simple English this high sounding name means research, investigation, inquiry, study, but do nothing.

This principal purpose of this new board, according to the Presidential order, is to study the "stretch-out" and maintain a balance between the "usage of manpower and machinery in the cotton, silk and wool textile industries" and further according to point (2) that no change in work assignments be made over that of Sept. 21, 1934 "in order to provide opportunity to develop a sound method and an adequate organization."

This is the "great victory" hailed by Gorman. And for this the textile workers braved the National Guards and the deputies, went to concentration camps, sacrificed 15 of their best fighters and then returned—or staggered—back to work.

The Old Stretch-Out Remains The two major demands of the textile battle which struck at the roots of the misery of the mill workers—the 30 hour week and union recognition—were scuttled by the Roosevelt board with the consent and connivance of the leaders of the union. In its stead the Board munificently offered to study the stretch-out. Here are the results: the unbearable speed-up prior to Sept. 21 is to remain unaltered.

However "pleasing" this may sound to the ears of the mill operatives, who went out on a general strike to abolish the stretch-out of

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Terror Rules As Spanish Revolt Ends

United Defense Action of World Proletariat Sole Hope of Rebels

The general strike and the armed insurrection that swept over Spain during the past two weeks as a mass protest movement against the entrance of three Fascist ministries of the Popular Action party, and which in some sections took on the character of an armed struggle for power on the part of the workers, is now virtually over. In a few localities, however, especially in the mountainous regions of Asturias where the miners have fortified a number of villages and mining camps, the workers are still holding their own valiantly against the armed forces of the reaction. The death list in the province of Asturias now runs into many hundreds while the casualties nationally range in the thousands.

Many of the leaders of the revolt have undergone military trials and a number of death sentences have been decreed. Hundreds if not thousands of rebels are now in prison awaiting trial and in some cases execution. Among these prisoners are to be found Francisco Largo Caballero, president of the Socialist party, Luis Companys, ex-president of the Catalanian Generalitat, Manuel Azana, first Provisional President of the Republic, and Angel Pestana, ex-Syndicalist leader who recently passed over into the left republican camp with his ill-starred "Syndicalist Party". The few military officers who supported the revolt—and in Catalonia there were many—have also been court martialed and sentenced to death.

In its efforts to smash the resistance of the workers, the Fascist elements in the government will do their utmost to create a genuine reign of terror against the whole labor movement preparatory to their final effort to seize the whole power for themselves and set up an open Fascist dictatorship. The present coalition government of Radicals, Agrarians and Fascists is already showing signs of weakness, however, as is indicated by the unwillingness to satisfy fully the blood-thirst of the Fascists.

According to latest reports, the Cabinet has decided to refer the death sentences already passed by the Military Tribunals, to the Supreme Court for reconsideration.

In this breathing space, that can be won only by means of continued struggles, the working class can reorganize and realign its forces, build its national united front organization and prepare for the coming struggles which are bound to be decisive. The workers of all countries must show their solidarity with their comrades in Spain in their present difficulties.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Suicide Strike Inspires New Open Battle

The 1,200 Hungarian coal miners of Pecs, Hungary, whose grim "suicide strike" sent shivers down the capitalist spine, are now threatening to strike again—this time along sounder militant lines.

They charge that they were "tricked" into settlement. The entire community seethes with resentment and unrest. Troops are still surrounding the village, in their vain effort to overawe workers already resigned to immediate death in preference to slow starvation.

"We were crazed with hunger," spokesmen for the miners said. "We did not know what we were agreeing to."

\$2 a Week

For more than 100 hours, the miners remained underground, without food or water, threatening mass suicide if their demands were not granted. They were earning \$2 a week. They were demanding \$3.50.

In vain government agents pleaded with them to return to the surface. In vain their own union leaders, government functionaries for the most part, tried to intercede. The miners stationed five stalwarts at the entrance, armed with pickaxes, to guard against being "rescued". Troops dared not enter for fear of being slaughtered by the infuriated workers. The food that was lowered was flung back.

A more startling revelation of the desperation to which capitalism has driven its slaves can not be imagined. The labor-crushing dictatorship of Gomboes, fearful of the world scandal that would result from the mass suicide, prevailed at length upon the miners, controlled largely by British and French capital, to offer a settlement.

Many Driven Insane

The terms of the settlement granted the men three days work a week, and a consequent \$3 weekly pay, with Christmas bonuses. The men accepted, and were removed from the mine many of them in stretchers, some driven insane by their experiences, others to weak to be moved.

They had gained only a partial victory, but they had driven their point into every capitalist stronghold in the world.

For never before in history has a working class group undertaken such extraordinary measures to better its conditions. Strikers have fought the police, the armed forces of the State, have bared breasts to bayonets; women have brought suckling babes with them to the picket lines. The Molly Maguires, syndicalists and anarchists have used the most desperate forms of terror as their weapon in the class war. But never before have workers so dramatically announced their willingness at once to die rather than face slow death by starvation.

Capitalism Must Go! We live in a civilization that can drive masses of men to such extremes! It is a festering sore. It must, it will be obliterated! Never by suicide! If workers are to sacrifice themselves in the struggle for better living conditions, let them go down fighting their enemies, as did their Austrian brothers. Let them take their toll of the enemy before they go down. Let their masters, too, get a taste of what desperation means.

It was not the death of the self-imprisoned miners that the Gomboes government feared, but rather the anger it would inspire in an aroused working class. Not the action that was taken, but what might follow.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the miners have helped to drive their point home. They have taught how little life is worth under capitalism.

They have said to the workers of the world: "You need not starve. It is better to die!"

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL ANNOUNCEMENT

Classes in the International Workers School have already begun. All those interested who have not yet registered can still do so by coming down to the classes. See page 3 for schedule of classes.

Government Shows Colors In Houde Case

Attorney General Decision Reveals N.R.A. Promises To Be Soap Bubbles

The decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of the Houde Engineering Corporation, hailed by the A. F. of L. fake leadership as "epochal", is now to be ditched by the Roosevelt administration.

It was a trifle too epochal! The Board had decided that the Houde Corp. had lost its right to the Blue Eagle by refusing to grant its employees the right to organize for collective bargaining. But the Houde Corp. grasped the Blue Eagle firmly by the neck and refused to surrender it.

The N.R.A. Board had selected the Houde case as one of the strongest cases of open violation of Section 7a. In the Houde plant, the United Automobile Workers Union had secured a decisive majority of the workers as against the company union. But the corporation refused, nevertheless, to recognize the A. F. of L. organization, as representing its employees, and continued to deal with its own company union.

Getting Away With Murder! This was clearly flouting the proviso in Section 7A of majority rule, and it was generally expected that the Government would sue for return of the Blue Eagle.

The Department of Justice, however, refuses to take the case to court, and Attorney General Cummings has announced that, in his opinion, the Government has no case.

This announcement has been taken lying down by the N.R.A. labor boys who are already beginning to crawl from their previous bold and blustering attitude.

For if anything is certain, it is that Attorney General Cummings would not have dared so openly to snub the Labor Board if he were not sure of President Roosevelt's silent consent.

Only one recourse remains now for the automobile workers of the Houde plant, and that is: Strike! Only through their own strength and power can they force recognition, as did the truck drivers of Minneapolis, with or without the Labor Board and its various intermediaries.

But President Bill Green, of the A. F. of L., who denounces the action of the Houde Corporation as a "challenge to the Government", remains silent when the Government refuses to accept the challenge.

This faker is even now planning his most colossal sellout; attempting even now to persuade the A. F. of L. unions to engage in a one-sided "industrial truce", which is always will be blinding only to the workers.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Write in J.P. Cannon as Your Vote for New Party in Elections

The working class of New York is confronted with many grave problems in this coming election. For five years they have been pressed down by the catastrophic crisis of capitalism; many of their families have been separated, many of their homes destroyed.

Obviously the workers can gain nothing by voting for the Republican and Democratic parties. Just as a worker cannot support his boss in the factory, he cannot support him on election day.

The workers must gain unemployment insurance, the right to join unions of their own choosing, a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay etc., etc. But can they gain these concessions from the capitalists by merely writing in a name on the ballot? NO!

Voting is only one of the ways the workers can apply pressure on the capitalist government, and not the most important way at that. We say to you openly, "You will not gain these concessions by merely writing in the name of our candidate on the ballot, even if he were elected. You will never vote Socialism into power by the ballot."

You can only gain major concessions from the capitalists when you possess and are led by a strong, able revolutionary party. NO SUCH PARTY EXISTS TO-DAY.

The workers can have no faith in the ability of the timid reformists of the Socialist Party to lead them in their battle against the capitalists.

The Communist Party (Stalinists) has proved itself incompetent to pursue a revolutionary policy. It has completely discredited itself before the working class by its bankrupt policies in America and in the rest of the world where defeat after defeat has been the result of its efforts.

The task of the hour for the working class, therefore, before which all other tasks pale into insignificance, is the building of a new revolutionary party which will be able to wring concessions from the capitalist class, abolish the system of hunger and unemployment and lead the workers onward towards a workers' republic.

What is necessary in this election is that the leftward moving workers of this state show their sympathy and their solidarity with the building of a new revolutionary party in this country.

YOU ARE SUPPORTING THE BUILDING OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BY WRITING IN THE NAME OF JAMES P. CANNON OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA ON THE BALLOT, FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK STATE.

—New York District, Communist League of America.

Price of Militant 3 Cents on Nov. 1st

On November 1st the price of the *Militant* will be raised from two to three cents. Increased expenses oblige us to take this step. The original price reduction was made in order to boost the circulation of the paper. Appreciable gains have been made in this direction. Hundreds of new readers have been obtained and many workers have become acquainted with our organization for the first time through the *Militant*. To accomplish this end we went to considerable sacrifice, printing the paper at a deficit. This is no longer possible. In the meantime the *Militant* has become more popular and we believe that our circulation builders will be at no disadvantage by the rise in price.

9 Negro Boys Need United Movement

The skepticism expressed last week by the *Militant* as to the validity of Samuel S. Leibowitz's claims to represent Clarence Norris and Haywood Patterson, two of the Scottsboro boys, has been justified by subsequent developments.

Leibowitz, who has been a consistent enemy of the idea of a mass defense campaign, recently dealt the organized Scottsboro defense movement what he thought would be a death blow. After walking out on the I.L.D. at a crucial moment, a development predicted more than eighteen months ago by the Communist League, Leibowitz, backed by a handful of Negro parsons, announced that the I.L.D. had been discharged from the case and that he would represent the boys in their appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It now appears that his claims were entirely unjustified. The I.L.D. at any rate, has printed in the *Daily Worker* copies of letters from the two boys and their parents, which place the future of the case in the I.L.D.'s hands rather than in Leibowitz's.

It would have been a grave mistake, indeed, had the boys, misled by Leibowitz's false promises, put their lives in his hands. This "mouthpiece" of New York gangsterdom is such a fine "friend" of the boys that in the Decatur, Alabama, courtroom itself he declared himself in favor of lynching in principle, being opposed to it in this case only because he believes the boys to be innocent of the crime of rape.

The I.L.D. remains the official representative of the Scottsboro boys, and all who are aware of Leibowitz's character and intentions will be glad to learn that he is not going to represent the innocent youths.

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Left Wing is Crucial Issue In A.F. of L.

Forward Step of Industrial Unions Is Checked by Reactionary Leaders

The American Federation of Labor Convention, just concluded, was marked by the conflicting issues running through all of its sessions. At times they rose to considerable heights and compelled the inauguration of progressive steps despite all reluctance and misgivings, only to be smothered again when meeting the still impracticable barriers of reaction. (Conflicting forces were at work. Of course, this was not yet expressed in a conscious left wing, or progressive wing, giving little to the reactionary hierarchy in control of its whole craft union structure, but rather expressed in the fact that this hierarchy faced at every step the shadow of their powerful home constituency of an awakening mass, of a militant rank and file showing signs of restlessness and rebellion.)

The latter had some of its own representatives in the convention halls. They came mainly from the newly organized federal unions in the mass production industries. They did not dispose of hundreds of votes, as did the officials from the international unions; they were neither glib-tongued masters of demagoguery nor trained in parliamentary convention maneuvers, but their presence served as a constant reminder hounding the officialdom with the spectre of the powerful home constituency.

Dilemma of Labor Skates

On the one side of the conflicting issues was the impact from the head-on attacks throughout the country against union organization and against the recent strikes by the working class militancy displayed. To the A. F. of L. officialdom it presented a dilemma. It is firmly wedded to capitalism in theory and in practice, but it faced at the same time the enormous pressure from the awakening rank and file workers demanding more militant policies and more militant methods to meet the attacks.

This leadership itself, united by reactionary ideology, reflected the conflicting issues in its attempt to chart the course of the trade union movement for the immediate future. Some of the officials sponsored progressive moves of one character while others would take a like position on other issues, in this they expressed their bewilderment aroused by the new conditions they find themselves in. But all of them combined in reactionary utterances and maneuvers to throw up new barriers to stem the tide of developing labor militancy.

The Industrial Union Issue

Undoubtedly the outstanding focus of these conflicting issues at the A. F. of L. convention is represented in the definitely progressive move toward industrial unionism. Contrasted to this, however, was the just as decidedly reactionary jurisdictional dispute in the Building Trades Department. The step toward industrial unionism finally agreed upon after long debate in the resolutions committee and adopted by an overwhelming convention majority will have far-reaching significance in all future A. F. of L. developments. That should by no means be minimized. It is true that so far the industrial union basis is to cover only the unions in the automobile, aluminum, and cement industries. It is true also that it is explicitly declared that there is to be no interference with the craft union prerogatives elsewhere. Nevertheless this step definitely marks the beginning of a change of the A. F. of L. from a craft union to an industrial union-basis.

It is the first serious sign of its attempt to adjust itself to the requirements imposed by the problems of unionization under modern industrial conditions, at least insofar as organizational form is concerned. This is the one most important sign of progress within the main trade union body which is set into motion by the changes in the national economy of the country, the regroupment of class forces which is taking place and the wide spread working class awakening, organization and militancy.

The Scramble for Spills

On the other side of the picture is the intense and bitter jurisdictional dispute in the Building Trades Department which is again bringing to the fore in a most acute

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Peace! Peace! Where There Is No Peace"

The *Daily Worker* of Oct. 3, in its column, "World Front," takes a justly deserved wallop at Mr. R. Smith, chairman of the British Labor Party. "Passing to the question of war, Mr. Smith, shielding the role of the British imperialists, declared: 'If war is in the air'—cautious fellow this Mr. Smith with his 'if'—it is primarily the result of headstrong, grasping imperialism in the Far East and the barbarous, brutalizing Fascism of Europe."—While the *Daily Worker* writes in a pugnacious mood against those who cover up the war schemes of American, British and French imperialism it might throw a few punches at the head of Karl Radek, writing in the "D.W.", placed the danger of war on Germany and Japan, without ever a qualifying "primarily." At least this much can be said of the Labor party chief as compared with the Stalinist press agent, he did put in the word "primarily" and also he did take in all European Fascist nations as war-makers, including Italy, and that's more than Radek did in the "D.W."

Results of Bureaucratic Degeneration

The shocking debauchery in a number of Soviet schools reported in last week's papers is one of the results of the strangling of the Bolshevik party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. With the voice of the party silenced, characterless bureaucrats raised to office through their subservience to the hierarchy "assumed the role of medieval potentates, forcing girl students to sing and dance before them." The death sentence on three of the responsible officials, though highly deserved, does not solve the problem. The building of a new Bolshevik party around the nucleus of Bolshevik-Leninists is necessary for that. To assist in that task we of the Communist League must dedicate ourselves. To speak out that which is, to call degeneration by its proper name is the task of all honest revolutionists. "These disgraceful conditions passed unnoticed by the Communist Party in the Institute," says the Central Committee in Moscow. To say that such conditions could continue side by side with a Bolshevik party is a slander against Bolshevism.

Roses and the Thirty Hour Week

A dispatch from Washington to the *Detroit News* says: "Moley has been telling the industrial leaders that Roosevelt's supreme service so far has been the warding off of currency inflation, the 30-hour work week and the soldiers' bonus. . . . And the way to invert these measures in the future, is to select a Congress which is unmistakably under the thumb of the President." Miss Perkins, representing the Pres and one of those most thoroughly under his thumb, appears at the A. F. of L. convention. Roses, cheers and a touching introduction by President Green was her reception. Here the role of the "Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" and the demagogic capitalist politicians meet and merge.

The Hearst Press and Leon Trotsky

An imaginative story of the presence or expected early arrival of Leon Trotsky was printed in the Hearst press. Its purpose is to stir up reactionary sentiment against a visit for Trotsky. And then comes the check-up from Paris. "Leon Trotsky, world revolutionary, reported plotting to enter the United States secretly, is still in France—in enforced seclusion. French Secret Service has been ordered to keep Trotsky under surveillance and out of politics."

"Class Brothers" or "Fascist Twins"

The Y.C.L. in a letter to the Y.P.S.L. says they are for a united front with the Young Socialists whom they regard as "class brothers" but not with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Lovestones. (Evidently they haven't heard of Lovestone's latest hope of getting back to the C.I.) The young gentlemen of the Y.C.L. must think that memory of men is short. Did they not issue an Org. Bulletin after Hitler came to power? And didn't they charge at that time, that Trotskyites were counter-revolutionaries precisely because they favored a united front with the Socialists? And further, does John Little dare to challenge Stalin's theory that Social Democracy and Fascism are twins? A "class brother" of a twin to Fascism—that's the Y.C.L.

PHILADELPHIA HALLOWEEN PARTY

Saturday, October 27, 8:30 P.M.
1207 North 5th St.
For benefit of "New Party Fund" Refreshments — Entertainment

Admission 20c
Auspices: Philadelphia Local, Communist League of America

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM HUGO OEHLE

will speak on
EUROPE AFLAME!
Friday, October 26, at 8 P.M.
1281 49th Street, Brooklyn

Lessons of the Revolt in Spain

The world-stirring heroism and militancy of the Spanish proletariat, strengthening the Austrian experience, points again to the lesson that the working class can and will fight Fascism. Given the slightest opportunity the workers will take their stand on the barricades. The will to power is clear in the Spanish events. But victory, here as elsewhere, hinged on revolutionary leadership—a party. The following analysis does not pretend at finality.

Weaknesses of the Uprising

1. Lack of previous preparation through the development of partial struggles through which the proletariat could be strengthened and the enemy weakened prior to the insurrectionary act itself. Once the situation had developed however to the point when Lerroux announced the composition of his cabinet, it was then, evidently, too late to back out. Through the provocation of Lerroux, the workers were forced into an abortive movement for the seizure of power when the real task was but to check the advance of Fascism.

2. Lack of a coordinated, national, well functioning united front movement. The Workers Alliances existed in certain provinces and regions only. In spite of the insistence of the International Communists and other minority groups, the Socialist party prevented the establishment of the National Workers Alliance. The C.N.T. and its anarchist leadership remained aloof from the Workers Alliances with the exception of Asturias. The Stalinists joined the Workers Alliances at the last moment.

3. No appreciable section of the army came forward in support of the insurrection. The cases in which the army refused to fire on the workers, were not sufficient to indicate any real undermining of the morale of the armed forces. Nuclei work within the army on the part of the revolutionary groups was entirely too sporadic and totally insufficient. Furthermore, the lack of clarity as to aims on the part of the workers gave rise to a natural hesitancy of the soldiers who are influenced most by the determination of the revolutionary class to take power.

All three of these vital defects in the October revolt arose from a single common cause: the lack of a communist party, capable theoretically and organizationally to give leadership and guidance to the Spanish working class. The Socialist party and the Anarchists have both shown their complete inability to play the vanguard role, while the Stalinists have also contributed their two cents towards the defeat. Fortunately for the workers the Stalinists were not strong enough to do either much good or very much harm. The International Communists, who could have contributed real value in the field of theory, were too small numerically and too isolated, to play a decisive role. The need of a vanguard workers' party, if victory is to be achieved, is once more demonstrated by the events themselves.

Indications are that there will be a breathing space of more or less limited duration before the Fascists feel themselves strong enough to take over full power under a dictatorship of their own. In this interval, and in spite of the repression that are certain to follow the crushing of the revolt, the Spanish labor movement will still have certain possibilities of functioning on a semi-legal basis. During this period a series of splits and realignments will take place. The Social Democracy will almost certainly split into two or more groups, and sections of the party with the majority of the Socialist Youth can be expected to declare themselves in solidarity with the idea of the Fourth International.

The crisis in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement can be expected to intensify in the coming period and we can now predict a definite break-up or reorientation of their whole movement. The bulk of Anarcho-Syndicalist workers can be expected to follow the Syndicalist Libertarian Federation and the Asturias section of the C.N.T. in the trend away from anarchism and towards political action. The more advanced elements of the S.L.F. may soon be found supporting the idea of building a new Communist Party in Spain together with the present Communist Left (Internationalists) and the Communist elements of the Socialist Youth and S. P.

Simultaneous with the efforts to build the new revolutionary party, the Internationalist Communists of forging the National Workers Alliances and of transforming these embryonic Soviets into effective organisms capable of expressing the will of the great toiling masses of the country.

There is very little time left for the proletariat of Spain. They must reassemble their forces, strengthen and extend the Workers Alliances, future organs of their class power, and build the new Communist Party capable of leading them to victory in the final decisive battle with Fascism that is yet to come.—BOSALIO NEGRET

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Seamens "Strike" Flops

The attempt on the part of the Stalinist controlled Marine Workers Industrial Union to tie up the East Coast has come to an ignominious end. The "strike" has just been called off. Under the infallible leadership of the official C. P. there can, of course, be no defeats, so that when something goes wrong with one of its pet tactics, a fancy name has to be invented to cover up the mess. For this latest failure the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker* has tricked up the name "Organized retreat." In plain English, however, it means that the attempted seamen's strike was a flop. The events leading to this latest piece of crazy Stalinist adventurism are as follows:

The International Seamen's Union, like all other A. F. of L. unions, has in spite of reactionary leadership of the worst sort, been experiencing a new lease on life. Forced by a wave of resentment against rotten conditions, the I.S.U. threatened to tie up the Atlantic seaboard on October 8, unless the shipping companies recognized the union and granted better conditions. However, a few days before the strike date, the bosses consented to arbitrate the matter before the Labor Board. The I.S.U. leadership, therefore, called off the strike. We haven't much use for the A. F. of L. officialdom, and their invariable dependence on the governmental machinery of the NRA to help fight a union's battles. This tendency has to be fought tooth and nail. But neither have we much use for the adventurist tactics with which the Stalinist-inspired Marine Workers Industrial Union fought this A. F. of L. officialdom.

For the Stalinists, thinking that they could take advantage of the strike sentiment among the seamen, decided to call a strike on October 8 anyway, over the heads of the I.S.U. leadership, expecting that the rank and file would flock to the leadership of the M.W.I.U.—the regular united-front-from-below stuff!

Ballast and Noise

The M.W.I.U., like most T.U.U.L. unions, is largely a paper organization on the East coast. Indeed just how paper it is can be seen by the fact that only a few hundred men responded to the strike call, a good many of these being unemployed. Instead of the 35,000 the leaders claimed would respond. Likewise, being intent all these years on building T.U.U.L. unions, the Stalinist strategists never had developed a left-wing movement in the I.S.U. So that, although there was among the seamen a basis for the strike, there was no basis at all on which the Stalinists could take leadership of that strike.

The I.S.U. ordered its men to stay on the job, a vicious red scare was started by the I.S.U. leaders and the bosses, to which the Stalinists with their usual trade union perspicacity left themselves wide open, and those few I.S.U. militants who had jobs, and didn't want to scab even though their own union wasn't on strike, lost these jobs and will now probably be lost as a leavening in the I.S.U. In fact, the

would-be great strike was nipped even before it got started.

So now the Stalinists are beating an "organized retreat." As the *Daily Worker* puts it: "Only the united efforts of the ship owners, the government, and the I.S.U. and I.L.A. officials succeeded in preventing the seamen from developing the strike on a mass basis." What an excuse for an "organized retreat." What did the great C. P. minds expect from the bosses, the NRA and the I.S.U. officials if not attempts to wreck the Stalinist maneuver? The real reason why the strike on a mass basis is because they had no basis in the mass. Without having a real foothold among the organized seamen, they attempted a putsch, using their own paper union as a base.

When the Minneapolis truck strike was in progress, the leaders in that struggle tried to get the rest of the unions in the town out on a 48 hour sympathy strike with the truckmen. These efforts failed largely because left wing influence in these unions was not strong enough to force the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to take this step. The Stalinists to this day condemn the Minneapolis leaders for not calling a general strike anyway. These Stalinists have now had a chance to show whether their policy of issuing strike calls "over the heads of the leadership" works. It does not. Among the seamen it merely spread confusion and cost some militants, whom the Stalinists have misused, their jobs.

Whether the C. P. trade union strategists will ever learn that the only way you can influence workers is to have roots in the organizations to which these workers belong is questionable. For the lesson the Stalinists draw from the attempted East coast strike is "to build an opposition in the International Seamen's Union" which sounds sensible but is contradicted by the fact that they also will "build the Marine Workers Industrial Union."

—B.B.

In the Philadelphia I. L. G. W. U.

Philadelphia.—The leaders of local 50 I.L.G.W.U. have always hated call membership meetings, especially now when there are so many new elements who are not so easily handled. So that under one pretext or another, there has been no membership meeting for almost four months.

The local is divided into two branches, silk and cotton dress and blouse, and they meet separately. The codes for silk dress and blouses were fixed last Fall, but great difficulties were encountered with respect to the cotton dress code since it is a much larger industry, practically unorganized and is considered part of the cotton wear code by the bosses, who are fighting to keep the minimum wage very low.

Last week, directly after work, a meeting was finally called of the cotton and blouse branch, for the purpose of discussing new developments with regard to the cotton code as well as general conditions in the trade.

After a long wait the meeting started and the secretary began to

read the minutes of three executive board and one joint board meeting. The minutes of the last executive meeting was what most interested us as it contained the following for approval: 1—Anti-Fascist Fund, 2—Cotton Code, 3—Five Dollar tax on members, decided by the May convention, 4—Union educational program, and 5—Fettering out the Communist party.

The Smoke-Screen

Meanwhile the manager, Reisberg, arrived and the minutes of the last Executive were asked to be discussed and approved. The Stalinist opposition immediately got into action. All questions concerning the every day problems confronting the workers in the shops were forgotten and they only wanted to take up and discuss Fascism. The meeting was turned into one long wrangle between the Stalinists and Reisberg over this question.

The workers became restless, having come directly from work. Particularly, the new inexperienced members who were making as low as five and six dollars a week, looked bewildered and confused and didn't know what all the shouting was about. Some began to walk out of the meeting.

At this point I took the floor and said that it would be a good thing to discuss such an important matter as Fascism after we took up the cotton code and the possibility of raising the minimum which is only thirteen dollars a week and to do something about the general conditions in the trade, wage cuts, etc. The workers vigorously approved what I said, but both Reisberg, the right winger and the Stalinists were against my suggestion.

Reisberg then decided to rule the meeting, refusing to allow any discussion. He spent the rest of the time explaining Fascism and the importance of helping its victims in Europe. Someone tried to make a motion to elect delegates to the Chicago Conference Against War and Fascism but he ruled it out of order. He then reported on the union educational program and then came to the cotton code.

The "Nec" Bosses

In discussing the cotton code, he turned to me and accused me of wanting a strike but I was to be disappointed as the bosses were "nice enough" to grant the thirty-six hour week and minimum wage of \$13 a week. He then launched into an attack against the new members for not paying dues, for being so impatient for better conditions and demanding that they pay the five dollar tax in order to send organizers around.

As I stated before, the workers are working part-time and making very little, so that during his entire speech, not the Stalinists but the new elements were constantly interrupting. Since it was getting late the meeting was adjourned and nothing really was accomplished.

This union bureaucrat, Reisberg, is able to run meetings in this manner, because we haven't a clear left wing opposition, working out left wing policies in the union. There is no cooperation between the various progressive groups and the workers, feeling nothing is done at meetings, stay away. A genuine left wing opposition must be built.

—PHILA. CLOTHING WORKER

STATEMENT OF THE OWNER-SHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York City for October 1, 1934.

State of New York — ss.
County of New York

Before me, a . . . in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared . . . who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Communist League of America; Editor, J. P. Cannon; Managing Editor, George Clarke; Business Manager, Rose Karsner; all of 144 Second Avenue.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Editorial Board: Martin Abern: 144 Second Ave.; James P. Cannon, 144 Second Ave.; Max Shachtman, 144 Second Ave.; Maurice Spector, 144 Second Ave.; Arne Swabeck, 144 Second Ave.

mortgages and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

3. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not

appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

4. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the months preceding the date shown above is . . . (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROSE KARSNER, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this eleventh day of Oct. 1934.

Louis J. Goldberg.

(My commission expires March 30, 1935.)

NEWARK MASS MEETING

"The New Revolutionary Party"

Speakers: ARNE SWABECK (of C. L. A.)

A. J. MUE (of A.W.P.)

St. Regis Hall, Park Place, 8 P.M. Joint Auspices: A.W.P. and C.L.A.

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Some Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

1. Basis of "Youth Problem"

By ALBERT GLOTZER

The movement to create the Fourth International must also endeavor to build simultaneously, the new communist youth international. It is unnecessary to belabor the point by declaring that the youth have either been underestimated and misunderstood, or that their movements have been horribly maltreated, as a result of the petty-bourgeois prejudices of social democracy and the factional abuses of Stalinist revisionism. All this is true enough, but these truths do not erase the fact that when the Young Communist International was organized in 1919, it was founded upon correct principles and enjoyed a healthy growth for several years. With the victory of Stalinism the organization ceased to grow. For more than ten years the communist youth movement has suffered uninterrupted decline until today it is an almost non-existent factor in the general political and organizational life of disintegrating Stalinism.

In the course of this past decade, the principles upon which the communist youth movement was built have either been forgotten, or else pushed back so far into the archives of the pseudo-Bolsheviks that for all practical purposes these principles never existed. Now it is necessary to restate them in a language so plain that no possible misunderstandings can arise. The restatement of these principles should serve as a guide for all our young comrades in their work toward rebuilding the communist youth movement.

While it is true that Stalinism with all its vicious theories and practices unavoidably brought destruction upon a healthy and growing youth international, not every error committed by the youth can be explained with the terse rejoinder: Stalinism. There are a number of problems which confront the youth movement that are and were, even for the Y.C.I. in its early years, experimental in character. And it could not be otherwise. There is no way of testing many youth problems except through the method of experiment.

The experiments in order to determine correct paths were rudely interrupted shortly after they had begun, and we are still at a stage where we must independently solve, through practice, problems of youth organization and activity. In our work of reconstructing the communist youth on an international basis, we should therefore, always be ready to discuss and experiment with new ideas and proposals which, together with a persistent activity among the masses of young workers, will lead to a solution of such problems. But before we can do this it is necessary to know where to begin, and for this purpose the writer presents in brief form, an outline of the fundamental questions of youth work. On the basis of an understanding and application of the following it will be possible to proceed more intelligently and vigorously in realizing our goal.

The rise of world fascism, which recruits great numbers from the youth in society, demands more than the stereotyped attitude toward this problem that is usually prevalent in the workers' movement: we must win the youth. A good barometer of the success of the revolutionary internationalists will be present in its ability to realize the support of the youth to its theory and practice.

The "youth problem" arises out of the very nature of the capitalist social order. It becomes particularly acute with the development of the imperialist stage of capitalism which absorbs ever greater numbers of youth into industry, thus accentuating one of the outstanding characteristics of factory production under early capitalism. Entering industry as proletarians, the youth are confronted with the general problems of the proletariat as a class. Thus, the "youth problem" is bound up with the question of exploitation as it affects the entire working class. One must, therefore, seek the background to all issues of a youth character in the nature of the social order, in the relations of production. The youth are divided according to the classes in society: bourgeois, proletarian and intermediary. Its problems are essentially class problems. We do not approach the matter from the point of view of the youth in general, but from the point of view of the proletarian youth whose problems are, by and large, the problems of the working class as a whole, and whose emancipation depends upon the emancipation of the class.

The youth are physically weaker and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth and adult workers, either in hours, wages, or conditions of labor, the special nature of the youth question lies in the fact that from the economic basis (which is in general the same as the adult worker) it becomes transformed into a physical and psychological one. It is necessary to return to this when

dealing with the subject of the economic struggles of the young workers.

A second vital matter, which acquires particular youth significance, especially with the rise of imperialism and the attendant colossal growth of armaments and war, is the question of anti-militarism and the struggle against war. In this field the youth are the heaviest sufferers.

Thirdly, we are confronted with a system of capitalist education, the aim of which is to train a servile youth that will be ready to answer the beck and call of the master class. Beginning with the children, through the schools, the press, radio, sports, etc., the ruling class molds a "bourgeois minded" youth.

The youth work then is divided into three essential fields:

a) the economic struggles of the young workers;

b) anti-militarism and the struggle against war; and,

c) socialist education.

The special character of the young workers (physical and mental immaturity) and his particular status in the capitalist social order make necessary the existence of a special youth organization. If the working class is to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism it must devote special efforts toward the youth, to liquidate as speedily as possible a "natural" antagonism between the adults and youth, with the aim of simultaneously neutralizing the influence of capitalism upon this section of the proletariat and winning them to the banner of the revolution. The workers movement as a whole must aid in the building of the youth movement, help to solve its problems, supply leadership to it, etc.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION

It follows from the above that if the general problems of the youth are bound up with the struggle of the working class as a whole, and its tasks are special ones adapted for winning the broad masses of young workers, the youth movement cannot play the role of an "individual, independent, political revolutionary organization." At the present period of development it is not necessary for us to begin investigation into the character of the Party and the youth organizations. That has been done well by the 2nd Congresses of the Communist International and the Young Communist International. The Party is the leader of the working class. The Party gives political direction to the class as a whole; it is the vanguard of the proletariat. History permits no dispute in this question. The youth organization is only a section of the organized working class which is dependent upon the party for political guidance. Its particular field of work is among the young proletarians whom it seeks to win to the side of the working class. Thus youth work is a specialized field of Party work. That is why the Y.C.I. in 1922 described the youth organization in the following manner:

" . . . the young communist organizations are MASS organizations for communist militant education of the working class youth, the SCHOOL in which the young workers are instructed in the mass struggle for communism."

The youth organization cannot be a mere "cultural" organization, because it is impossible to distinguish the struggle for culture from the general class struggle. Neither can it be a pure "educational" organization because the education of the proletarian youth without participation in the class struggle would not lead to the creation of the type of organization we are seeking. The youth organization must be a militant revolutionary one, which participates in the class struggle, seeks to educate not only its own ranks but the broad masses of youth, constructs special social and sports activities (not rejecting them as bourgeois or social democratic devices), all the time bearing in mind that it is not a second party and that its activities do not duplicate the Party's, but dovetail into them. The activities need to be varied enough so as to be able to attract the completely raw and inexperienced, who are nevertheless ready to learn.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of the youth organizations today, a weakness that has been present for many years, is that they conceived of their task merely as a copy of the party work and failed to develop their own special methods and forms. It is interesting to note how the Y.C.I. regarded this question during the early years of its existence. Discussing these fundamental questions of youth work it said:

"The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and doing political and economic work among the young proletariat. But, by the way, is that not the syndicalist idea of the uniform organization? No!"

"Insofar as the working class youth is a part of the entire work-

(Continued on Page 4)

QUESTION BOX

YIPSEL, BRONX—

Question: Could you briefly give the Communist position as to why it would not be possible for a Socialist-controlled government to legislate its way to a Socialist society? Where can I find something by Trotsky on this question?

Answer: The "Question Box" of August 4th had occasion to point out, based upon quotations from the "liberal" historian, Beard, that even if we recognized the reformist basis, there was no reason to believe that a party with revolutionary aims could capture a parliamentary majority in this country, since the Constitution itself was framed to prevent such a possibility. By this of course we had no intention of recognizing the reformist assumptions because an analysis of the historic process forces us to conclude that the matter will be settled by the dynamics of the class struggle itself in which the parliamentary arena occupies but a subordinate role. However, even if we grant the possibility of the election of a REAL LABOUR government, we are forced to the conclusion that this could only be the beginning of a civil war.

Listen to Trotsky in his answer to the British advocates of Socialist gradualism: "... For the Conservatives, as for the remnants of the Liberals, it would be a question of discrediting the first independent Government of the working class at any cost. For them it would be a question of life or death. This is not in the least the same as the old struggle between Liberals and Conservatives, when the differences did not get outside the 'family' of the possessing classes. Any serious reforms undertaken by the Labour Government in the spheres of taxation, nationalization, and a real democratization of the administration would quicken a mighty flood of enthusiasm in the working masses, and—since appetite comes from eating—these successful MODERATE reforms would inevitably set in train more and more RADICAL reforms. In other words, every new day would separate the Conservatives still further from the possibility of returning to power. The Conservatives could not but take a quite clear account of the fact that the question was not of an alternating change of Government, but of the beginning of the social revolution by parliamentary means. The resources of State obstruction, and legislative and administrative sabotage in the hands of the possessing classes, are immense, since, no matter what their parliamentary majority, all the State apparatus from top to bottom is inseparably linked with the bourgeoisie. To it all belongs: all the press, the most important organs of local self-government, the universities, schools, the church, innumerable clubs, and voluntary societies generally. In their hands are the banks and the whole system of social credit, and, finally, the apparatus of transport and trade, so that the daily food ... including that of the Labour Government, would depend on the great capitalist combines. It is absolutely obvious that all these gigantic means will be brought into action with frantic violence in order to dam the activity of the Labour Government, to paralyze its exertions, to frighten it, to effect cleavages in its parliamentary majority, and, finally, to cause a financial panic, provision difficulties, lockouts, to terrorize the upper ranks of the workers' organizations, and to sap the strength of the proletariat. Only an utter fool may not comprehend that the bourgeoisie will bring into action heaven, earth, and the infernal regions in the event of the actual coming to power of a Labour Government.

... What will be left for a Labour Government to do? Either ignominiously to capitulate, or to put up an opposition ... for the suppression of opposition of that kind is a serious material force and a strong State apparatus are indispensable. Neither the one nor the other will be found on the side of the Labour Government. The police, judiciary, army, and militia will be on the side of the disorganizers, saboteurs, and fascists. The bureaucratic apparatus must be destroyed, replacing the reactionaries by members of the Labour Party. There will be no other way than this. But it is absolutely obvious that such thoroughgoing, although fully legal, State measures will extraordinarily sharpen the legal and illegal opposition of the united bourgeois reaction. In other words: this also is the way of civil war."

Question: Particularly because of the German and Austrian experiences, I have become convinced that the reformist road is no longer possible. My experience with the official Communist Party has shown me that it is only a disruptive force in the labor movement so there remains only the "Trotskyites" or the "Lovestonites" through whom I can enter the ranks of Communism. Why should I prefer one as against the other?

Answer: The "Lovestonites" stand for reform of the C. P. and base themselves upon the same false theoretical premise as the Stalinists, i.e., the theorem of "Socialism in one country", which is the fundamental root from which flows all of the Stalinist distortions and lunacies. Were you to join the "Lovestonites" you would only find yourself in the camp of those who are trying to crawl back into the swamp, whose true nature you recognize. There remains but one choice for you: the organization which stands for new Communist parties and a new International.

JAMES SH., NEW YORK (Continued)

Question: What was the attitude of the Communist League to the election platform of the official Communist Party in 1930 and 1932?

Answer: In general the League did not attempt to go into a criticism of the details of the C.P.'s election platform. We were concerned mainly that the workers give the C.P. their support since, primarily, every such vote meant a vote for revolution. The following excerpt from our election appeal essentially states our position for that time: "Our differences with the Party's policies, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the development of the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist Party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party. ... The Left Opposition therefore ranges itself alongside its party and calls upon every worker to cast his vote for his party, the Communist party." (Militant, Oct. 29, 1934.) It must be remembered, of course, that we then considered ourselves a faction of the party. That, of course, was yesterday.

You will find whatever the League had to say, in print, on these elections in the October Militants for 1930 and 1932, which are on file at the 42nd Street Library.

Question: What were the chief differences between the Proletarian party and the Workers party in their early days?

Answer: The first difference arose out of the refusal of the Proletarian party to adapt itself to the illegal conditions forced upon a revolutionary party in those days. When the Workers party came out from underground with a program making a legal party possible, the Proletarian party refused to join it, claiming the program of the Workers party to be non-Marxist because it had been established on a minimum basis, and particularly because the P.P. considered the struggle for immediate demands to be incorrect.

LEADING PHILADELPHIA C. P. MEMBER
DECLARES FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

October 17, 1934.
To the Philadelphia District Committee of Communist Party U.S.A.
To the Membership of the C.P., U.S.A.

Dear Comrades:

About two months ago, by request of the Philadelphia District of the Communist Party, I was asked to state my position on the Negro question in writing. This I did to the best of my ability, concluding that whatever my political differences with the Party might be, I was ready to carry through the Party line. In spite of my willingness to submit to Party discipline, I was arbitrarily removed as District Secretary of the I.L.D. and told that I could not hold any Party post until I agreed with the Party on the Negro question.

After many weeks of study, careful deliberation, I have arrived at certain definite conclusions, not only on the Negro question but on other vital problems concerning the working class.

The Negro Question

The key to the Negro problem in the United States, according to the Party, is the idea expressed by the slogan "Self-Determination of the Negroes" in the so-called Black Belt in the South.

One of the marked attributes of a national minority is that there is a general feeling among them that they are a nation. An intense, minute examination of the literature concerning Negro problems, etc. from the year 1619 to the present does not record any appreciable aspiration or sentiment for a Negro nation in the black belt. The culture of the slave (folk songs, etc.) are not of a national character, but have a distinct class content. The only nationalist sentiment in the United States is the Neo-Garveyite groups who center around the "back to Africa" and pan-Islam movement. In spite of our high-sounding propaganda and superhuman salesmanship, the Party has failed to convert these nationalist utopians to renounce the visionary idea of Nationhood in Africa for Nationhood in the Black Belt. The imposed slogan of Self-Determination has failed to blossom, unless the Party is willing to claim credit for the isolationist-Segregationist "49" State project.

The Utopian Dream of Self-Determination Under Capitalism

I want to quote from the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) on the National and Colonial Question. I think such a quotation will aid towards clarity:

"It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above that the policy of the Communist International on National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism without which national inequality and oppression cannot be abolished."

Now then, can one support the theses that it is even probable for the peasantry of the Black Belt to establish Self-Determination (Nationhood) without a successful proletarian revolution? The Black Belt is an integral part of the American field of exploitation of the capitalist. It is just as fruitful and dear to them as New York or California. Plain common sense leads me to believe that the capitalists who control the Federal Government would mobilize the armed forces of reaction for the suppression of a National revolutionary insurrection in the Black Belt in the same manner as they would ruthlessly put down a working-class insurrection in Rhode Island. Under American capitalism a Negro nation in the Black Belt has as much chance of existing as a Soviet Rhode Island with the rest of the United States intact under the rule of American imperialism.

The Negroes are Not a Nation in the United States

In our Negro population, as it came from the western coast of Africa, there were Wolofs and Fula, tall, well-built and very black, hailing from Senegambia and its vicinity; there were hundreds of thousands from the slave coast of Tshis, Ewes, and Yorubans, including Dahomians; and mingled with all these, Sudanese Negroes proper, were occasional contributions of mixed stock, from the north and northeast, having an infusion of Moorish blood. There were other thousands from Lower Guinea, belonging to Bantu stock, not so black in color as the Sudanese. These Negroes came to the American shores with a distinct language, a different religion, a separate culture, etc. The master class has been able to obliterate the Negro national character. A nation, we must remember, like other social phenomena, is subject to the law of change: it has its beginnings and also its end (Stalin).

The African, on arriving in this country, was not permitted to converse in his native language but was forced to adopt the language of his conquerors. His native culture was tabooed, he could no longer tread the same religious path but had to worship the God of his master's making. With the

exception of race, the twelve million Negroes in the United States have been fused into the American nation. Do we not have the same religion, language, culture, and dwell on common territory as other inhabitants of this nation? The Black Belt is no exception, and I will say that even here the Negroes do not have geographical solidarity. Take a glance at this data.

There are 189 counties in the United States that have 51 percent or more of the population Negro. These counties are located in eleven southern states, scattered from Virginia to Texas. The total Negro population in these 189 counties is 3,041,219. The total white population is 2,079,919. These counties with Negro majorities constitute only 17 percent of the counties in these eleven states. These states are divided into 1,069 counties.

Discussion Article
A Critique of the Stalinist Theory
Of Self-Determination

The following contribution to our discussion on the Negro question is written by a comrade, formerly very active in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in Kansas City. This is the first article of a series by comrade Williamson. Other contributions, not exceeding 700 words are invited.—Ed.

The Stalinist theory of self-determination, or the theory that the official Communist Party believes will make the Negro Share Croppers lead a national agrarian revolution in the southern section of the United States, despite the national attention that it is receiving, is destined to failure or defeat. Like most of the ventures of Browder, it will not stand the acid test. The theory was probably first adopted by the corrupt misinformed central committee of the Communist Party for the purpose of strengthening Stalinism in the United States and accelerating revolutionary developments throughout the nation; but their false tactics and approach to the question has actually retarded the development and growth of Communism among both white and Negro workers.

Already the petty bourgeois Negroes have seized and capitalized upon the theory of self-determination for the black belt in many sections of the country. The Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, with headquarters in St. Louis, Mo., recently organized by Japanese agents in this country, seeking to win the support of the Negro people in case of war between the United States and Japan, and their petty bourgeois Negro lackeys, who are seeking freedom from the white capitalist, so as to have more liberty to rob the Negro worker, have taken the theory of the black belt from the Stalinists and converted it into the future black republic of North America.

Self-determination for the imaginary black belt extended to one of the many national minorities of the country, tends to convey the idea of further separation of the so-called races and is foreign to Marxism. It is not possible under capitalism and not necessary under socialism or communism.

However, when it comes to the colonial peoples we are faced with an entirely different economic and social problem. The colonial people represent a national majority, have a different language, in many respects a different culture, different customs and traditions from the people in the imperialist country, and, as such, should be given the right of self-determination. Cuba, Hawaii and Haiti are such countries.

The American Negro, on the other hand, is so closely interwoven into American custom and tradition that we cannot do him and the cause of world socialism or communism justice by struggling for a Jim Crow black republic in America which will breed more antagonism among blacks and whites.

Our fight, the fight of the Communist League of America, shall

Race Equality in the United States, Self-Determination for West Indies, Haiti and Africa

Communists must march forward with the battle-cry of race equality. Not a moment can be lost. The fascists have proclaimed in both hemispheres a war of extermination against the Jews and non Aryans. In the United States fascist organizations are awakening. In Germany it is the Jew who is faced with extermination at the hands of the ruthless bloodhounds. In the United States, under the slogan of "Race Inferiority", "White Man's Burden", etc. the fascists and the forces of reaction have set the trap for the brutal elimination of an "inferior" race (Negroes). Only a broad, educational, agitational and revolutionary struggle for the realization of race equality can save the Negro

people from annihilation from the strong-arm attacks of the fascist hordes.

For War Against Our Own Imperialists

It was Lenin who emphasized the idea of workers of advanced countries waging a sharp struggle against their own imperialists for the freedom of the colonies. Our Party must certainly correct itself on this point. The Party did not raise high the slogan of self-determination for Liberia and the West Indies, and for Negro national minorities in South and Central America. England even today is busily occupied attempting to utilize the League of Robbers (League of Nations) for the seizure of Liberia. Italy has boldly shouted to the world that it will make the Negro kingdom of Abyssinia an Italian colony. These are problems that demand an immediate program of action. The Central Committee and our leading organs must understand that regardless of language, ideology, customs, or what land the Negro resides in, he is an oppressed race. This fact alone makes it imperative that events in Liberia or Abyssinia are of prime importance to the Negroes of America.

The Trade Union Policy and its Relation to the Negro Problem

The trade union field is conspicuous by the absence of a clear-cut policy on Negro work. Our trade union, T.U.U.L., has failed to exert influence among the Negro working people. This weakness can be attributed to the traditional chauvinistic attitude of the American trade union movement. The desertion of the A. F. of L. by our Party and the attempt to build a dual trade union, did not in the least eradicate the distrust of the Negro workers for the trade unions in general. The Negro workers could not feel the so-called principle of difference of the two trade union centers. Therefore, it was natural for Negroes to accept the A. F. of L. because of its strength and universal recognition.

The Communists have this historical task: to wage an uncompromising fight for race equality and job equality in the trade unions. The Negroes will judge the Communists on the ability of the left-wing to break down racial barriers in trades, industries, professions where Negroes are barred because of color. Unless the Communists and left-wing in the A. F. of L. speed up the fight for race equality, unionism will march in giant strides to defeat.

COMRADES! Back into the A. F. of L. Build the left-wing! Raise to the sky the banner of race equality. By action convince the Negro worker that they are welcome in the unions as equal co-partners in the common struggle for a decent standard of living.

Democratic Centralism versus Bureaucratic Centrism

What is the cause of the mistakes outlined above? Since the departure of the Comintern from revolutionary internationalism, and the adoption of the anti-Leninist theory of "Socialism in One Country", the bureaucracy, in order to maintain power must do away with democratic centralism, and push into the background genuine workers' democracy in the Party.

This makes it impossible to penetrate with new ideas; takes away all opportunities to discuss freely within the Party the various differences which occur, and therefore handicaps the practical application of Communist work. The rule of the bureaucracy chokes the initiative of the rank and file, and undermines the very basis of a revolutionary party.

The taking away from the membership of the right to participate actively in the formulation of policies, strategy, and tactics, and of electing its committees freely, is a definite break from the teachings of Lenin. The leadership allows only the viewpoint to be discussed, and he who has an opinion which differs from the official position is immediately branded, and measures are taken against him.

Is it possible to rectify these mistakes from within? I am definitely of the opinion that it is not. Experience has shown that the bureaucrats will not permit criticism. Any healthy criticism directed against their policies is met with slanders, lies, and expulsions.

It is extremely difficult for a worker-Communist who has devoted five years to active participation in the building of our Party, to break with all those with whom he has shared common experience and struggle. No attempt to discredit by slander can disprove the fact of my work as indicated by my record (Section Organizer C. P.; District Agit-Prop. Director; District Organizer, L.S.N.R.; District Secretary I.L.D.).

However, it gives me consolation that all honest revolutionists will follow me and will be comrades-in-arms in the building of a NEW REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY and a New (Fourth) International.

LONG LIVE THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGRO RACE!
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

With Communist Greetings,
(Signed) JAMES W. WATSON

WORLD OF LABOR

NON-AGGRESSION WITH A VENGEANCE

The term non-aggression has been used to define the united front pact between the Communist and Socialist party of France. A document signed by leading representatives of the centrist parties in question convinces us that if anything, this description is an understatement. L'Humanite for Sept. 15 carries the decisions of a "coordination committee. Instructed with the application of the unity pact. ... This committee met on Sept 11 at the Cooperative House, Paris. In attendance were Cachin, Thorez, and Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Parinet, Lagorrette, Descourtieux for the S. P.

After smugly rubbing their hands over the "results" of the united front, they arrive at the main point under consideration and for which, undoubtedly the meeting was held. We quote from point 11 of the document:

"The representatives of the two parties are in agreement that for the loyal execution of the pact, attacks directed against either one of the two parties, even in the course of meetings organized separately by either one, should be suppressed."

The readers of the Daily Worker will probably remember that much mud was slung at us by one, Harry Gannes for the decision of our youth section to join the Young Socialists of France. With a stupid wide-bracket he dismissed the fact that the Young Bolshevik-Leninists had renounced none of their program and would continue the fight for Marxism and a new Youth International within the effective ranks of the French Yipsels. We had expected nothing better from a Stalinist scribbler who is paid for concocting the best slander against the Bolsheviks. Facts still speak louder than calumny, and long quotations from Le Combat des Jeunes were reprinted in the Militant so that there be no doubt as to the veracity of our statements. We rest our case with the firm conviction that every honest revolutionary worker can judge it on its merits and will come to a position of agreement with us.

Now, let those that holler so loud about capitulation to the social-democracy and counter-revolution explain to us how they are fighting the Blums and the others when they agree not to attack them even at their own meetings. Our fight against the social democracy, its principles and leaders, is to the bitter end, regardless of whether this is done from within or without. The Stalinists, not for the first time—remember the Anglo-Russian Committee—are in a love-feast with those they only yesterday branded as social-fascists, no criticism anywhere or anyplace.

We venture to say that, besides slander, there will be no answer. With lights out and shades down the Stalinists enter a united front with the social democrats on the one condition that the crimes of both bureaucracies are smothered with silence. Thus the great desire of the masses for united action against Fascism is dumpped by the bureaucrats of both parties whose agreement more and more resembles a thieves' pact.

STRIKE WAVE IN SOUTH AMERICA

The last few weeks have witnessed a decided increase in the number, importance and intensity of labor struggles in practically every South American country. The month of September was marked by a series of large local strikes throughout Brazil, culminating in the general strike at Para. The very promising railroad strike in Colombia was run into the ground due to inefficient leadership and organizational looseness. Also in Colombia at the present time an organizational campaign is under way in preparation for a general strike of coffee workers throughout the country. Coffee is the principal export of Colombia.

Enador now comes to the fore with a general strike in the textile industry which commenced on September 29th and which is now 100 per cent solid. The textile strike has the unlimited backing of the whole organized labor movement of the republic and a general strike on a national scale is quite possible.

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS THREATENED WITH DEATH PENALTY

On May 1, 1933, the Bolivian government made the great "discovery" of a "communist plot destined to destroy the internal peace" (so necessary for the carrying on of the "Chaco war") "subsidized by Paraguayan gold." In this manner "legal" means for repressions against our Bolivian comrades in La Paz were found! The few remaining comrades at that time still in the city on the point of organizing an anti-war protest demonstration for International Labor Day were placed under arrest.

From the very outset, the charges leveled against our comrades were evidently based on framed up evidence. It was claimed that they were attempting to buy off the General Staff of the Bolivian Army, conspiring in a small group, out of contact with the masses and "preparing bombs and hand grenades, some of which were found in their possession." Any one with the least understanding of the tactics and method of struggle used by communists can readily see how ridiculous these charges were.

Meanwhile, making it impossible for them to secure counsel, Duran Boger, Zuhaleta, Ubeiroga, Rodriguez, Rojas, Gallardo, Maraz, Moya Quiroga, Abaron, Ozuna, Miranda, Cora and others were interned in the "inquisitorial section" of the public jail, in the section known as the "gunny" where prisoners are even denied the ordinary essential services of prison hygiene. All communication with the outside was forbidden as was any intervention of outside persons into the case. Their only recourse was the hunger strike, under the most abominable circumstances and without any outside support. Comrade Abaron died and the others became completely emaciated and broken in health. It was then that the prisoners were granted defense counsel and provided with beds and water.

Salamanca wants to "legitimize" the policies of his regime through the blood of the Bolivian Communists. Fascism is organized in the shadow of the red scare and the ground is prepared for future massacres of the militant workers. The reality is that the weakness of our comrades at the present time serves the purposes of the bourgeoisie admirably.

The State Attorney is now demanding the death penalty against our imprisoned comrades, for the crime of organizing the anti-war struggle of the tolling masses against the Chaco slaughter.

The Bolivian comrades, beaten to the ground and crushed beneath the militarist boot, gagged under the Military Code, have no other possibility of defense than the international action of the militant workers of other countries. Only demonstrations and mass actions of the workers on an international scale can save them.

The Chilean Communist Left has called on all working class organizations to back up the international campaign for the defense and support of the workers of Bolivia and Paraguay against the imperialist war in the Chaco.

FALL TERM OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL
TO OPEN OCTOBER 15th

The International Workers School will open at its new headquarters, 144 Second Avenue, on October 1st, with the following courses:

1. ABC of Marxism Carl Cowl, Instructor
Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.
2. History and Principles of the International Communists Max Shachtman
Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
3. State and Revolution Jack Weber
Every Monday at 8:00 P.M.
4. American History Felix Morrow
Every Wednesday at 8:00 P.M.
5. Elementary Marxian Economics Alfred Weaver
Every Friday at 8:00 P.M.

You are urged to register now for whatever courses you are interested in. Registrations are accepted daily at the office of the school. Each course is \$1.50 for the complete term. Further information may be obtained by telephoning Gramercy 5-6324.

Stalinists in a Panic as Organization Of New Party in U. S. Approaches

The Central Committee of the Stalinist party is greatly worried. To be more exact, it is panicked. Nothing else can explain the bombardment of frenzied abuse suddenly launched in the official communist press against the "Trotskyists" and the American Workers Party.

In the first place, the situation inside the Communist party makes it imperative for the leadership imposed upon it to distract attention from their disgraceful mismanagement. The widely heralded San Francisco general strike has turned to ashes in the mouth of the Stalinists. The complete ineffectiveness of the party in the textile strike—largest struggle in the history of the American working class—is too patent to be explained away, nor has the leadership yet made any attempt to do so. In four of the most dramatic struggles of recent times, in Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Kohler, the Communist party was as invisible as an infra-red ray. The strike it tried to call on the New York waterfront proved to be an unmitigated debacle. The whole trade union policy of the party is being drastically revised, without apparent rhyme or reason and certainly without explanation, and the much-vaunted "red" unions are being liquidated in the dark of the moon at a faster and more artificial pace than they were created in the first place. The results of the great post-convention membership drive are a downright catastrophe: 17,000 members joined the party in the first seven months of this year, at the end of which, however, the party has 4,000 fewer members than when the drive began; that is, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies have driven out of the party an average of 3,000 members per month in the first part of 1934. In any normally functioning working class organization, a leadership which cannot produce a better accounting of its stewardship than this, would be driven out of its posts and perquisites without even the three days of grace usually accorded all bankrupts.

A Decadent Party

There are, besides, other phenomena which give the leadership sleepless nights, and cause the serious party member to stop for sober reflection. At one time, whatever revolutionary progress was visible in the American working class, crystallized around the Communist party. The Stalinized party, however, has lost its revolutionary force of attraction. A tempestuous leftward evolution of the ranks of the Socialist party is taking place, with thousands of Socialist workers and youth moving rapidly towards Marxism. But not only does this movement pass by the Stalinists, but it is directed against them. Where, a decade ago, it was felt clearly or instinctively by the awakening Socialist workers that their move to the left was logically in the direction of the Third International and its parties, they feel today that they would be stepping out of the frying pan and into the fire if they broke from reformism only to join hands with decadent Stalinism. They are therefore seeking or groping for a new rallying center.

This is even more plainly evident in the movement for a new party and a new International in the United States. We are on the eve of the consummation, in this country, of the most progressive step taken in the American working class movement for years. Coming though they did from different directions, the militants of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have thought and fought their way through, along different forks in the road to a unification which makes it possible for them to march with swelled forces along a single path and under a single banner. Joined together, the two organizations are now taking the last steps preparatory to the formal launching of the new party in the United States, the party of revolutionary Marxism.

Founded on Marxism

For the first time in many a year, a party will appear on the scene in this country which can boldly assert and prove its claim to be the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It will not be the issue of a bureaucratic combination, but a solid structure based upon a thoughtfully worked out program. This program will be found to contain those fundamental ideas of Marx and Lenin which guarantee the revolutionary integrity of the party and its driving force. These ideas will not be diluted or perverted, as they have been by the existing radical parties of labor, but reinforced by the lessons of the struggles, the victories and defeats, that the world proletariat has experienced in the last twenty years. From the very outset, therefore, the new party will be equipped with an invincible sword, and it will confidently challenge the existing parties for the leadership of the American working class.

Whatever doubts may have existed on this score have been ban-

ished by the prolonged howl of rage that has risen from the Stalinist camp as soon as it became clear that the launching of the new party was already assured. Just as the Roman emperors sought to turn the wrath of the masses from the cause of their hunger to the vicarious thrill of the gladiatorial combats in the lion's arena, the Stalinist proconsuls are trying to work up a veritable lynching campaign against the new party so that their own membership may forget for a day the cruel political existence to which they are condemned.

The Mind of a Bureaucrat

And what a contemptible campaign it is that the panic-stricken Stalinists have launched! The bureaucrat's mind is worthy of a definitive study. He cannot judge a political event politically. Having himself received his post and the not undesirable emoluments of office as bounty for subservience and booty from a plot of usurpers, he can conceive of a political movement directed against his ideas only as an insidious plot of other bureaucrats. Like man created his various gods, the bureaucrat creates all politicians and all politics in his own image. His policeman's mind, which qualifies him to office under Stalinism, cannot see beyond the horizon imposed upon him from above and imposed by him upon those over whom he holds sway in turn. Equipped with magistrate's powers and an ample stock of abuse, he sallies forth against the enemy. The more worried he is, the more abusive and less intelligible he becomes.

This is how the Stalinist bureaucracy has greeted the new party. The leading editorial of the *Daily Worker* on the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist party (9-20-34) thus devoted itself to a solemn warning. To whom? To the "don't laugh!—honest but misguided rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists in the two organizations which are preparing to fuse. "We must warn the workers who follow Muste and his A.W.P. against a trap that is being laid for them by their leaders—the trap of counter-revolutionary "Trotskyism." But that is not all. "To the few misguided workers who still follow the Trotskyists" (come, come, isn't it a bit indecent thus to dig up again the dead body of Trotskyism which has now been disinterred sixteen times—by actual count—in the columns of the Stalinist press?) an earnest word of advice is also proffered. Beware, for the counter-revolutionists, in turn, "are leading you into organic unity with Muste, the champion of bourgeois nationalism." Why, from the standpoint of the *Daily Worker*, there is anything reprehensible in the counter-revolutionists joining hands with the bourgeois nationalists, is not entirely clear. Nor will we press the point, for as Thomas Paine once said: "To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason is like administering medicine to the dead."

"Armyless Generals"

A few days later, the news writer of the *Daily Worker*, either ignorant of the startling editorial discovery of honest rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists who make up the ranks of the C.L.A. and A.W.P., or else operating on the theory that your front page should not know what your back page is doing, reports from Paterson that the speakers at a silk workers' meeting there were "A. J. Muste, purveyor of Fascist (Ooops!) doctrines" and James Cannon, "Trotskyist renegade", and that "textile worker after textile worker made clear his distrust of the two armyless generals of social fascism."

Now, if no armies are involved, what is all the disturbance for? In its letter to the young Socialists explaining why it is opposed to including the young Trotskyists in the united front, the Stalinist youth organization declares that the Trotskyists have no masses and therefore should not be included in the united front. If the Trotskyists and Mustetes are armyless, why the plaintive wail of the *Daily Worker* against the latter for having rejected a united front with the Communist party?

It becomes increasingly clear that abuse and foam at the mouth are not exactly conducive to clarity. At any rate, we may be permitted to doubt the effectiveness of such appeals made by the Stalinists to the honest scoundrels and rogues of the rank and file.

Not satisfied, however, with digging up the body of Trotskyism, the Stalinists have exhumed the corpse of Alexander Bittelman and brought it into play against the new party. Asking Bittelman to lead the campaign is like calling the members of the Grand Army of the Republic to the colors for a war in 1935. Bittelman, it was generally thought (by some, with a feeling of relief), had been permanently silenced after the Stalinists exiled him to the Kirghis Soviet Republic in 1929 for having labored too effectively to wreck the American Communist party. He is making up for that silence now.

In the *Daily Worker* of October 17, Bittelman explodes a "bombshell" called—"Does the American Workers Party Know What 'What It Is Uniting'?" The title perfectly expresses his deep and tender concern over the fate of the party of bourgeois nationalism. Addressing himself to the little infants of the A.W.P., he conjures up before them the dread image of the Trotskyist bogeyman who will get them if they don't watch out. We know that none of our readers will believe us, but good eyesight and simple truth compel us to report that what Bittelman is so terribly exercised about, and is trying to exercise his readers about, is the lack of democracy in the ranks of the Trotskyists and a malevolent plan by "Cannon-Shachtman and Co." to trick the honest rank and file vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the honest rank and file vanguard of bourgeois nationalism into joining whatever the latest Stalinist thesis calls the Socialist party the vanguard of.

Burglary Again

Proof? Ah, this time Bittelman has ample proof. His second-story men and pickpockets stole their last job some six years ago when they and stole our documents and postage stamps. They have now done another bit of revolutionary mass work. A few letters exchanged between League members were stolen by some light-fingered expert of the C. P., thus affording Bittelman the opportunity to quote some torn-out sentences from them in a breath-taking Hearstian exposure guaranteed to impress anybody below the mental age of seven. In stirring, lucid prose, the Trotskyists are convicted of planning to enter the Socialist party for the purpose of reforming the Second International, and of having, meanwhile, abolished all traces of internal democracy.

Let us see how matters stand. 1. The French section of the International Communist League has entered as a faction, with its own program and paper, into the French Socialist party, for reasons clearly set out in the columns of the *Militant* and the *New Internationalist*. Even in France, however, despite the unique situation that has necessitated this step, our comrades have not put forward the slogan of "reform of the Second International." Just the contrary. As is known to our readers who saw a translation of it, the leading political article in the first number of the paper issued by our comrades after entering the S. P., contained a vigorous polemic against the idea of "reforming the Second" and in favor of the Fourth International.

2. As Bittelman, and anyone else concerned, are perfectly aware, our international organization, and our official organ in the United States, have pointed out explicitly that the road our French comrades were obliged to take, is not the road which the American situation requires us to take. In the United States, a far more favorable condition exists and makes it possible and necessary for the revolutionary Marxists to proceed immediately to launch their own independent political party. No serious person would even think of making the proposal in our ranks that the C.L.A. should join the American Socialist party. Such a proposal would be met with the stiff opposition of 99.44 percent of the membership, from bottom to top.

Bittelman's Lies

3. "It is a fact," writes Bittelman, "that Cannon peddles around the idea of the 'reform of the Second International.'" What Bittelman calls a fact is properly called in comrade Spector's letter "wholly unintelligible"; to be more accurate, this "fact" is a stupid lie manufactured out of the whole cloth. An equally stupid lie is the story that the New York membership "voted against a proposal for entry into the Y.P.S.L." The membership never voted for it and never voted against it, for the simple reason that no such proposal was ever put before the membership.

4. Bittelman sheds tears over the lack of democracy in the C.L.A. as copiously and genuinely as a Hollywood actress. In general, it must take a monumental effort and a forehead triple-sheathed in brass for Stalinist functionaries even to talk about party democracy, after the world-wide trail of devastation they have left in the working class movement in the last ten years with their scourge of bureaucraticism.

Bittelman reads a number of letters dealing with internal affairs of our League, but they are as incomprehensible, simply and literally, as incomprehensible to him as though he were examining the cane script on the Rosetta stone. It is physiologically impossible for the mind of the Stalinist official to grasp what such letters represent. The "monolithic" unanimity prevailing in the Stalinist party is considered by its leaders as the normal state of a working class organization. It is a unanimity violently imposed from above, rigidly enforced by bureaucratic machinations which strangle the party and deteriorate all who breathe its poisonous atmosphere.

The Stalinist official has reached a point where it is simply inconceivable to him that any member shall have the right (or the temerity!) to express a view conflicting with the one that has the sacrosanction of the day. That among the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" there should be comrades, in the ranks and in the leading committees, who not only have differing views, or sharp criticisms to make, but who also feel themselves free to write them down on paper without fear that a bureaucratic axe will promptly descend upon their neck—that represents the kind of a normal world from which Bittelman and Co. have so long ago departed that it strikes them as unreal.

A Startling "Discovery"

We have disputes and differing views in our ranks! That's Bittelman's self-startling discovery. We say: thank god we have! So has every organization with two men in it, even the Stalinist party. The difference between us and the C.P. is that: In the C.L.A. these differences are freely put forward, developed, mutually criticized, discussed without fear of rude and disloyal punishments. Consequently a healthy and sound decision is arrived at. In the C.P., differences exist, but woe betide him who has differences with Stalin and his direct representative, Browder, who is responsible to and removable by nobody but the man who appointed him! Who knows this better than Bittelman himself? For what "deviation from the party line" was he compelled to do penance in Russian exile, deliberately removed from participation in the life and work in his own party? For what crime of lese majeste against Browder, to take another of many, many examples, was Weinstein kicked out of the party's political center and packed off to Detroit as district organizer—sent "to pick peaches in Georgia" as the cynical expression of American politics would put it? Why are the once members of the almighty Political Bureau—Minors, Hathaway, Foster, Bedacht—no longer members of it?

And in the course of the reply we wait from him, will Bittelman further enlighten us as to why the party's secret service is used not only to ferret out spies, but also to hunt down members whose revolutionary integrity is above question but who are suspected of meeting secretly with other comrades in a "faction"? Why is it that party members and party "leaders" who are dissatisfied with the Browder regime, are compelled to confine their views to handible whispers behind private walls and windows with shades pulled to the bottom—that is, when they dare even to whisper.

Why does the *Daily Worker* continue to pour sulphur and brimstone on the Lovestonites, while the party leadership meets secretly, without the knowledge of the membership, with representatives of the Lovestone group to discuss a very highly "principled" (no doubt!) renunciation?

One could go on endlessly with a wearisome piling up of facts, too well known to all, about the democracy that flourishes in the C.P. nowadays. But this will do for the moment, especially when contrasted with the procedure in the C.L.A.

Negotiations in Open

Our negotiations with the comrades representing the A.W.P. have not only been public (even to readers of the *Militant*) from the very beginning, but have been the subject of an extensive and intensive discussion in our ranks which has produced that firmness on the question which prevails throughout the League today. (Were Bittelman able to witness the warm, vigorous and intensive ideological and political internal life of our League, in contrast with the tomb-like "calm" and listlessness of the C.P. units about which the Stalinists themselves complain with some bewilderment, he would undoubtedly be shocked into an even greater incoherence than was produced in him by the purloined letters!) Our communications to the A.W.P., their replies, our mutual criticisms—all appeared in the columns of our press, where the working class public could read them and know what is going on. The views of our National Committee in favor of the speediest possible merger with the A.W.P. to found a new party on the principles of revolutionary Marxism, were communicated in detail to every single branch, many months ago, in the course of a tour by a N.C. representative who met with every comrade, who put forward the position of the leading committee, who invited and received the broadest discussion, and who ended up with the reminder that no comrade was called upon to commit himself as yet by vote on the fundamental question until he had had the greatest opportunity to reflect on the matter and to study all the documents involved. In our main branch, New York, direct oral reports on each step in the progress of the negotiations and discussions with the A.W.P. were periodically delivered by the National Committee, with every member having ample opportunity to present his view more than once. In addition, a complete thesis giving our fundamental view in favor of the immediate launching of a new, independent revolutionary party in

9 Negro Boys Need United Movement

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Which does not solve the major problems confronting every enemy of lynching. Here is a case which has widespread sympathy, and nowhere in the country, not even in Northern cities where there are large blocks of discontented Negro workers, are there organized masses ready to go into action on behalf of the victims marked out by Judge Lynch.

Last week the *Militant* suggested that only a new and broader defense movement could save the boys after the vicious blows dealt it by the I.L.D.'s erstwhile hero, Mr. Leibowitz.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this offer. In the first place, it comes not from the I.L.D. to the S.P., but from a local committee of one to a local committee of the other. This does not mean that the Stalinists are reverting for the moment to last year's theory of the "honest middle functionaries" of the "social-fascist" party? No. It merely means that they hope to use the S.P. in New York to stage a couple of big demonstrations without submitting to anybody else's examination or control the general conduct of the case now in the hands of the I.L.D.'s national office.

Another point of interest is that the I.L.D. does not issue a general call for a united front. In the old days it used to splash such a call in the *Daily Worker* and append to it a lot of acceptance from the W.R.L. Icar and whatnot. Now it simply sends a letter to the S.P. It wants an I.L.D.-S.P. united front, and nobody else allowed.

The reason is clear. More than in any other field at present, the I.L.D. does not want to face the Communist League. We alone, of all workers' organizations, called the turn on Leibowitz eighteen months before he showed his hand in all frankness; we alone criticized the I.L.D. for its smug association with this scoundrel. Little wonder that the I.L.D. wants a closed corporation for the Scottsboro defense!

If the I.L.D. is really serious, it will give up such monkeyshines, make room in the defense movement for every interested organization, share the control of the case through a joint committee, and make possible a real mass campaign for the Scottsboro boys. The C.L.A. will back such a movement to the limit.

agreement with the A.W.P. was sent to every member for the pre-convention period, and it has been the subject of thorough discussion in our ranks since that time. Our convention will finally express the freely arrived at decision of the membership, which elects its own delegates, Mr. Bittelman, for we have no Browder to appoint all the delegates as he did for the late, unlamented Cleveland convention of the C.P.

Bittelman is right on one point. It is these democratic methods that we shall "seek to install" in the new party. Bittelman, who has long ago lost the right, the ability, and finally the desire, to express an independent opinion in his party, and is consequently completely dumfounded to see one expressed elsewhere, is entitled to the kind of regime that prevails in his organization. Without envy or reservations, we grant it to him freely—all of it. We grant it to him even though the gift is not ours to present, because few men ever deserved it more richly.

Meanwhile, it is not fair to allow the Stalinists to nurture illusions which will produce nothing but disappointment. Their panic-stricken appeals to the "honest rank and file" of the two organizations are meeting with the ridicule they merit. They are not dealing with little infants who are easily frightened by bogeymen, or with deluded serfs. In both organizations, they are confronted with serious revolutionary workers, who have not jumped quickly at conclusions, but who have reflected earnestly and long and with open eyes and minds. If it is traps they are to avoid, they know that the traps are the ones represented by social reformism on one side and Stalinism on the other, traps in which the mangled bodies of the Chinese, German, Austrian and other workers have already been caught. They are ready to break with the Great Organizers of Defeats. Confident and sure-footed, armed with the invincible weapons of revolutionary Marxism, they are determined to build in this country the Great Organizer of Victory.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The regular October number of *Young Spartacus* is on the press. It will include the major draft resolutions for the national convention of the S.Y.L., articles on the current events here and abroad, a summary of the latest developments in the world youth movement (France, Spain, Belgium), articles on the Y.P.S.L. reprinted from the special New York issue as well as light educational features.

Industrial Union Move Checked by Right Wing

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form, the antiquated and outlived craft issues. In its direct sense this dispute represents the squabble of the officials for control of spoils. But beneath it is the more fundamental question of a movement as a whole getting into motion with the workers in this one section, who are hard hit by the protracted slump in the industry, pressing for a way out. The officials know no other way than the protection of craft interests, of one craft against another which they intensify as the pressure increases. The bricklayers, carpenters and electrical workers unions have for some time been outside of the Building Trades Department. They now insisted on remittance, but met the opposition from officials of the other building trades unions who hoped thereby the better to control award of jurisdictional claims for their specific crafts to certain kind of work which has been changed by new industrial processes.

Paraphrasing it may be remarked, that if and when any degree of recovery in the industry by a resumption of building should appear, it is certain to be under new and much further improved technical processes which will perhaps altogether wipe out the old craft basis and impose much more acute need for a change of union organization form also in this industry.

It is on this general background only of changes and regroupments that one can understand the divided positions of an ideologically united officialdom. John L. Lewis, the outright reactionary who made it his main task some time ago to drive out of the mining industry a couple of hundred thousand of coal miners for whom no jobs were available, who has lived high on enormous bribes paid by the operators for his keeping one section of miners at work while other sections were on strike, became the most ardent sponsor and spokesman for the industrial union move. Closely allied with him on this question was Howard, the president of the Typographical union, who has many times proved himself a most bitter foe of industrial unionism in the printing industry. Essentially, however, the adoption of the proposition is due to rank and file pressure. The new unions in the mass production industries have made this demand in no uncertain terms. Some progressive concessions had to be given to the growing working class militancy lest it would seek its own way out. But it should not be overlooked that many A. F. of L. officials favored the industrial union proposition in the hope that this would provide a better basis for peaceful relations, less strikes and more satisfactory bargaining possibilities of give-and-take when facing the powerful owners of the mass production industries.

Rogues Gallery of "Progressives"

Following upon the adoption of the industrial union resolution came the decision to enlarge the Executive Council from its former

thirteen members to eighteen. John L. Lewis, who had thundered from the platform that the industrial union question "had to do with the destiny and future success of the American labor movement" also sponsored the council measure. He insisted that the proposed change would signify a more militant organization policy and found support from Daniel Tobin, the head of the teamsters union, who had previously castigated the hundreds of thousands of new recruits in the A. F. of L. as "rubbish", and who condones a system in his union of officials putting through their elections for life. Tobin's reactionary attack upon the Minneapolis strike, upon the organization of local 574 and its leadership, is too well known to *Militant* readers to require any further comment.

William Hutchison, the president of the carpenters union, who could never be expected to agree to anything that would look like a more militant organization policy, supported this proposal of Lewis, apparently for the reason that the rival officials in control of the Building Trades Department opposed it. It may be a good guess that the same reason was responsible for Hutchison's support of resolution number 141. This resolution, which was adopted despite the organization committee's report of non-concurrence, calls for the expulsion of unions which do not comply with the demand for discontinuance of all discrimination against Negroes.

Adding Pitch to Black

Looking over the new additions to the Executive Council, which include Lewis, Hutchison, Tobin and Berry of the Pressmen Union, any illusions of a more militant organization policy emanating from this enlarged hierarchy should soon disappear. Every step in organization, the actual penetration of the mass production industries as well as the militant strikes, have all come into motion by the sweep of the rank and file workers recognizing the need for organization, ready to fight for it and literally tearing down all the barriers and obstacles put in their road by these reactionaries.

In the debate on the council enlargement measure none of the sponsors were the least backward about holding up the threat of a rebellious rank and file. That was the crux of all of the serious problems before the convention. The reluctant forward moves agreed to by the official family was entirely due to fears of this threat. The rank and file now in motion is miles ahead of their leaders who will take small steps and only by compulsion, sabotaging, cheating and betraying on the way. This rank and file in motion is the hope for the future. Powerful has been its effects already without any, or at least with very little and very scattered conscious direction and without a nationally organized left wing or progressive group. To create such a direction and to build such a group is now the most important task.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The Basis of the "Youth Problem"

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ing class, it has not a policy of its own, a special economy, etc., which would demand a formation of special youth organizations corresponding to the respective organizations of the whole class. To bring one section of the class in so sharp a contrast to the other, would be a peculiar syndicalism. The youth movement need not look for a parallel in all the adult labor organizations. The young communist leagues are by no means young communist parties. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS A SPECIAL FORM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, a school of communism, where the young proletariat is educated with the idea of being able to understand and PARTICIPATE IN ALL THE OTHER FORMS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. In this work the Young Communist League takes care to emphasize what are the tasks of the other forms of the labor movement which are nearest to, and most readily understood by the youth.

"For this reason the Young Communist League has taken up political and educational work as also the economic struggle. It participates in the activities of the parties and trade unions, Soviets and other labor organizations. This is what the militant school of communism stands for, what the young communist movement stands for."

The youth organization must be broad enough to draw into its ranks wide masses of young workers. One need not be a communist in order to become a member of a young communist organization. It is only necessary to accept the class struggle. To construct the theory that the youth organization is a highly political organization, necessitating the creation of "broad youth clubs" (as some comrades in the United States wish to do) is to misunderstand the youth question, and leads

directly to the tendency toward creating a "youth party". In reality there is no need to create special "Marxian Educational Clubs", as a bridge to the young communist organization. At best the separation is artificial; at its worst, it creates a decidedly false conception of the character of the youth organization. The youth organization is a BROAD one; it is a TRAINING GROUND! But while broad in the sense herein described, it is not a loose, amorphous body open to consciously hostile political elements among the youth. It must be so constructed as to permit in its ranks all types of working youth, making possible to train them for the Party. In this way the youth organization constantly supplies reserves for the Party.

Stretch-Out Okayed

(Continued from Page 1)

Sept. 21—there is no cause for great rejoicing. This order must be enforced, which means if the employers are willing there will be no further speed-up and if not—an investigation.

But our guess is that even George ("twist-the-facts") Sloan will not raise too much of a howl at this "order". The great surplus of textile goods in the stockrooms and warehouses will tend to make the mill owners favorably inclined to the order and the workers will not be "stretched-out" completely.

On February 1, 1935, when the order expires, the stocks-on-hand will probably be exhausted and the bosses will need a new order of stretch-out and speed-up. On this date the Board will "develop a sound method and adequate organization for work assignments. . . ."

If we can judge by present standards "sound methods" to any Roosevelt Board means the highest rate of profit for the bosses which in turn entails the greatest slavery for the workers.

The speed-up—if it depends on the bosses and their friend in the White House—is not coming to an end, but just beginning.



P. L. Bergoff, Rat Chieftain Brags of Scabbing in Press

"The profits of strike breaking have been large," says P. L. Bergoff, king of the scabs in the second of his signed articles on "I Break Strikes!" appearing in the New York Post.

"My biggest job was with the Erie Railroad in the shopmen's strike of 1920. . . . The Erie paid about \$2,000,000 for that job."

"Theodore Shonts, president of Interborough Rapid Transit Company . . . paid my organization over \$1,000,000 to break the 1916 subway strike. (The cost of which incidentally was met by the people of New York City in the form of taxes. —Ed.)"

"The Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company cheerfully paid us \$700,000 for our work during the 1920 strike. The City of New York claimed my services during two street-cleaners' strikes. The United States Government has used my services."

These and other startling revelations, Bergoff makes cheerfully and proudly. For social awareness, for appreciation of the realities of class struggle, for sound understanding of the social function of crime and racketeering in capitalist society, it is hard to improve upon this arch-scab, who was ever willing to "tell all" whenever he could get anyone to listen to him.

Now a respectable newspaper gives ear, and here is some of the dirt Bergoff spills:

On every big job there are musclemen to take in the side graces, such as the chap that takes care of the dining room service, and another who takes care of the kitchen."

"Another man sets up his little tobacco and cigarette stand on the premises. He practically has a monopoly, for the men's movements while on strike duty are limited. If he gets a chance to peddle a little booze on the side, he does that too."

The big boss in every racket has to permit his lieutenants their special rackets. That is axiomatic in gangster circles. Accordingly, it is no surprise to find Bergoff viewing mildly these minor deviations from the main minor business of his "profession."

The main business, however, is clearly indicated in the Bergoff memoirs. His agency does not merely supply scabs to fill the place of the strike breakers, but primarily thugs to murder the strikers.

"Most of the strikebreakers are soldiers of fortune. They don't really want to work in most cases. What they want is excitement and

easy money. . . . Frequently we have to equip our guards with weapons of defense and offense. Our activities in this connection today must be treated as a 'trade secret'."

"In the old days we maintained an arsenal. We had 2,500 rifles with plenty of ammunition. A couple of thousand nightsticks and clubs were always at hand. . . . Today we keep pace with modern requirements."

"Keeping pace with modern requirements" refers to tear gas and sub-machine guns.

Bergoff is highly indignant at Governor Talmadge, who "hampered his work" (i.e. cut in on his racket) by sending out the National Guard in the recent textile strike. "Our men were sent at the request of W. D. Anderson of the Bibb Manufacturing Company," Bergoff complains, with a great air of injured pride. "He said he preferred one of our men to ten of the National Guard."

Out of all these revelations, emerge certain facts of interest and usefulness to the working class. One need not trouble long to discover the reason why Bergoff spills the beans. He is not altogether the big shot he pretends to be. There are serious competitors, including the National Guard. Bergoff can stand a little advertisement.

But the main point with which we are concerned are these:

In the first place, against the natural solidarity of the working class it is necessary to maintain a private army recruited from the lumpen proletariat—not to fill the places of strikers (which they can never do) but to terrorize them by gangster methods. And despite Bergoff's boasts, these rats are inadequate. Hence, the National Guard.

Again, this mobile body of strikebreakers operates to weaken the morale of the workers by giving the superficial appearance that their jobs can be easily filled. These scabs are unfit as workers; they can never man the machines, but they enable the boss to print statements, which the newspapers seize upon eagerly, to the effect that the wages of the strikers are 80 per cent, or 80 per cent or 90 per cent filled. These thugs are the workers we hear about, to protect whom, it is necessary to call out the police force, the army and navy.

Thirdly, the Bergoffs and their slimy army of scoundrels and cutthroats are as essential to the operation of industry for the capitalists as are the top-hatted boards of directors.

What is Happening In the C.P.

militant will print startling documents and material

Beginning with its next issue, the MILITANT will begin the publication of a series of articles, documents and other material on what is going on behind the scenes of the Communist Party of the United States, which are sure to arouse the keenest interest and discussion in the entire radical movement.

The series is of a nature that concerns not only the members of the Communist party but deals with questions that are of importance to every active worker in the labor and revolutionary movements of the country. The documents and material which will be printed either in whole or in part have been carefully concealed from the membership of the C. P. up to now, so as to keep them in the dark about the real status of the problems and tasks confronting them and the actual conditions of the internal regime existing in their party.

The MILITANT is in a position to guarantee fully the authenticity of the material it now has on hand. It has been received by us from a quarter absolutely trustworthy, and whose reliability is further confirmed by the contents of the documents themselves.

Do you remember the notorious "Japanese campaign" of the Communist party, whose central slogan—"Drive out the Japanese ambassador!"—created such a scandal in the revolutionary movement? What were the circumstances in which this campaign was conceived? To what extent were our criticisms at that time justified? What did the Executive Committee of the Communist International have to say about it after? Our first installment next week will present the truth about this campaign for the first time.

Do you remember the "bonus march" to Washington? What were the disputes inside the Communist party on this issue? What did the Communist International have to say about THAT question? You will get the answer in the columns of the MILITANT.

What is going on in the ranks of the upper circles, the "top" leadership of the Communist party? What are the intrigues and chicanery by which "leaders" are made and unmade? by which once "prominent" figures suddenly vanish from the political arena? by which General Secretaries are manufactured? by which critics and potential critics are "liquidated"?

How is a C. P. convention actually organized nowadays by the Stalinist bureaucracy? Does the membership really elect the delegates—or are they carefully scrutinized in advance and appointed from above? Is workers' democracy in the C. P. a reality or a fiction?

What is the truth about the terrific fluctuation in membership in the Communist party?

What is the cause for the terrific turn-about-face in the trade union field? Just how far has it gone and how far is it still to go? Do the Stalinists intend to "liquidate" all the T.U.U.L. and independent unions? How? Why?

These are the questions which the MILITANT will answer in a thorough and conclusive manner, with unchallengeable documents to back up the replies. Follow the coming issues closely; don't miss a copy. Order an extra bundle of papers for widespread distribution among all militant workers.

BULLETIN

As we go to press news arrives from Spain.

This is the first authentic information about our organization, smuggled out of that terror-stricken country has been received at our headquarters in New York.

The communication contains the shocking report that most of our comrades of the Madrid section of the Communist Left were overpowered at the army where they had congregated in response to the revolutionary need of the moment.

Comrade Ferson, one of the leaders of the organization, has been arrested and incarcerated. He faces court martial, charged with high treason.

At this writing the whereabouts of comrade Nin and other outstanding members is still unknown.

The author of the communication is greatly apprehensive as to the fate that might befall these comrades.

BOOST NEW PARTY FUND!

With the publication of the draft programmatic statement appearing below, the new party—the Workers Party of the United States—is about to become a reality. We submit the draft to our readers to enable them to become acquainted with the basic position upon which the new party will be launched.

A new and a great forward step will be recorded. The working class movement, torn by dissension and splits, betrayed again and again in severe struggles, will be able to look forward to the beacon light of the new party. But it will not represent just another working class party. The most outstanding fact in its emergence is that it represents the unification of two groups, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. Unity on a principled revolutionary program designed to extend beyond the borders of this country in the effort to also lay the foundation for the new International, that is what is about to be accomplished.

In view of this great objective, being so near its realization we address an urgent appeal to all those

ready to give the final support necessary. We address it to our League branches, to our friends and sympathizers, including every reader of the MILITANT. Our appeal is for immediate help in that final push which will bring us to the immediate goal—the new party. We are turning this remaining period before its launching into a campaign to build and solidify its foundation. We need your active support, and for that we need funds. We want to strengthen the League to become a stronger factor in the new party; but we must also have the means required to do it.

At this moment one way of expressing your support is in United States currency. Help us raise a new party fund. "New Party Certificates" in the amounts of five dollars and one dollar have been issued. Buy them and sell them. Send in your contribution for a certificate, whichever you can afford; but do it without delay. Become an active participant in the campaign to build a new party, the United States. We expect to hear from you right away.

Silk Industry Tied up as Strike of 25,000 Dyers Involves Eastern Cities

Roosevelt Is Applauded By Bankers

Higher Wages and Union Shop Are Issues of Walkout

President Roosevelt in his latest address to the bankers was greeted by them with a thundering ovation.

After listening to his explanation of what the New Deal really means, they decided rapturously that they were all for him, and it. Jackson E. Reynolds, Morgan agent, and president of the First National Bank of New York City, almost literally fell on knees before President Roosevelt, and begged forgiveness for the "misunderstanding" that had kept the bankers aloof from the present administration.

"It is now in such a chastened and understanding mood," said Reynolds, "that you can accept with hospitality any overture of co-operation on the part of the leaders of the (banking) fraternity."

Does this mean that the bankers are now prepared to renounce their former sins, and to sacrifice their private interests for the benefit of the NRA and the ingenious remedies of the Brain Trust?

Now, now, Oswald! Do you want us to send you back to kindergarten? What then has caused the change in heart? One needs only to read President Roosevelt's speech to find the clue.

President Roosevelt guarantees no Government interference with the swindling operations of the money-changers, against which he spoke so eloquently when he was first elected. He reminded them of all that he had done for "them," towards bolstering up their crumbling concerns, towards guaranteeing them payment on their bad loans, towards "restoring public confidence" in them at a time when their reputation was unsavory, to say the least. And he delicately hinted that he would do as much or more for them in the future.

The benefit of this juggling to the Government is an artificial relieving of the strain on the budget, caused not by relief expenditures, but by direct loans to industry.

As we go to press, the strike of 25,000 silk and rayon dress dyers in North Jersey and New York City seems definitely on. The strike was scheduled for Thursday night at midnight.

Needless to say, any attempts at stalling the strike, or marking time by further negotiations with the manufacturers, would have been nothing less than a complete sellout of the workers. There was never a time more favorable for the strike than now, at the opening of the busy season.

The bosses themselves have demonstrated this by their panicky efforts at compromise. They have offered to extend the present contract with the union for another six months, and have offered verbal concessions.

But the shifty nature of this truce offer is at once apparent when one realizes that in six months the busy season will be at an end, and the bosses in a position to clamp down.

Workers Want to Fight

The militancy of the workers, however, makes it practically impossible for the bosses or misleaders of labor to stall for time. Flushed with their success in raising the wage scale from 17 to 25 cents an hour, for a 40-hour week, the union members are now prepared to press their demands to the utmost, calling for a fight to the finish.

The chief issue is union recognition. The workers want fewer honeyed words, and more concrete recognition. They demand the closed shop.

On the matter of wages, they demand a 30-hour week, at a minimum wage of \$1 per hour. Under the old contract, wages have averaged \$13 per week during the year.

The strike call has been fed to the locals of the Dyers' Federation in Paterson, Lodi, Garfield, East Paterson, Union County, New York City and Pennsylvania.

Grounds for Victory

Conditions for the success of the strike are unusually favorable. The union is well organized, and the membership is composed of militant union fighters, with past successes to hearten them. This plus the fact of large shops, permitting concentration of picketing and the further fact of the busy season should, if the strike is at all properly directed, lead to victory.

A mass meeting, to rally militant workers in support of the strike, has been called in Paterson this Sunday, at Oakley Hall, 211 Market Street, at 8 P.M. It will be addressed by Hugo Oehler, of the Communist League of America, and by A. J. Muste of the American Workers Party.

Meanwhile, the New Jersey authorities, in cooperation with the bosses, are laying plans to crush the strike by the use of armed thugs and police bullets. Vactions and days off for policemen have been cancelled by Police Chief John Murphy, and "adequate protection" has been promised all scabs.

Attempts of the Department of Labor Conciliator to bring about a "truce" settlement, similar to the one in the textile strike, failed when the union officer flatly refused to consider the "terms" of the Institute of Dyers and Printers, the boss organization, and announced that they would meet no more with the manufacturers until the stoppage of work was complete.

With the calling of the silk strike, with numerous textile locals in open revolt against the sell out by Francis P. Gorman, with many weavers already on strike, and more coming out each day, the President's truce in the textile industry seems doomed to a grand flop.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Due to the publication of the programmatic declaration for the new party we were obliged to omit many articles of importance and interest. Among them is a splendid analysis by one of the former leaders of the German Communist party, Erich Wollenberg, who writes on "Has the Comintern Learned?" An excellent article on the "Vigilante Raids in Minneapolis" etc.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(The document below is the first draft of the Joint programmatic statement issued by the Negotiating Committees of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. It is submitted to the membership of the League for discussion and for final ratification at the convention.—Ed.)

(Prepared by Joint A.W.P.-C.L.A. Committee)

Foreword

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following program to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A. Capitalism, everywhere in decline or complete collapse, subjects the masses today to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. In this critical hour the Socialist and the Communist Party, the Second and Third International, have proved utterly unfit to protect the workers from attack, much less to lead them to victory against their oppressors and to a new world order. We urge all revolutionary workers and groups to join with us, therefore, in building the New Party and the New International.

(The workers of the world press on, in spite of all obstacles and defeats, to the final victory. Following the sufferings of the Great War and the betrayal of the masses by the Second International in that war, the standard of revolutionary Marxism was raised again, resulting in the victory of the Russian workers and peasants and the revolutionary upsurge of the masses in many other lands under the leadership and inspiration of the Party and the International of Lenin. Following the onslaughts of Fascism and reaction in Germany, Italy, the United States and other lands and the betrayal of the workers under that onslaught by the Second and the Third Internationals, comes renewed struggle, hope and victory under the leadership and inspiration of the New Party and the New International.)

Program

DECLINE AND COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

The present world crisis marks much more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. The mighty mechanism of capitalist society is crumbling in the sight of all. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking cheap raw materials, profitable markets for the goods which their own populations could not purchase, and new profits for the invested capital, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist phase of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the powers are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working-class for its own emancipation.

FASCISM

Under the domination of finance capitalism, Fascism succeeds in mobilizing on a reactionary basis the discontented and desperate middle class elements, when the working class party betrays its revolutionary character and relinquishes its leadership of the masses against the capitalist dictatorship.

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, sought to free men from tyranny and repression, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. Today the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the dispossessed majority and presently plunging them into war. This the masses would not tolerate if they retained any freedom to assert their will. Consequently in its decline capitalism resorts to Fascism. All democratic rights are violated, all forms of democracy, freedom of thought, speech, press and assembly, abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated in the name of "harmony and the general welfare." Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionists but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Since these outrages would be resisted and those who perpetrate them swiftly destroyed if all the groups in the population which suffer under the present system stood together under the banner of the revolutionary working class and its party, Fascism sows division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations

back into barbarism and savagery.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. The pillars of its vast power rest on the soil of Latin America, of Europe, of Asia. In the very nature of its power, there ore, lie those irrepressible conflicts and convulsions that herald its collapse. It cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. This circumstance relentlessly sharpens the antagonisms with which the further existence of the reactionary American colossus is confronted.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

U. S. capitalism is in rapid decline. The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. Despite its democratic postulations the Roosevelt administration is carrying out measures likely to facilitate the growth of a Fascist movement, if that should suit the interests of the capitalist class and fail to meet with effective opposition. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machinery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument of dissatisfied sections of the population at home and as an agency of American imperialist interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

Today there is only one alternative to capitalism and Fascism, to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, war, and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. The alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist,

i.e., a truly civilized, society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position and the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state, belongs to the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. The fundamental solution even for the immediate problems of the workers is much more obviously than in the case of any other group, the final solution. The only way in which they can be assured work, security, and a decent living, is to have the shops run to serve the needs of society and not to make a profit for private individuals and corporations.

While the leading position in the struggle for a new social order is occupied by the working class, it cannot achieve a victory without the assistance of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. The cruelly tormented Negroes, the debt-ridden farmers, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. The liberation of one is inconceivable without the liberation of all. It is only in the socialist revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population—the agricultural laborers, share croppers, farmers, professionals, technicians, small traders, the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups—can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny. Victory against the common oppressors will crown their united struggle.

THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom and democracy can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which the members of society live, are outside the control of society as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

It is not altogether out of place in a column headed Reviewing the News to say something about the movies. As disseminators of bourgeois opinion and ideology they stand second to none. Their approach is more disarming than is the approach of the press.

They boldly proclaim their intentions to be merely that of entertainment. Are some of these cinematic entertainments occasionally nothing but vicious pieces of ruling class propaganda? Propaganda? Nay, comes the deafening roar from the concerted throats of all the Hollywood moguls. But propaganda, nevertheless, a good deal of the films we witness daily are. Then are we against the use of the cinema as an instrument of propaganda? No. We are not against the instrument—we are against the propaganda.

Recently there was released a picture titled "Our Daily Bread". This picture was preceded with a lot of publicity as a departure from the usual run of Hollywood goo, as an independent venture, as a revolutionary document, etc. etc. And to top it all the scenario was written and directed by none other than King Vidor, a staunch cultural friend of American Stalinism. We waited impatiently for the picture to be shown. Finally on the second day of its run, unable to contain ourselves for another day, we bumbled two bits from the editor, rushed down to the Rialto theatre, bought a ticket, entered and sat back, prepared for a spine-tingling experience. . . . But . . . "Our Daily Bread" is the most obnoxious piece of fascist, semi-fascist or near fascist effusions that has been disgorged by the motion picture behemoth to date.

There have certainly been other reactionary films, less concealed in their intentions, cruder and hence less impressive. But this film, because of its subtlety, because of its unquestionable appeal to the more reactionary instincts of the impoverished middle class and because of its really dynamic finish will accomplish more for the Huey Long of this country than any of its cruder competitors.

The picture deals with a group of unemployed workers, an impoverished farmer and professionalless professionals setting up a cooperative farm in an effort to prove the director's thesis that the way out for the unemployed is the back-to-the-land movement. In his effort to prove this thesis, Mr. Vidor has thrown together a farmer, a bricklayer, a mason, a shoemaker, a clerk, a musician, a tailor, an ex-convict and a sort of species of Mae West (for a little sexual zest). Since the sex appeal is so crudely, baldly and even from a Hollywood point of view cheaply and unintelligently interpolated, we shall dismiss it now and forget it.

The cooperative gets organized by all pooling their resources and by the hero of the piece, the young husband of the couple who started the venture, making a speech for cooperation and for all pitching in and thus ridding themselves forever with the menace of landlords asking for rent and of grocers and butchers who refuse to extend that credit just a little longer. After the various poets in the cooperative are allotted, someone demands to know what kind of government shall prevail on the little commonwealth. Someone shouts back—A Democracy. This is met with jeering and the comment "It's that what got us here." Then someone suggests that the government should be a Socialistic one. This is met with a brooding rumbling of dissent. Then the farmer of the group speaks up and declares that since it was the young husband who organized the group he should be the boss—the boss of the cooperative farm. This proclamation is cheered to the echo.

The fascist ideology in this can be noted by any keen observer. It only has to be recognized and grasped by the vast impoverished middle class of this country to make this picture the most effective stump speech for fascism yet undertaken. Back-to-the-land—one-man-rule—mockery of democracy, these are the stock in trade of the fascist here, there and everywhere. True, the picture has a magnificent ending. The last ten minutes of the picture stand up well with the finest products of the Soviet cinema industry. The dramatizing of the construction of an irrigation ditch to save the corn crop smitten by drought is stirring and effective. But, Hitler, too, told the German movie producers that they should model themselves on the Russian rather than on the Hollywood style. It is much more effective for propaganda, for convincing people. And King Vidor has learned that, too. Taking advantage of the Soviet form and technique he has stuffed it with a reactionary content. Its artistic superiority to the brazen Hollywood products will unquestionably disarm many as to the true viciousness of the film.

—GLEE.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

FALL FESTIVAL

IRVING PLAZA
(15th St. & Irving Place)
Saturday, October 27, at 8 P.M.
Dancing : Refreshments : Prizes :
Entertainment :
MAX SHACHTMAN
Master of Ceremonies
Admission 25c 35c at door

LECTURE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Where Is It Going? The Issue of Industrial Unionism.
Speaker:
ARNE SWABECK
Sunday, October 28 at 8 P.M.
Stayvassant Casino
2nd Avenue and 9th Street

NEW YORK ELECTION RALLY
Speakers and other details will be announced in next issue.
SUNDAY, NOV. 4, at 8 P.M.
Irving Plaza
(Irving Place and 15th St.)

BRONX LECTURE Reform of the Second or Fourth International?

Speaker:
ARNE SWABECK
Friday, Oct. 26, at 8 P.M.
1739 Boston Road
Auspices: Bronx Branch, C.I.A.

—PHILADELPHIA— INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FORUM

431 Pine Street
Sunday Evenings at 8:15 P.M.
October to May 1934-35.
Oct. 28—Lecture: "Civil Liberties
In the Class Struggle"
JOHN V. STANGER, Phila. Sec.
Penna. Civil Liberties Union.
Nov. 4—18th Anniversary Celebration
of the Russian Revolution—

THE MILITANT

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Teachers Attacked By Ives Bill

At the special session of the New York State Legislature last July the forces of reaction and the professional patrioters scored a victory by securing the passage of the Ives Bill which requires that all public and private elementary, high school or university teachers take an oath of loyalty, pledging themselves to uphold the government and constitution of the United States and of the state of New York. They must also pledge to faithfully carry out all duties assigned to them as teachers. The bill was signed by Governor Lehman without affording the teachers a public hearing and over the protest of the Teachers Union.

The passage of the Ives law was the opening shot in a new campaign against the schools and the teachers. In a letter to the Board of Examiners which has charge of the examinations for teachers' licenses, George F. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, said: "Let us close the door now against anyone who may seek a teaching position for the purpose of teaching American children un-American or subversive doctrines. Let us have no one whose professed zeal for academic freedom is merely a high-sounding excuse to make an attack on American ideals. . . . Let us have no more ill-mannered people such as those the Board of Education was forced to dismiss for conduct unbecoming a teacher." The last sentence refers to two teachers who were dismissed because they protested the dismissal of a third teacher, without his having been given an opportunity to defend himself at a public hearing.

New Espionage System
The Board of Examiners replied to this letter. They announced the institution of a system of regulations for candidates for teaching positions which in effect introduces an espionage system reaching back into their college records and which resembles the system in vogue under the Lusk laws. It also suggests that supervisors in the schools help the Board of Education to weed out the progressive teachers who are now teaching by introducing a similar spy system. These measures are not isolated phenomena but are directly related

to the attacks on education and teachers which have been going on since 1930. For years this attack has assumed different forms.

Since 1928 no new teachers have been appointed in the elementary schools, and until recently none were appointed in the high schools. The building of new schools has also been suspended, and the Board of Education has discharged almost its entire staff of architects and engineers. The result has been the children have been crowded into classes ranging up to sixty to a class in many instances and making effective teaching of even bare essentials impossible.

It has also created an army of unemployed teachers fully prepared to teach, even licensed, but denied that opportunity. Thousands of other candidates have been failed by the Board of Examiners in previous examinations and denied even a license.

The Economy Knife

The educational authorities backed by large propertied interests, not content with these economic measures, also proceeded to attack teachers' salaries. First they imposed an involuntary contribution to finance lunches and clothing for the children of the unemployed in order to avoid taxation upon the propertied interests for their unemployed relief. On top of this they put through a salary cut in 1932 and in 1933 a month's payless furlough. In addition full pay when on sick leave, in force for decades, was cut in half and based on the salary schedule in force before the cut. The latest attack has come in the form of a proposal from the state of education to abolish life tenure of teachers and to substitute for it a system which in effect would make permanent probationers of teachers.

As these measures were enacted they aroused the protests of teachers and progressive forces. The Board of Education replied by persecuting militant elements and by the enactment of measures to silence teachers and lay the basis for future wage cuts or retrenchment policies. One of the measures is the Ives law. The second major measure is the proposed abolition of tenure which would make it possible to dismiss teachers on any pretext and hire substitutes at a lower salary scale.

Modern Lusk Laws

The present attacks resemble the situation that existed during the reactionary wave of 1919-23 when both the labor movement and the teachers were attacked. In this period there also occurred a strike wave followed by a wave of unemployment. To offset this unrest the capitalist press created a red scare, which resulted in the Palmer raids and the Lusk investigation. In 1919 the Union League Club, a reactionary Republican organization, initiated and obtained the appointment of the Lusk investigation and its representative in Albany, Archibald Stevenson, became the chief counsel for the investigating committee. The committee not only spied on such organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the I.L.G.W.U., but raided the offices of workers' political parties, schools, press, fraternal and cultural institutions. Gitlow, Larkin, Ithenberg, Winternsky, and two editors of a Finnish workers' paper were sentenced to long prison terms on the charge of violating a criminal anarchy law passed after the McKinley assassination but which had never been used before by the state authorities. Five duly elected Socialist party assemblymen were expelled from the New York State legislature for disloyalty. New York teachers too were included in this infamous investigation and suffered dismissals and persecution.

The Lusk investigation resulted in the passage of the Lusk laws, one of which provided for the dismissal of any teacher who advocated a form of government other than the present government. It required every teacher to take an oath of loyalty to uphold the Constitution. In order to carry out the provisions of the law (with a vengeance) the state department of education set up an Advisory Council headed by the same Stevenson to investigate all suspected teachers in secret star-chamber proceedings. Principals and supervisors were required to draw up lists of teachers whose loyalty and morality they were certain and lists of those of whose morality and loyalty they were uncertain. The latter were investigated by the Advisory Council.

There is a marked resemblance between the Lusk laws and the Ives law and the measures proposed by Dr. Ryan and the Board of Examiners. The latter are a second edition of the former. The Ives law can, and will be used as a club to smash the tenure rights of mili-

tant and progressive teachers. It will also be used to attack those teachers who espouse the cause of the labor movement.

Humble Slaves Not Teachers

Under the cover of such slogans as loyalty, patriotism, allegiance and good manners the plutocracy in New York State proposes to dismiss courageous, progressive teachers. As for the more timid—they seek to terrorize into silence and passivity. What the Ives, the Ryans, the Luskers of 1934, desire is a corps of timid, frightened, chicken-hearted teachers of the Sunday school variety who are loyal to capitalism and who will glorify imperialist wars.

They want teachers who will tell the children of the workers that the plutocracy has gained its swollen millions by unrelenting "toil and thrift". And that if their parents are poor it is due to their own thriftlessness, laziness and lack of inherited ability and intelligence. They want teachers that will glorify the open shop, the company union and the scab; that will denounce attempts of workers to organize as un-American. In other words, the plutocracy seeks, through its control of the schools, to poison the minds of the children against their own interests, the interests of their working class fathers and mothers.

Ives Bill Attacks Labor

The Ives Bill and the campaign now inaugurated thus becomes in reality an attack on the entire labor movement, not only a blow against the teachers. The labor movement should take up the campaign for the repeal of the Ives Bill as part of its fight against reaction, Fascism and company unionism. This campaign has already been started by the Teachers Union and has been taken up by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The New Leader, organ of the Socialist Party, in an article entitled Civil Rights of Teachers Unimpaired by the Ives Bill, Sept. 22, instead of sounding an alarm and calling on them to fight cites legal opinion to show that the bill does not impair the teachers' right to vote the Socialist party ticket! In taking this reformist, dangerous and sectarian attitude the New Leader "forgets" that during the Lusk hysteria five Socialist assemblymen, all duly elected according to legal-constitutional procedure, were thrown out of the New York State Legislature on the ground of disloyalty. It also "forgets" the raid on the very legal Rand School during the same period.

—L. BROWN.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Hunger Strike of Workers

In the "advanced" countries the hunger strike is a weapon used by workers only when they are horribly mistreated as prisoners in jail. The starvation strike of the twelve hundred Hungarian miners at Peca, resorted to in utter desperation to call the world's attention to their unbearable misery, is not merely a symbol of the low level of organization of the working class of Hungary, but also a warning to the industrial proletariat of the entire world of the unutterable depths to which they can sink if they permit their organizations to be crushed under the iron heel of brutal capitalism or fascism. The Hungarian miners are indeed prisoners held in the chains of capitalism. The entire level of existence of these miners threatens to become the normal level for the world's working class unless they learn the lessons of the October Revolution, the need for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the Orient, in Japan and China, the workers have also practiced the feudal custom of suicide strikes to force concessions; time and again the frightfully exploited girl textile workers (and the men too) have shut themselves up in the factories and threatened hara kiri if they were not granted relief. But these methods are slowly giving way to the militant action of an organized working class, more conscious of its ultimate goal. The strike of the miners must not only evoke the profoundest sympathy of every worker, but it must steel our determination to bring about a united working class struggling militantly for revolutionary aims.

Unity of the Working Class.

The series of black defeats of the world proletariat in one country after the other drives the class conscious workers to feel the urgent need for unity of the working class in its struggle against the further advance of reaction. Those workers who are unaware of the history of the Communist movement over the period of the last decade and more, uncritically demand such unity at all costs. They do not realize even now the need for something more than the mere cry for unity, the need for a program and a revolutionary strategy that, with the hegemony of a firm revolutionary party, alone can assure victory and not defeat in the struggle.

Nor is it possible to revive that utterly decayed corpse, the Comintern, and expect it to transform itself once again into the revolutionary instrument forged by Lenin and Trotsky. After its fresh crime of utter disregard of the needs of the Spanish Revolution, at the very moment the Spanish workers are suffering defeat, bloody defeat, at the hands of the fascists, the Comintern issues an appeal for a united front to aid the Spaniards,—the appeal that should have gone out years ago. Literally years ago! Whether this appeal made by one organizer of defeats, the Third International, to the other organizer of defeats the Second, will lead slowly or more rapidly to a proposal for organic unity on a world scale is as yet merely a matter of conjecture. In view of the converging interests of the two bureaucratic of these defunct international, it is not altogether impossible that such a move may ultimately be made. A move of this nature consummated as a deal between them, ignoring as it unquestionably would if the revolutionary workers permitted it, the real needs of the struggle in the various countries free from the stranglehold of fascism, would only lead to new defeats. But such a move would aid in the release of entirely new forces by bringing to clear the road of what have become two great obstacles for the workers of the world. That clearing of the road, indicative of the need for the Fourth International and new parties in every country could be utilized by the Marxists to bring about an entirely new orientation of the workers' movement everywhere.

A Sign of the Times

The bookshop of the Communist Party in Minneapolis was raided by elements undoubtedly of fascist nature, all the books removed and burned. This was done at night and a warning for Communists to get out of town was left behind. Without the slightest hesitation we can be sure that in the background, supporting this beginning of a struggle that may at any moment take on a bloody character, are the forces of finance capital, the Citizens' Alliance, controlled by the banks and aroused to frenzy by the militant struggle of Truckdrivers' Local 574. There is only one answer to these early provocative acts that tomorrow will take on a fiercer aspect,—the organizing of a united front of all workers' organizations immediately, without delay, for defence against fascist attacks, the organizing by each organization of Workers' Guards to be placed at the disposal of the united front.

—JACK WEBER.

Some Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work Youth - Adult Relations

By ALBERT GLOTZER

In the social democratic movement the youth organization is more like an orphan child. The parties dominate the youth organizations with an iron hand. And so it was ever since the birth of the youth movement in 1907. The bureaucracy of the 2nd International always feared that the youth might get out of their hands. As a corollary to their political program they endeavored to create a youth organization on a purely cultural basis, lacking connection with the class struggle. The Party controlled the youth organizations not only politically, but also in a technical selection of its officers, never permitting the youth organization the slightest initiative. Only in the more recent years has this changed in some respects. The youth organizations have assumed a greater independence, upsetting in a measure, the former relationships. This is due more to the pressure of the youth within the adult organization. The Young Communist International began with a more or less proper relationship, which changed for the worse with the victory of Stalinism. The Y.C.I. became transformed into a factional instrument in the struggle against "Trotskyism", which occupied the greater part of its time.

The youth organization is politically dependent upon the party, but is organizationally autonomous, within the limits defined by the political relationship. That is, it particularly retains independence in fields of work that are carried out largely by the youth members

and organization. This is how the question was regarded some thirty years ago. While the Party lays down the main political tasks of the working class as a whole, the youth organization applies them to its own particular problems. The youth must not be an "object of education" by the Party. Nor themselves, than because of any fundamental change of opinion should the youth organization be placed in a "second category". The Party must patiently permit the youth to work out its own problems, even allowing mistakes to be made (providing these are not of a major political character) in order thereby to enhance the initiative of the youth. The exacting character of the Party and the demands it makes of its membership cannot be applied with the same rigidity to the youth.

It is absolutely necessary that an exchange of representation takes place in all fields of activities and on all major committees between the party and the youth organization. This would assist greatly the political relationship outlined above. It would demonstrate to the youth that the party is really interested in the promotion of the youth organization and would serve as a means of educating youth cadres, to perfect their communist training. Naturally, all of this is dependent on the correctness of the policies of the Party. If Party policy is correct the youth organization will reflect it at once in growth and influence. Contrariwise, if the Party policy is false

in its theory and practice, the youth organization will also mirror it. The growth and decline of the Young Communist League (the true inheritor of the Stuttgart Conference of 1907) is a glaring proof of this contention.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE OF THE YOUNG WORKERS

In his report on this question at Stuttgart in 1907, Alpari dealt primarily with the conditions and struggle of the apprentices. The system of apprenticeship was then fairly prevalent in the European countries. In the United States there never was a really acute apprenticeship problem and at the present time it does not even exist. Without a complete knowledge of the European situation, it appears, however, that the problem has lost its former significance, there also.

For the United States, distinct economic problems of the youth, separate from those of the adult workers, do not exist. Here, in the main, the youth and adult workers labor under the same industrial conditions, an equal number of hours, and the same wages. The mistake of Stalinism is that it artificially attempts to raise special youth demands in the factories. Yet they fail to raise properly those youth demands that have validity and strength. For example, if the youth workers do not differ essentially from the adult workers from the point of view of the rate of exploitation, this does not invalidate putting forth such demands as: less hours for youth labor, paid vacations of one month in each year, creation of special educational facilities for the working youth, labor etc. Instead, they raise a slogan of: equal pay for equal work. Such a slogan has no real existence in fact. In the field of shop nuclei organization, after a great deal of experimentation, the net result is a series of errors. These errors in method and application do not, however, invalidate the basic correctness of the shop the revolutionary party of the working class—a problem yet to be solved adequately by our movement.

In the United States particularly, nucleus form of organization for there was always a policy to create special youth shop nuclei, where the problem was that of the creation of one shop nucleus under the leadership of the Party, in which the youth engages and raises youth demands along with the general demands of the nucleus. Even where the young workers predominate, the task of the shop nucleus is to struggle for the interests of the class as a whole (because under these conditions it represents the class and not any special section of it) rather than to narrow the nucleus to represent only the youth. Everything that has happened in recent years in this respect was a result of a revision of the early

programmatic concepts of the Y.C.I. which on this question declared: "The Y.C.I. formulates and represents the economic demands of the working youth where these exist in the broad masses of the young workers as also in the working class, and in respect to their organization. The trade unions and the Communist party draw up these demands and fight for them in the struggle against capital and state authority. The Y.C.I. consolidates the masses of working youth and leads them into the economic struggle, whilst representing their interests within the proletarian world, but the trade unions and the Communist party are directly concerned in the carrying on of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It would only be on special occasions such as when big movements occur among the masses and when there is active support from the C.P. that the Y.C.I. would then be able to successfully carry on a fight for an economic demand without the support of, or even in face of opposition from the trade unions. In all its struggles it must attempt to get the support of the trade unions.

"A SPECIAL ECONOMIC FIGHT ON THE PART OF THE YOUTH IS NOT ONLY COMPLETELY WITHOUT PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS BUT ALSO A DANGEROUS ILLUSION; IT DOES NOT EXIST. Therefore the trade unions must also be the organizations that conduct the economic struggle of the working youth. It is absolutely unnecessary to have a special organization of the youth because it would only tend to assist the endeavors of the bourgeoisie to set youth against age within the working class."

This follows from the principle that the working class organizations as a whole are also the organizations of the working youth in their economic fight. The youth league must agitate and activate itself in the trade unions; it must constantly raise valid YOUTH demands and seek to obtain their support in all movements of the working class, never separating the youth from the adult workers and always striving to create unity of the class as a whole. With this conception we can begin to concretize the work of the revolutionary youth organization in this field, bearing in mind that the youth organization is neither a political party nor a trade union.

There has developed a new problem with which the revolutionary youth organization must seriously concern itself. It is the problem of the mass of unemployed youth, a large majority of them having left the elementary and secondary schools, NEVER PARTICIPATED IN THE FIELD OF PRODUCTION WITH THE LIKELIHOOD THAT A GREAT PORTION OF THESE WILL NEVER WORK IN INDUSTRY. The danger of degeneration and reaction effective this group is a serious one. It is incumbent upon the revolutionary movement as a whole and especially the youth organization, to carry out such an activity as will bring this large grouping to the side of the proletariat and prevent the forces of Fascism from gaining their support.

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QUESTION BOX

ABRAHAM Z. BROOKLYN—

Question: In view of the fact that Lenin recognized that Industrial Unionism as formulated by the American socialist, Daniel De Leon, would supply the basic form of the Socialist Republic and that ultimately the labor unions of Russia would control all production and in fact be the government, is not your failure to teach such principles here in America anti-Leninist?

Answer: One can hardly avoid a feeling of stupefaction at the manner in which the advocates of "Industrial Unionism," as expressed by the above questioner, attempt to use the prestige of Lenin to justify their position.

What facts do they present to prove their contention? In the pamphlet "Socialist Construction of Society" (a speech made by De Leon in 1905), published by the Industrial Union Party, four quotations are given of people WHO SAY THAT LENIN SAID what our questioner attributes to him; namely Arno Jacob-Meurat in a Petrograd dispatch to the N. Y. World, Jan. 31, 1918; Arthur Ransome in "Russia in 1919"; Robert Minor in the N. Y. World, Feb. 8, 1919; and John Reed, May 4, 1918. This is surely not an impressive list of authorities and authoritative revolutionary publications.

Do these "facts" at all justify our good "Industrial Unionists"? First of all one has the right to ask: Wouldn't Lenin have devoted at least one full article to a question as important as this? Secondly, even if we give the "De Leonists" every benefit of doubt and grant that the above four individuals accurately reported Lenin's statements, and that other stray sentences of a similar nature could be added, the question still remains: what could Lenin, considering his position as a whole, have meant by these remarks?

The Leninist position (and our position) for the emancipation of society involves the creation of a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the latter in smashing the capitalist state machinery by FORCE and to REPLACE it with its own, i.e., POLITICAL, state power, under whose direction industry will be organized and the remnants of the exploiters suppressed. Under SOCIALISM, when classes will have withered away, the remaining "state," having purely administrative functions may take the form of industrial unions, every working member of society being eligible to such unions.

De Leon, on the other hand, combines the reformist with the syndicalist position: The workers will form industrial unions and after they have, through their political party, peacefully captured the power by the ballot box, thus forcing the capitalists to "flee," the political party of the workers is to "ADJOURN . . . ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE," otherwise this would be a "usurpation," and the industrial unions will then form the basis of society. In addition to his reformist orientation toward the workers' seizure of power, De Leon thus skips over the dictatorship of the proletariat, substituting for this historical stage a form of society which can be realized only under Socialism.

What has this in common with Lenin? Particularly how can one claim that he could have given support to De Leon's naive contention that the American social revolution will be peaceful because the capitalists, being swindlers, are cowards, whereas in Europe, because of feudal remnants and training, the ruling class is brave and will fight? . . . Though guilty of all the crimes of the decalogue, there is one vice that the feudal lord is substantially free from. That vice is COWARDICE. . . He will fight whatever the odds. . . But how is the lay of the land here, in America? . . . Let the political temperature rise to the point of danger, then, . . . your capitalist will quake in his stolen boots; he will flee. . . At least I, for one expect to see him flee. . . (For De Leon's complete position see "Socialist Construction of Society," particularly pp. 36 to 47.)

A complete polemic against the position of the "Industrial Unionists" would, of course, occupy more time and space than is at our disposal. The correctness of their viewpoint, however, is not decided merely by whether it agrees with what Lenin might or might not have said, but since it has no foundation in the revolutionary position of the latter, we would recommend that it attempt to stand on its own feet. Chicken legs, after all, are something.

A. L. DES MOINES—

"Fontamara" is now available in an English translation and can be obtained at the Pioneer Book Shop, 102 E. 11th Street, New York, N. Y. The price is \$2.50.

H. M. D. BROCKTON—

Question: Can you give me a quotation from either Marx or Engels in which the "Materialist Conception of History" is given?

Answer: The following is from Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific": "The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the PHILOSOPHY, but in the ECONOMICS of each particular epoch."

Editor's note: Because some questions require more investigation than others, they are not being answered here entirely in the order in which they are received. The indulgence of the questioners in this matter is requested.

J. SHERMAN, N.J. (Continued)

Question: What is the Communist position on "immediate demands"?

Answer: In general the Communist position is that the fight for immediate demands is a necessary stepping stone toward the seizure of power, without which it will not be possible to organize the workers. The historical sense of this position was stated by Lenin as follows during a debate on whether to abandon a minimum program: "Our entire program would be nothing but a scrap of paper if it were not to serve us in all eventualities and in all the phases of the struggle by its application and not by its non-application. If our program is the formulation of the historic development of society from capitalism to socialism, it must naturally formulate all the transition phases of this development, and must be able to explain to the proletariat at any time the process of the transition toward socialism." (From speech made in autumn of 1917, quoted at the IVth congress of the C.I.)

WHAT NEXT FOR FRENCH LABOR

Editorial Note

The article printed herewith is a translation from *la Verite*, official organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Fraction of the S.F.I.O. The clarity of its analysis of the political and economic situation in France and the realism of its program for the French proletariat make it a guide for every militant in the United States towards an understanding of the turbulent conditions now transpiring in that country. Trade union unity, workers militia, general strike against the reactionary Doumergue government, workers and peasants government—these constitute a revolutionary policy to arouse the French masses out of the united front of inaction. They are the measures necessary to stand off and finally smash the fascist movement. With this program we are in complete agreement. There is, however, one point of this article which we are obliged to take sharp issue. Two references are made to the need for a united party which *la Verite* says is "on the order of the day." The concept here referred to is the most issue of "organic unity." With this the National Committee of the C. L. A. is in disagreement. However, the problem cannot be exhausted in the space of this editorial note. We will return to the question of "organic unity" in future issues of *The Militant*. The *New Internationalist* August number carries articles of interest on this subject.

able. Occupying a constantly narrowing arena, the working class will suffer defeat after defeat, and reaction will impose its program of multiplied misery, of redoubled preparations for war. It is absolutely necessary to smash this official perspective of resorting to the bourgeois Parliament. It is no longer possible to keep silent about this. There can be no return to the former democracy. It is doomed. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat can use it for its class interests.

The Only Perspective: Fight for a Workers and Peasants Government! The real perspective must be

Discussion Article

The Question of Intervention by U.S. Imperialism in Cuba

The highest point of a social revolution so far reached on the American continent occurred in Cuba, starting with the struggle that overthrew the Machado regime. The formation of the elementary forms of the Soviets in some parts of Cuba was a reality and a living threat to the rule of American imperialism. As the main enemy of the extension of the October revolution, the American imperialists were confronted with a situation in the Cuban uprising that threatened the plans of the United States to "organize the world." Soviets are no longer "Russian" institutions; they have been established in every revolutionary upheaval in Europe and Asia, and with the Cuban revolution have invaded America.

Although the working class of Cuba did not obtain the objective of state power in their struggle against the exploiters, nevertheless, the lessons of the struggle are of utmost importance. One of the outstanding questions which proved to be a stumbling block to the extension of the struggle was the question of the intervention of the United States. A clear position on this question is essential for the Cuban workers as well as the American workers.

When the Cuban revolution reached its most favorable stage of development, the decisive conditions, under the given international situation were in favor of the working class. The Cuban ruling class was in confusion. The American aide blundered and was hated. Bitter resentment against American imperialism ran high. The economic condition of the country, revolving on the axis of sugar, had long ago reached the point of breakdown. The sugar industry had reached its worst stage. The masses were in motion. Large layers of the middle class and peasants were following the lead of the proletariat. The army had revolted and had removed its officers and in some cases were either in support of the workers' struggles, or were neutral in given cases of the seizure of sugar plantations. The establishment of Soviets was gaining momentum and their establishment on a national scale was favorable. The arming of workers and peasants, involving large layers of the class was taking place. In other parts of Latin America anti-American and anti-imperialist feelings ran high, and threatening opposition to the United States took shape in some countries.

The most important factors unfavorable to the revolution were the following: the Cuban revolution came on the heels of the most disastrous defeat of the working class, the Fascist victory in Germany. The intervention of American imperialism was a reality the whole period of the struggle. It took on the form of bottling up Cuba with American warships and the carrying on of secret work within the country. The Third International had reached the point where it stood beside the Second International, and could no longer be used as an instrument for revolution. The Fourth International was only in the formative stage. No united front action in America was carried on to rally the support of the workers. The wave of strike struggles that were rapidly maturing in the United States had only reached the initial stage due to the position of the A. F. of L. leadership on the one hand and the Stalinist forces on the other hand, thereby not making it possible to take full advantage and give full cooperation to the Cuban workers.

At a most critical stage of the struggle of the Cuban workers, when opposition to American imperialism was still on the upgrade, the Stalinists took the position and issued instructions to the workers not to seize American property. This was the directive of the C. I., through its Latin American Secretariat to the Cuban section. In order to hold off intervention the Stalinists informed the workers to stop seizing American property. To instruct the workers not to seize the American property when over eighty percent of the cultivated land and property of Cuba belongs to American interests is to tell the workers to stop the revolution. A social revolution, a proletarian revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is impossible without the seizure of the property of the imperialists.

The question is: can intervention be prevented by this Stalinist retreat? Intervention did exist in a peculiar form. But could this Stalinist position modify its form? Capitulation to intervention by refusing to seize imperialist property is capitulation to imperialism in the revolutionary period. The American imperialists changed the form of its intervention in Cuba because it feared the effects of direct intervention, realizing the powerful forces and opposition such action would release throughout the whole of the Americas.

The success of the Cuban revolution demands the seizure of American property. The revolutionary government must be prepared, in order to modify and postpone intervention, to take up negotiations with the American owners the question of their former property. It is always necessary to conduct a policy that will modify and delay intervention. But to carry this over to a system whereby a policy is pursued within the bounds of action that checks the further development of the revolution to prevent intervention is suicide.

THERE CAN BE NO SOCIAL REVOLUTION WITHOUT INTERVENTION. The given class relations on a national and international scale can be such as to modify the effects of intervention, or on the other hand make intervention a direct threat to success. But one cannot modify intervention by putting the brakes on the factors which extend and strengthen revolutionary action. The modification of intervention depends upon the extension and the deepening of the revolutionary forces.

A social revolution cannot be confined to one country. Further development and the deepening of the Cuban revolution would have caused its extension into other parts of Latin America and would have effected the American workers by accelerating the class antagonisms and by giving impetus to the developing strike waves. The extension of the Cuban revolution beyond its national boundaries does not necessarily mean success in these countries. But its extension would rouse the workers and other layers of the population of these countries, who in one form or the other would give battle to the exploiters and the American imperialists, thereby preventing the full blows of intervention from striking. Under such conditions the revolution in Cuba could further consolidate its power through the Soviets.

A social revolution in an advanced country will confront intervention, although the relation of forces are far more favorable in

Reaction is preparing a new blow. The danger is imminent! To action, without a moment's delay!

(Continued on Page 4)

WORLD OF LABOR

TRADE UNION UNITY IN FRANCE

Outstanding in the struggle against reaction and Fascism in France is the need for trade union unity. The general strike of February 12 brought the industrial power of the masses into bold relief. The French labor movement, however, is divided. For years it has been split into two camps—the reformist C.G.T. (Confederation Generale du Travail) and the communist-Stalinist C.G.T.U. (Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire). Trade union unity has been hindered—and even sabotaged—by the bureaucrats of both centers out of fear, and sectarian interests. The yellow leader of the reformist unions, Journaux, cynically advised the members of the red organization to tear up their cards and join the C.G.T. The Stalinists expelled the advocates of a fusion congress forthwith.

The sentiment of the masses which forced the united front between the Socialist and Stalinist parties has likewise caused the trade union leaders to change their tune. The British and American *New Leaders* print interesting reports on the latest developments towards unity in this field. The British periodical for Oct. 12 states that the C.G.T.U. agreed to amalgamation "without any question of minorities or of separate loyalty to other organizations." While Communists never make this demand a fundamental consideration in entering or working in reformist or reactionary trade unions, it is quite possible that the Stalinists surrendered to this condition without much resistance. According to the British *New Leader* version this compromise was made in return for the withdrawal of the suggestion that the trade union "have the power to forbid their members belonging to outside organizations."

How little, if anything, this compromise is worth is seen by the fact that seldom or never in the history of the contemporary trade union movement of France have the political affiliations of any trade union member been brought into question. Three and four years ago the Communist League of France advocated a Congress of Fusion to achieve unity. For this they were abused, slandered and even hounded in the C.G.T.U. Today the Stalinist union, once more powerful than the C.G.T. but now only a small fraction of it, is willing to accept unity on whatever conditions they can get. Their long record of incompetence, mismanagement and splitting has given the reformists the upper hand. The Stalinists are eating crow today in payment for their crimes of yesterday.

The American *New Leader* carries a report in its latest issue which places an entirely different light on the matter. The issue, according to this paper, is not fusion or amalgamation but the dissolution of the C.G.T.U. and the adherence of all its members to the C.G.T. They imply that the Stalinists have acceded to this condition but balked at the demand that they drop the fight against the Amsterdam International to which the C.G.T. belongs.

The experience of the Stalinists in the trade unions in France contains an object lesson or the workers of the rest of the world. The C.G.T.U. began as the bigger organization with the onus of splitting the trade unions on the reformists and social-patriots. Immediately the new trade union center was created and it set up the hue and cry for unity, which the reformers rejected. But that was in Lenin's time. Since then, a long interval of social-Fascism, independent leadership in strikes, united front from below and the rest of the rubbish out of the Stalinist incinerator turned the tide in favor of the C.G.T. which has been growing steadily at the expense of the C.G.T.U. Today, under pressure of the workers, the Stalinists must abandon their organization. They can accept the piddling concessions offered them by the other bureaucracy. If there are none then tongue in cheek, they can crawl in.

The worker today who would place his life in the hands of these people is displaying about as much intelligence as a mother who would entrust the safety of her child to a blind man on a congested metropolitan thoroughfare.

EXPULSION IN BRITAIN

Last any comrades have doubts on the subject, the penalty for heresy in the Stalinist church, in Britain as in the United States, France or Australia, is excommunication. The recently arrived October issue of the *Red Flag*, organ of the Communist League of Great Britain, carries the information that two comrades have been expelled from the High Street Cell of the South East District of the Communist party in London. Their crime is—if the explanation is necessary—"Trotskyism." Following their expulsion, the cell broke up and seven comrades signed a statement, of which the following is an excerpt:

"Hitler's coming to power, the Brighton T.U.C. march and the conduct of the anti-war and anti-Fascist campaign have made us uneasy as to where the party is going. In fraction meetings we have raised our objections only to be met with furious personal attacks, leaving our points unanswered. We have made continual efforts to get some explanation of points in the C. P. policy which seems to us to be dangerously wrong. . . . Of course we were attacked as 'Trotskyists'."

SIR STAFFORD MUDDLES OUT

The Right wing of the British Labor Party which hopes once again to don the mantle of His Majesty's Most Loyal Government administered a decisive defeat to the Pink-Tea, parlor bolshevik outfit, the Socialist League, run by Sir Stafford Cripps and consorts. This gentleman, it appears, made pretensions at being the "Left Wing" of the Labor party and favoring more "revolutionary" action. The three principal planks in his very radical program were the abolition of the House of Lords, radical reform of the House of Commons and the use of emergency powers by the Labour Government "if the need arose." But at the Brighton congress of the Labor party this "revolutionary" lion became as tame as a lamb. He appeared before the delegates, his claws clipped, fawning and howling before the die-hard servants of the British Empire. Revolutionary changes could be brought about, according to this new type of "revolutionist," by parliamentary methods provided they were "drastically modernized." This, says Sir Stafford further, would obviate the need for violence. Even if we accepted these premises—and they are fundamentally wrong—the question would still remain as to whether the British capitalist class would allow such parliamentary changes to be made without challenging them very vehemently and very violently. But before the congress was over the Socialist League back-watered, agreeing to support the Executive's recommendations which were intentionally vague so that nobody would be committed to anything. Cripps and his followers had become so mild and peaceful that Herbert Morrison, a labor-skate of the old school, took to chiding them for not having progressed beyond the "inevitability of gradualism" as espoused by the late Sidney Webb, now Lord Passfield.

The pretenders to being a revolutionary current, now stripped of all pretensions, there is room and need for a genuine left wing in the Labor Party, to raise the issues sharply and to fight the lackeys of the King as only revolutionists can.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE NEW PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Consequently a revolutionary political party becomes all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies by separatist interests of caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. As is tragically evident today, without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles, any more than each platoon in an army can elaborate the strategy and tactics of war. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above as in a capitalist army, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the rank by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

CONQUEST OF POWER

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis in the capitalist dictatorship, led on by the advanced workers in the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

In this struggle the workers, under the guidance of the revolutionary party, will forge new weapons. The united action of workers' organizations, defending workers' rights in the period of capitalist disintegration, will provide the basis for the building of genuinely united revolutionary organizations of the workers, the Workers' Councils. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, that the workers will take power. This will be no violation of essential democratic principle, for it is not the existing governmental forms, representing the interests only of the capitalist minority, but the Workers' Councils that express the political will and social interests of all the socially productive elements of the nation. To defeat the capitalist government and to transfer all power to the Workers' Councils, the workers must be prepared to use whatever means are necessary.

CONSOLIDATION OF WORKERS' RULE

Having taken power, the revolutionary government must be ready to meet the violence of the overthrow but still dangerous forces of reaction. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve the instrumentality for establishing the new order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state. Thus the workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to all those who accept the new order than ever enjoyed by the masses under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the entire working class against its enemies.

Against the forces seeking to restore the old order, the workers will fight with every weapon to establish and to assure their own democracy. Workers' democracy will not mean democracy for capitalists, exploiters, and parasites. The workers' state will represent only the working and socially useful elements of the nation, and will function openly as the enemy of all who uphold the old capitalist order. Against capitalist legality, serving the interests of a bankrupt minority, will be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority.

FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and land; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population of the country will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless socialist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

WORLD-SOCIALISM

The Workers Party of the U. S. aims not merely to lead the working class in taking political power and establishing socialism within the United States, but to join the revolutionary workers of all other countries in building world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to

transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, can not, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient development of productive forces and the restrictions of artificial national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-development to all nations and all individuals. World socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

INADEQUACY OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present program is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties of protest would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is the failure to grasp the nature of the state. From this flows its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its faith in the sweet reasonableness of the capitalist dictatorship, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no systematic struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the party contains many sound and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements of the party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude. The party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of preventing the consistent evolution of the workers to revolutionary Marxism.

b. The Communist Party

The rise of fundamentally anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies and the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitute the twin source of their decline and impotence. No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which non-aggression pacts with reformist parties are concluded. They have brought low, vicious tactics into the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. They have followed an unprincipled zig-zag policy, which in the United States, for example, has ranged from the "broad" opportunistic efforts in support of the LaFollette agrarian movement to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-Leftism. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucracy reigns supreme.

The C. P. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the C.P.S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing this work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the S.U. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in those countries, became little more than agitators groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the Soviet Union", pacifist activities for disarmament and "against war and fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. In order therefore to accomplish the effective defense of the Soviet Union today, as well as successful workers' revolutions elsewhere, it is necessary to establish new revolutionary parties throughout the world and a new revolutionary International. The Workers Party pledges its support to these revolutionists in the Soviet Union who fight for the revival of the Communist Party of Lenin's time, based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and party democracy. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party and International in the United States and other capitalist countries.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Our opposition to the Stalinist parties, in no way affects our unwavering solidarity with the Soviet Union. Our attitude toward the Soviet Union differs basically from our attitude to any capitalist country: The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies, the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that a socialist order of society is manifestly superior to capitalism even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is an elementary duty of every worker and progressive-minded person. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Against all anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies, however, we

reaffirm that socialism cannot be built in the Soviet Union alone and that the real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

c. Intermediate Groupings

While challenging the C.P. and S.P. and the International of which they are a part, the Workers Party of the U. S. likewise firmly opposes the formation of any centrist organization based upon a national existence and trying to occupy a middle-of-the-road position between the C. P. and S. P. The party opposes any utopian attempt to reconcile reformism and revolutionary Marxism or to find an independent position between the two.

d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a fairly "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is not the task of the revolutionary party to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. They must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve, not to reform capitalism into something that is not capitalism, and hence are of no lasting value to the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity.

FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The W. P. realizes that the liberation struggle of the working class is an international struggle and that the working class must be an international party. We hold that the existing international organizations of labor of the Socialist and Communist parties are bankrupt and can no longer serve its interests. We are therefore committed not only to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world, but the formation of a New (Fourth) International. Such an International does not now exist. It cannot be brought into existence by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or created on the basis of a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. It must be built up on the foundations of revolutionary Marxism. The Workers Party is therefore prepared to cooperate with all groups and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W. P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic in the U. S. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance, fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W. P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns. It will carry on constant propaganda to convince the workers of its theoretic competence by the cogency of its analysis, the accuracy of its predictions and the applicability of its proposed solutions. Everywhere, it will seek to demonstrate in action the success of its mass leadership.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those in the large shops, mills, factories, and mines of the basic industries.

With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicizing their struggles. The main aim of the W. P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. We are opposed to any general policy of dual unionism, recognizing that a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and fascism. In particular, the Workers Party is opposed to the Communist party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the Party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W. P. stands for rank and file control, trade union democracy, as essential if the workers are to have confidence in their organizations and are willing to fight for them.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft union forms. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils which have tended to bring the labor movement into disrepute. Where the masses form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W. P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This trend, nourished and supported by many of the leaders of the American Federation of

Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to continue, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and in preparing for the fascist "corporate state".

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual servitude and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "holyday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. The Workers Party pledges its support to the struggles of the farmers against our common enemy. These struggles, however, have a consistently progressive character and can achieve lasting results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only through joint revolutionary struggle with the working class for a socialist society.

NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the Negroes and other oppressed racial groups, such as Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. It stands for the complete social, political and economic equality of the Negroes and all other races, and will fight against every form of race discrimination, wage differentials, lynchings, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by allying themselves with all other workers for the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from exploitation and tyranny.

COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unqualified and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhampered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U. S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The Workers Party will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement. We recognize that the professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W. P. will build up organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working-class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be a prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to fascist demagoguery. The Workers party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed and will constantly stress the community of interest between them. It pledges support to all struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is to the interest of the workers to support defense of the (capitalist) "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible. The masses have no fatherland save the one they conquer when capitalism is overthrown. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support ardently the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the enslaved peoples against their imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who groan under the yoke of a ruling caste. Against imperialist war the Workers Party opposes not a futile policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", and other middle class nostrums, but the working-class policy of utilizing the crisis into which capitalism is plunged by such a war, for the purpose of bringing the war to an end by overthrowing the warmongers and establishing the rule of the working class.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction un-

Intervention in Cuba

(Continued from Page 3)

such a country to the revolutionary forces. Within a backward country the revolution cannot be brought to a close with the proletariat in power unless intervention is defeated. Intervention can only be defeated by a policy that combines the extension and the deepening of the revolution with maneuvers to modify intervention. Such cannot be accomplished if instructions are issued not to seize eighty percent of the property of the country.

The first task of the revolutionary force is to square accounts with its own exploiters. And in Cuba this primarily means American imperialism. When a worker of the United States or Cuba speaks of his own exploiters he is speaking of American imperialism.

The Stalinists' betrayal in Cuba is an American expression of the revision of Marxism and their concept of the character of the Cuban revolution as the "Agrarian Anti-imperialist revolution" that establishes a "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry". It is the logical result of the theory of socialism in one country. It is the first fruit of the American-Soviet recognition and a victory for American imperialism.

—HUGO OEHLER.

der fascist reaction or war. The working and student youth will and in the Workers Party, which aims at the establishment of a socialist society, the constant champion of their interests.

The Workers Party stands, first of all, for the abolition of child labor up to the age of 16. In its place we demand the provision of adequate educational, vocational and recreational opportunities, and adequate governmental maintenance of school children. The Workers Party advocates breaking down the archaic and harmful bars established in many trade unions against young workers, and the admission of the latter without discrimination. The party stands for equal wages for equal work for young and old. The Workers Party proposes that all those eighteen years of age and older shall have the full right to vote. It energetically opposes all attempts at militarism of the youth in the interests of the capitalist class, condemns compulsory military training in the schools of this country, and such institutions as the C.M.T.C., R.O.T.C., C.C.C., the Boy Scouts movement and the like. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students and based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist party in the "united-front-from-below". Likewise, the W. P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformist and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of organizations on specific and immediate issues facing the workers. Such united front actions in which the participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionaries and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the genuine unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power. The Workers Party, therefore, urges vigorous united front actions of all working class organizations whenever the interests of the working class as a whole can be defended or advanced thereby.

CONCLUSION

We call upon the American masses not to submit passively to injustice, not to be deceived by half-measures and so to drift into greater and greater misery. The present social order is out of tune with the enormous progress labor or productive capacity has made. Due to this discrepancy we starve while there is plenty, and unless the prevailing social system is replaced by a scientific socialist economy, the modern world will sink into barbarism. Catastrophe will be avoided, and happiness for all will displace misery if the masses realize the truth and act positively on that basis. American workers and their allies must make real the vision of a nation of free men and equals, knowing no oppressors, no oligarchy of birth or wealth, no class distinctions. They must join with the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics.



10,000 Pennsylvania Silk Workers to Swell Ranks of Striking Dyers

Union Solidarity with Unemployed League

Paterson, Nov. 2.—Rounding the first strike week the Paterson dyers are maintaining the traditions of militancy for which the silk industry is nationally famed.

The Dyers Federation has been demanding the thirty-hour week, one dollar an hour, and the union shop. The bosses, up to the present, refuse to grant any more than the 36 hour week with no reduction in pay. With this the parleys discontinued, the union constantly gaining in strength, the battle-front extending into Pennsylvania and a ring of fighting dyers massed around every open shop and every scab house still open.

Strike Ranks Swelling

The Federation of Silk and Rayon Dyers went into the battle a week ago strong and confident. Its feeling of power was more than justified. More than 80 percent of the dyeing industry had previously been organized by them. 25,000 workers answered the strike call immediately on its issuance. As we go to press anywhere between ten to fifteen thousand will follow their example in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. During this last week two of the largest bleaching houses, the Standard Bleachery and the Fairview Bleachery, previously open shop fortresses, have joined the strike front. 1,500 workers are employed in these establishments.

The stay-at-home idea is furthest from the minds of the dyers during the strike. Picket lines of thousands are on the march every morning. Injunctions, cops and thugs are brushed aside by the fighting determination by the workers. In Hudson County a judge's ruling restricting picket lines to four strikers became a worthless scrap of paper when 400 strikers marched before one of the local mills. The police conveniently forgot the law and thought it best not to interfere.

Unemployed League Aiding

Another extremely hopeful sign for the victory of the strike is the cooperation of unemployed workers on picket lines and in striking large shops still working.

A letter sent by George Baldanzi, president of the dyers federation, to the Unemployed League calls upon them to pitch in with the strikers and make the battle a success. This offer has been accepted, and as in Minneapolis and Toledo, the Unemployed League of Pennsylvania is mobilizing its members in Allentown to strike one of the key shops in that state, the National Piece Dye Works.

So effective has been the tie-up in the dye industry that several large jobbers and commission houses are stopping work on orders in weaving mills for the duration of the strike. The effect of this and similar moves will be to throw thousands of weavers out of work because of the inability to get the silk and rayons dyed. The dyers strike must end in the complete paralysis of the entire silk industry.

Meantime it is entirely to the interests of the weavers and other crafts connected with the fabrication of the product to cast their lot in with the dyers. More than 1,000 weavers are already on strike. The bosses are flagrantly violating the contract. Abuses are widespread. To add fuel to the fire the weaving employers are taking every advantage of the passivity of the workers to wipe out all vestiges of union conditions. One of these methods is the organization of company unions. In Newton, N.J., members of the U.T.W. are being discharged and then rehired only on the condition that they join the company union.

Everything favors a victorious outcome of the dyers strike, barring timidity or capitulation of the leadership. The weavers can share in this victory provided they give the dyers their complete solidarity and if necessary are prepared to take a bold aggressive stand before the height of the season is over.

Instructions for New Party Voters

The greatest task before all revolutionary workers is the building of the New Party.

The Communist League calls upon you to support them in this titanic job.

In this election, we ask for your support by writing in the name of J. P. Cannon as a demonstration of solidarity in the creation of the new party.

Last minute instructions: When you enter the polling booth pay no attention to any levers. There is space for writing in names. Use that space to write in the name of James P. Cannon for Governor. Do not write any more or less than specified here. Do not write in names for any other candidates. Be sure to use only an ordinary black lead pencil. Bring it with you as they are not supplied at polls.

For the New Party!

Police Attacks "Deplored" by Tory Diehard

With an overwhelming rush of liberalism as election time draws near, the political opponents of Governor Lehman have pounced upon the brutal beating of the "hunger marchers" in Albany, and are trying to make of this monstrous crime a political football. The tender heart of Robert Moses, Republican candidate for Governor, bled with compassion as he witnessed the scene: the highway to Albany strewn with the prostrate bodies of bruised and bleeding men and women, victims of the police thugs.

And as polling time approaches, can Governor Lehman afford to be outdone in mercy and compassion? No! A thousand times no! Have Republicans then the monopoly as defenders of democratic rights? If Lehman is pricked, doth he not bleed. His reply should set at rest, once and for all, his Republican malingerers.

"I am without authority," said in effect the Governor of the State of New York, "but I affirm my belief in the right of peaceful assembly."

And the crowning touch! The wonder of wonders! The miracle of miracles! Mayor Thacher of Albany, whose cops beat up the hunger marchers, yet, Mayor Thacher himself issued this statement: "I believe thoroughly in the rights of any group to public assembly."

Election Balm for Cracked Skulls
Then it is unanimous! And the "hunger marchers," wards pro-tem of the Government hospital, their wounds tenderly cared for, may console themselves with these magnanimous statements, balm for their wounds. From now until November 6, Election Day, they are safe from police clubs, from merciless beatings. From now until November 6 they have the full right of Democratic assemblage. They may meet, they may protest within moderation.

But after November 6, we can offer them no guarantee. They must guard their heads as best they can. Governor Moses cannot save them. Governor Solomon cannot save them. Nor can Governor Amter. After November 6, affairs are restored to normal order, and the police reign supreme again.

But is it not pleasant to realize that there is one short season when the jobless have a voice, when the cops must swallow their bills in election ribbons, when the most reactionary political leader and the most brutal ward heeler speaks the language of justice and democracy?

New Dealers Bolt Sinclair In Epic Flight

Joining Ranks of Forgotten Men He Calls to God For Succor

Abandoned by his Democratic colleagues in California; spurned by Farley, high-hatted by Roosevelt, double-crossed by Croel, gipped in general to a fare-you-well, the saintly Upton Sinclair turns to God for aid.

Far be it from us to doubt the efficacy of prayer, which has served the holy church and generations of sanctimonious exploiters right well. Nevertheless, it is our sober judgment that Sinclair will be very little benefited. We question that God has lost his well-known political acumen. He still sides, we take it, with the bigger battalions. And as we view the present political line-up of forces, even taking into account the possibility of a last minute switch on the part of Jehovah to the side of EPIC, and reckoning upon the votes of all the resident angels (cherubim not eligible because of age limitations), the situation, we would say, is still unfavorable to Upton. Gabriel may turn up unexpectedly at the EPIC headquarters, but Croel and Farley can still deliver more votes.

"Liberal" Versus "Liberal"

Leaving God out of the picture for the present, as an unknown quantity, the California political battlefield affords an amazing clarification of the class struggle. Class lines have completely obliterated the traditional party lines. Reaction in all camps has organized to beat Sinclair. The "liberal" Mr. Croel, the "liberal" Mr. Howard of the Scripps-Howard press, the entire Democratic machine are joined in a desperate struggle to defeat the Democratic candidate, the "liberal" Mr. Upton Sinclair, and to put in office the suddenly-turned liberal Republican candidate, the choice of the arch-Tory G.O.P. machine, now miraculously a supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal.

Sinclair may be a charlatan, or wit, or both. That is not his crime against the Democratic Party of California and the U.S.A. His crime lies in the fact that he sought to revive the hopes of the cheated working class, to restore faith best forgotten in the supposed pro-labor principles of the New Deal. In vain he repeats that is only urging what Roosevelt has urged, that his basic program is a New Deal program. That is precisely what the Administration wishes to forget, and wishes the voters everywhere to forget.

It is exceedingly unpleasant for Roosevelt to be reminded, and for the voters to be reminded, that the New Deal promised (even if it was all in the spirit of fun and good sound politics) to restore purchasing power by raising wages, to clip the wings of the bankers, to moderate the greed of industry, to take care of the unemployed. All this the modified EPIC now proposes to do all over again, and the response

(Continued on Page 4)

Union Fight Forces A & P To Back Down

Spreading of Strike and Boycott Threat Calls Bosses Bluff

As we go to press, the directors of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company show signs of "backing down" from their announced policy of closing all of their stores in sections where they were faced with "labor troubles".

Outwardly proceeding with their bluff in Cleveland, Ohio, by the removal of merchandise from the 300 closed stores in that city, the A. & P. officials nevertheless and at the same time issued mollifying statements having to do with the possibility of reopening these same stores.

The earlier report that the board of directors were agreed on accepting the settlement proposals of the National Labor Relations Board proved premature. However, the statements emanating from the chain store officials were far removed from their earlier bold stand.

"It is impossible for the Board of Directors to make final decision upon the question of their ability to open the company's stores in Cleveland until a further study has been made of the problems involved," the non-committal statement of the board of directors read. At the same time, it was observed that the work of removing the merchandise was to all practical purposes halted, with only a skeleton crew going through the motions.

Faced with the extension of the strike to other cities in Ohio, the threat of strike in Milwaukee, the imminent boycott in Chicago, New York and other large cities, to say nothing of those smaller towns where the chains are not too popular, the A. & P. were forced, at least in their public utterances, to backwater. If the movement of protest is not permitted to die, if the strike wave strikes swift and hard wherever the A. & P. has its stores, they will surrender entirely. It is more than a little disquieting, however, to read that the Meat Cutters' Union "leaders" in Cincinnati have ordered the postponement of the strike in that city indefinitely.

It has been said again and again. It must be repeated. Arbitration boards, whatever their character and make-up, will grant to the workers only what they have reason to believe the workers will be able to win for themselves. Their so-called impartiality, at best consists of weighing the two opposing forces, and deciding on the minimum which they must give the workers in order to realize an industrial "truce".

The lockout threat must be answered by strike action and boycott. Workingclass consumers, workers' wives must at once carry on the picketing of A. & P. stores in all cities. The lockout is the direct attack of bosses upon all organized labor. The answer of the workers must be equally swift and direct.

Arrangements Completed For National Convention to Launch New Party in U.S.

Demonstrate November 24 For Job Relief

National Unemployed Day, initiated by the National Unemployed League promises to be this year the mightiest demonstration of employed and unemployed workers this country has yet witnessed. In 25 states of the union the jobless will gather, together with their employed fellow workers, and demand:

1. An extensive system of public works to provide work for the unemployed on a basis of \$30 a week minimum for a 30 hour week. On skilled work, trade union rates where such rates are higher.
2. Passage of the Lundeen Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill.
3. Pending the passage of the Unemployment Insurance Bill direct cash relief to be paid at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person, \$15 for a family of two, and \$4 for each additional person in the family.
4. Right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining.
5. Recognition of the representatives of the organized unemployed before relief agencies.
6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects.
7. All war funds to be turned over to unemployed relief.

These demonstrations will take place before the respective state, county and city relief boards of the some 25 states in question. Simultaneously with the local and state demonstrations, a committee will be sent to Washington to place their demands before Federal Relief Director Hopkins and President Roosevelt.

Unity of action of all unemployed organizations will be the key-note of this November 24 demonstration.

This is not to be any day for the unemployed. Every class-conscious worker, every enemy of hunger must make this day a day never to be erased from the memories of the countless ill-fed and underfed. Nor must those that are parcelling out their miserable doles to the unemployed today be permitted to forget it either.

Among those unemployed organizations who have responded to the call of the National Unemployed League are: Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, Texas Unemployed Union, Florida Unemployed Federation, Illinois Workers Alliance and similar organizations in about 25 states in the union.

Russian Revolution And Militant Issue

Seventeen years of the Russian Revolution!

Six years of the Militant! The coincidence of these two anniversaries within a few weeks is far from accidental. The service of the Militant in the cause of the fundamental ideas of the Russian Revolution is well known to our readers.

The Militant proposes to celebrate both these occasions in a special anniversary edition to appear November 17. We are considering the addition of two extra pages to facilitate the appearance of several excellent features by outstanding writers. But that depends on you as much as on us. Our lack of funds forces us to leave that part of it up to you. If sufficient contributions and greetings are received then you can count on us doing our end of the job.

What do you say, Militant Readers?

AWP-CLA Set Nov. 30th For Meeting

In the heart of the mighty "Dollar Empire" a new revolutionary workers' party will be launched in New York City, November 30 to December 2. The call for the organization convention will soon be issued by the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

This great step of revolutionary unity is the reply to the oppressive conditions of capitalism, the crying need for workers' leadership and the general chaos and confusion which strangles the labor movement.

For over two decades the advanced workers' movement has been wracked by internal dissensions and splits. During this period capitalism has repeatedly given proof of its bankrupt character. No longer can it supply the need of the producers.

The capitalist class, faced with its doom, has unleashed the forces of barbaric reaction. In Italy, Germany, and Austria triumphant Fascism has destroyed all workers' organizations and all democratic liberties. Fascist reaction is growing everywhere.

Hand in hand with the growth of Fascism are the feverish preparations for a new world war. Fascism not only hastes new wars but the coming armed conflicts hasten the development of Fascism in the so-called "democratic" countries: the master class has to destroy the militant labor movement to successfully carry out its war program.

How are the workers to resist these reactionary moves? Why has reaction triumphed up to now when the conditions are over-ripe for a new society and real freedom? It is precisely because of the absence of the collective conscience, intelligence, will and determination of the working class which only a revolutionary Marxist party can concentrate. Only the Russian workers succeeded in forging such an effective instrument, the Bolshevik Party. They alone have successfully defeated their exploiting class and established the workers' soviet republic.

But the parties which speak in the name of the emancipation of the working class, Socialist and Stalinist, have brought nought but defeats. They bear the responsibility for the present headless condition of the workers' movement.

The recent display of workers' spontaneous militancy in the United States, the defeat of the strikers and the disorganized state of the jobless bear eloquent testimony to the dire need for a new revolutionary party. The workers are ready to struggle against unemployment, hunger and misery. But who is to lead them to victory? What force exists capable of guiding them from the everyday battles to their fundamental class need, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of socialism?

Only that organization which, having absorbed the experiences of the past, is based on the granite foundation of revolutionary internationalism, and merges Marxism with the masses in motion can serve such a function. In our times such a party must strive to build the Fourth International, the world party of revolution.

To forge such an instrument the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party have gone through months of negotiations and arrived at a joint declaration of principles. The declaration contains the basic essentials of revolutionary Marxism. Serious discussion of the draft is taking place in both organizations and will be held at the fusion convention.

Revolutionary unity will be achieved. In the fires of the ensuing class battles it will gain its spurs and come forward as the militant leader of the workers and all oppressed.

Labor Editors Threatened by Fascist Thugs

The charge that editors of New York Italian-language newspapers have been warned that their lives are in danger, is contained in a statement published in the latest issue of *Il Martello*, New York anarchist weekly published by Carlo Tresca.

The newspaper, out today, charges that an editor of *Stampa Libera*, local anti-Fascist daily, was recently threatened with violence because of his opposition to Generoso Pope, building supply merchant and publisher of several local Fascist dailies. *Il Martello* contains an appeal to all journalists to stand by, and warns that if harm befalls the editor of *Stampa Libera*, those guilty will pay the price of their crimes. *Stampa Libera* supports the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee, to which the C.L.A. is affiliated.

The statement of *Il Martello* describes "the state of affairs in the newspaper world of the Italian colony in the United States" as one of terrorism by reactionary publishers against all opponents.

It charges that a Mr. Noto, an editor of Pope's *Corriere d'America*, who was active on behalf of the Newspaper Guild, a union, was physically attacked by Pope in the latter's office on July 17. Pope also threatened him with a revolver. *Il Martello* goes on to describe the recent controversy between the editors of *Stampa Libera* and Pope.

"An editor of *Stampa Libera* received a series of visits from . . . underworld characters who . . . requested that *Stampa Libera* cease to publish criticism of Pope. The editor of *Stampa Libera* refused repeatedly to make any such commitments. On the occasion of their last visit, the underworld characters informed the editor that they would not call again and that the editor should know what that means."

"An attempt is being made by Generoso Pope in this city to exercise censorship over the Italian language press by means of gangsters! An attempt is being made to inaugurate in the Italian colony in the United States the same political regime in the press as prevails today in Mussolini's Italy!"

"Call it Fascism, or call it gangsterism, the threat to the editor of *Stampa Libera* is intolerable. . . . Fascism shall not be transplanted to this city!"

"Perhaps this notice will suffice. If not, if more must be said, if more must be done, we are prepared to say it and do it."

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

YOUR DUTY TO NEW PARTY

In the past year the membership of the Communist League in all sections of the country has grown. And, unlike the Stalinist Party, the members it wins it holds, and holds to a revolutionary line.

In the same period, the circulation of the Militant has gone up considerably: today the net paid circulation is approximately double what it was one year ago.

And in this period the New International, the C.L.A.'s monthly theoretical organ, has been founded and won an immediate place as the only Marxist theoretical journal published in the United States.

More than this: The past year has seen the C.L.A. enter mass activities on a scale never before realized in its history. Severing its factional tie to the hopeless Stalinist Party, it has turned its face to the masses of American workers and entered side by side with them into the struggles of our class.

The League has participated prominently and honorably in a number of united front movements from Coast to Coast. It has begun to play a leading role in the organization of unemployed workers in several states, notably Minnesota and Illinois. In a number of strikes, above all in the great strikes of the drivers in Minneapolis, C.L.A. members have been to the fore in every aspect of the struggle.

Finally, the year 1934 has been signaled in C.L.A. history by the launching of concrete steps toward the building of the new revolutionary party. The negotiations with the A.W.P., now proceeding apace, promise an early harvest that will gladden the heart

of every revolutionary worker.

All these new developments have widened the circle of the League's influence and the base on which it leans for support. But they have also created new problems.

New members, for example in New York, have required the setting up of new branches, and new branches have meant new headquarters.

Every time a new subscriber is found by the Militant, he brings along a circle of friends who want a few copies free or who are unemployed and want a cheap subscription.

Every step forward in trade union work means new obligations—leaflets to print, halls to rent, etc.

The original cost of launching the New International—the purchase of type etc.—meant a large investment of our meagre funds.

Result: we need money.

Relatively speaking, the larger we grow, the poorer we are. We have more money, and we spend more money . . . and always we need more money. It is the problem of growing pains.

At this moment one great aid can be given the League, and in this way the new party soon to be born. It is by helping the new party fund.

"New Party Certificates" in one and five dollar denominations are for sale. Buy them and sell them to your fellow-workers. Send in your contribution—enough for a certificate, or whatever you can spare. Do not delay.

Become an active factor in the campaign to build the Workers Party of the United States.

Let us hear from you at once, Comrades!

SPEAKERS:

M. SHACHTMAN
A. J. MUSTE

Russian Revolution Anniversary

Wed. November 7--9 P.M. Auspices: American Workers Party & Communist League

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. & 15 th St.

The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

It is the task of the American Party to come out in the most decisive manner against Japanese imperialism, against the latter's attack on China and seizure of Manchuria, and against its preparation for attack on the Soviet Union. This means that the party must make widespread use of all the facts of military preparation, provocation, terror, etc., on the part of Japanese imperialism, in order to arouse the masses against the threat of war and to utilize their sentiments of natural indignation against Japanese imperialism as the direct and open instigator of war, bringing out and developing these sentiments of the masses and transforming into a revolutionary struggle against war. At the same time the CPUSA must not forget that the aim of American imperialism together with other imperialist countries to smash the Soviet Union has not been in the slightest degree decreased.

Having this aim, American imperialism encourages tendencies of Japanese imperialism to make war against the Soviet Union, aiming at the same time at the weakening of the military strength of Japan. The resolution of the ECCI on the immediate tasks of the CPUSA gave an entirely correct characterization of the international situation and the tasks of the American Party, which it described as follows:

"A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against a new imperialist war — THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, ITS WAR PREPARATIONS AND INTERVENTION PLANS. MUST BE THE CENTER OF THE EVERY DAY WORK OF THE PARTY AMONG THE MASSES: IN THE FACTORIES, TRADE UNIONS, IN STRIKES, AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED, NEGROES, YOUTH, AND WOMEN."

The first mistake made by the party leadership in the campaign against the menace of war and especially against the provocative acts of Japanese imperialism, was the confusion on the question of party slogans. The Communist party failed to understand that the slogan: "Out the Japanese diplomatic and commercial representatives from the United States" and "Boycott Japanese goods" should have come from the masses and the non-party working class organizations. Instead of that, these slogans were and still are advanced as slogans of the Communist party, advocated in the Daily Worker, in speeches of responsible Party representatives, and in resolutions of the Chicago Party Convention.

The party must support these slogans inasmuch as they are put forward by non-party workers and

their mass organizations who express in these one-sided and half-way slogans their sincere indignation at the robber exploits of Japanese imperialism. The Communist Party, while carrying on propaganda for its main slogans for a bolshevist method of struggle against war, cannot neglect and least of all come out against, the radical sentiments of the masses; on the contrary, it must support them and transfer them in a revolutionary manner. In cases where a mass revolutionary non-party organization which is ready to come out against the war danger, does not yet accept our Communist slogans, we must help it to formulate its protest against the threat of war even in the form of such slogans as **ousting Japanese diplomatic representatives, but even in these cases the initiative must come from the non-party workers themselves.**

The difference between the slogans of the Party and the slogans of the non-party mass organizations not issued by the Party itself will be clearer if we take the demand of credits for the Soviet Union or the proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The Party must support such demands when put forward by workers' mass organizations. The Communist Party must come out against and systematically expose those groups of bourgeois who fight against commercial credits to the Soviet Union, sabotage them but its stand must be POLITICAL, linking up this policy of the bourgeoisie with its preparations of war against the Soviet Union and against its attacks the working class at home, unmasking the bourgeoisie with regard to these questions and mobilizing the masses to struggle against the bourgeoisie in the same way. The Communist Party cannot adopt as its slogan the concrete proposals of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. However, the Communist Party cannot oppose them and is bound to support any mass organization coming out in their favor.

The CPUSA has not noticed this difference in slogans, and in spite of direct instructions from the ECCI, has continued up until recently to issue them as slogans of the Communist Party.

In this the leadership of the Communist Party has given evidence of its lack of understanding of the necessity for transferring the center of gravity of its work to the mobilization of the masses; instead of AROUSING THE MASSES to the struggle against the war and spurring them on to put forward by themselves even the most elementary anti-imperialist slogans, the leadership of the Party followed the path of REPLACING THE MASSES BY THE PARTY. And, notwithstanding the instructions of the ECCI, the Communist Party has continued its incorrect position resulting in inadequate mobilization of the masses against Japanese

The Significance of the Comintern Document

The document which is printed below is a glaring revelation of the policies and state of affairs in the Third International and its national sections. It is a letter sent to the leaders of the Communist party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated September 27, 1934. A note at the top reads: "Received N. Y. Nov. 14, 1934.—E.B. (Earl Browder)". Mimeographed for the members of the American Central Committee, it was of course never seen by the party membership.

Early in 1932, in connection with the Japanese Imperialist assault upon Manchuria and Shanghai, the U. S. Stalinists launched a feverish campaign under the slogan, "Out the Japanese Ambassador from the United States!" Those who have forgotten the articles printed at that time by the Daily Worker, will have their memories refreshed by the document below. Instead of concentrating its attack upon its "own" bourgeoisie, the American Stalinist party took upon itself the role of Councillor of State to the American ruling class. In the crudest imaginable manner, the Stalinists substituted chauvinism for a revolutionary policy. The Stalinists simply forgot the classic axiom of Karl Liebknecht: "The enemy is at home."

In condemning the whole chauvinistic campaign of the Stalinists at that time, the Militant wrote on April 16, 1932: "The American party demands of the bourgeoisie that it take steps against the Japanese which the Soviet Union has refrained from taking. But the expulsion of all diplomatic representatives is only the first of many connected steps. To break off diplomatic relations is usually the prelude to a declaration of war. The cruel logic of the party's downright chauvinistic position is that, in the event of the constant sharpening of the conflict, it would only be stopping 'unreasonably' half-way along its chosen road if it failed to support the American bourgeoisie in declaring war against the Japanese. That is how the mercenaries of Stalinism are slowly converting the great Leninist slogan to make it read: Transform the civil war into an imperialist war."

imperialism.

The corresponding instructions from the ECCI on the question of slogans for the anti-war campaign of the party were given very soon after the CC correctly put forward the slogan "Out the Japanese Diplomatic Representatives" and "Boycott Japanese goods". Immediately after receiving the instructions of the ECCI, the Secretariat of the CC CPUSA, on the 12 of March addressed the party organizations with a circular letter in which the instructions of the ECCI were on the whole clearly put forward.

In the circular it was stated that the slogan, "Out the Agents of Japanese Imperialism" and "Boycott of Japan" should be raised by workers' organizations so as to create the sentiments of utmost hatred against Japanese imperialism, the spearhead of world imperialism, but should not be put forward by the party directly (AS HAD BEEN DONE). THEY SHOULD COME FROM BELOW; resolutions should be published in the press, so as to make these demands real demands. This instruction was given to the party organizations. In the form of a short circular, but without any political explanation. There was

We pointed out further that this course was the inevitable fruit of the nationalistic theories and practices of Stalinism. As shown so sensationally in this case, Stalinism relentlessly transforms the communist parties from organizations fighting to overthrow their own bourgeoisie into departments of the foreign office of the Soviet Union whose increasingly exclusive task is a pacifist "defense" of the Soviet Union.

In other words, the policy of Browder, Weinstein and Co. was not an accidental deviation, but the logical outcome of the whole Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country".

This is proved to the hilt by the "criticism" of the E.C.C.I. itself. It is not a revolutionary condemnation of the C.P.'s "Japanese campaign". Far from it. Fundamentally, it is an endorsement of it! If anything, the Moscow secretariat only proposes to add hypocrisy and chicanery to chauvinism.

The American Stalinists evoked a storm of criticism against their campaign and the slogans under which it was carried out. The Militant, on the one side, and the Lovestonites to a lesser extent, on the other, submitted the C. P. campaign to a sharp criticism. Browder was compelled to admit that many party members had been deeply affected by this criticism. What the E.C.C.I. was concerned with was merely to put over the same chauvinist slogans, only in a less blatant and less crude form. That is why the essence of the whole Comintern "criticism" is confined to a complaint against the American C.P. putting forward the disgraceful slogans directly, under its own name. It should be done more "cleverly". The C.P. must first get one of its "mass organizations" to put forward the reactionary slogans "spontaneously". Then the C. P. must come out in support of it because... the masses have advanced it.

With the exception of the first introductory, which are of a general agitational nature, the letter of the E.C.C.I. is reprinted here in full. All emphasis, except the words in caps, are ours.

no serious political discussion in the Politburo or in the CC of the previous erroneous position of the CC in this question. According to the statement made by three members of the Politburo who came to the XII plenum of the ECCI, they were never informed of the ECCI instructions concerning these slogans. This information they for the first time received in Moscow. One of the comrades, incidentally heard in the beginning of April some definite remarks concerning such information, but in a form that did not correspond with the content of the instructions.

Also at the XIV plenum of the CC this question was not correctly presented, or explained to the Party. In the report of the reporter of the Politburo to the plenum, comrade Weinstein, this question was blurred and confused. Comrade Weinstein kept saying that "We have put forward as slogans in the campaign against war in China the slogan of 'Economic boycott' and 'Out the Imperialists'. Why have we raised these slogans? In order to arouse a mass movement of the workers." In this no difference was brought up between these slogans as Party slogans and slogans of non-party mass organizations.

Only in one place comrade Weinstein made the remark about "putting forward these slogans from on top and not from below". But it is impossible to see what he had in mind—lower Party organizations, or non-party masses? Comrade Weinstein in his report referred to the resolutions of the Social Democrats and Lovestonites on these slogans issued by the Party and presenting the slogans all the time as if they were slogans of the Party, he continued to defend them with arguments such as "Boycott and driving out of the imperialists does not actually mean war".

Comrade Browder, who devoted his speech at the Plenum almost exclusively to the question of struggle against the war danger, likewise did not make any distinction between these slogans of the Communist Party or slogans of non-party organizations. In bringing up the questions of concrete slogans of the Party for the struggle against war Comrade Browder declared: "When we brought forward the slogans very sharply and concretely, directed against Japanese imperialism which is the spearhead of the development of a world imperialist war, concretized in the form of the demand for the expulsion

of the Japanese imperialist representatives in the United States for economic boycott, many of our members did not understand this. In fact these members had a reaction against these slogans. Generally within the party was felt the influence of the Lovestonite and Trotskyist attacks against these slogans. The party was not prepared to answer the attacks made upon our slogans by the renegades and by the socialists."

And again, not stating exactly by whom these slogans should be issued, Comrade Browder spoke of them as if they should be the slogans of the Party, declared them to be correct, and called for "complete liquidation of all hesitation and all fears" and for a "bold application of the line that these slogans represent".

This presentation of the question at the Plenum of the CC shows that the Party leadership approached the directives of the ECCI in a mechanical way and, without understanding the essence of the question and without explaining it to the Party, continued to repeat its former errors. Thus in the Daily Worker of May 17 the leading articles contained in the form of a direct appeal to the workers the slogans: "Force all Japanese diplomats and commercial representatives from the United States". According to the Daily Worker May 31, Comrade Browder at the Chicago Nominating Convention of the Communist Party, in the report delivered in the name of the Central Committee of the Party "called upon the workers... to demonstrate against the representatives of Japanese imperialism and drive them out of the United States". According to the D.W., the Chicago Convention adopted among other resolutions, a resolution against the war danger, calling for "the driving out of the Japanese imperialists, representatives and boycott of Japanese goods". (Daily Worker, May 31). It would be well for the Daily Worker to avoid emphasizing the national instead of class aspect of the war by speaking of Japanese imperialism when describing the acts of Japanese imperialism.

III
The mistakes of the CPUSA in putting forward anti-Japanese slogans are closely bound up with the obvious under-estimation of the task of the Party of struggle against American imperialism.

In the present concrete situation the American bourgeoisie is trying to find a way out of the crisis along the path of further attacks on the American working class; by a more intensive exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries; by a war against its imperialist rivals, the American bourgeoisie is now carrying out this inseparably interwoven line transforming one of these links into another. From this essence of the class policy of the American bourgeoisie at home from its preparation for war against Japan and Great Britain and its preparations

for an intervention against the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to counterpose the rivalry of American and Japanese imperialism to the irreconcilable class hatred of the American bourgeoisie toward the U.S.S.R. It would be wrong to divorce the struggle of the American working class against American imperialism from the struggle against the menace of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In what main lines must proceed the struggle of the American Party against war? First of all, the Communist Party cannot separate the struggle against war from the class struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie. The CPUSA should regard its struggle against war as part of the general struggle against American imperialism. Agitation and propaganda of the Communist Party against pacifist and reformist prescription in the struggle against war, and exposure of the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war, should be closely linked up with the daily work of the party among the masses; should form one basic line of Communist struggle against war, the line of revolutionary mass action, the line of "STRENGTHENING, DEVELOPING, BROADENING AND SHARPENING THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THE MASSES" (Lenin). Constant linking up of the daily struggles of the working class for immediate demands with the struggle against American imperialism and its preparations for war; constant raising of the political activity of the working class in these struggles; this is the principle method of POSTPONING the outbreak of war, or making it difficult for the bourgeoisie TO PREPARE FOR WAR, and should the working class not be able to frustrate the outbreak of war, of OBSTRUCTING THE CONDUCT OF WAR and creating conditions for its transformation into civil war, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat.

The revolutionary proletariat should FIRST OF ALL organize its anti-war and anti-interventionist mass struggle adapting it to the concrete internal and external situation as a struggle against ITS OWN BOURGEOISIE. The proletariat should most energetically come out in defense of the USSR not only because the Soviet Union is the fatherland of the workers, the stronghold of Socialism, but also because the USSR is a powerful factor in the struggle against war, and such a struggle is helpful in delaying the moment when the workers of the world, including the American workers are plunged into the horrors of blood and privation of a new imperialist war.

In other words, the struggle against war and intervention should be organized by the Communist Party primarily on the ground of protecting the interests of the working masses of its own country because wars are fought by the masses and at their expense.

(To Be Continued)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Egregious

"Gorman has been striking new notes in strike statements and strategy, especially for a labor leader who starts out by being non-radical. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, making up for his egregious San Francisco error, calls upon all the forces of organized labor to back up the general textile strike. ... S. Friedman in the latest literary darling of American socialism, Arise, "New notes," "Egregious errors." What the movement needs is an Ambrose Bierce to write a revolutionary Devil's Dictionary. There, for the convenience of socialists like Friedman, strike breaking and open and deliberate betrayals of workers will be referred to euphemistically as "egregious errors" and "new strategy"

Social-Democratic Ministers and Worms

In the effort of leading Social-Democrats to the Darwinian theses they sometimes go to strange lengths. In his attempt to prove the horizontal and four-footed antecedence of Homo Sapiens, "comrade" Per Albin Hansson, his Swedish Majesty's Social-Democratic minister, has thrown himself prostrate before the Royal offspring—proving that it is just as easy—far easier, in fact—for a Social-Democratic minister to crawl on all fours than to stand upright like a man.

Jehova for Sinclair

Sinclair sums up his campaign to end poverty in California better than ever we could in his latest poem to the New Republic. Therein he sums up his faith in Jehova and proves that he has the Almighty's official seal: "O God my Father, and God my Friend And God my Guide to Poverty's End. Amen." Which reminds us of a story Sin-

clair surely must have heard from his southern grandpappy. A German soldier in the Union army was caught in the act of flogging some vegetables from the bin of a secessionist household and the mistress of the house shouted: "Have you no fear of the Lord?" "Neh," exclaimed the soldier, "Gott is all played out."

Angels for Amter

If Sinclair has the Almighty, himself, on his side, at least the rank and file of God's heavenly rhode are all for Israel Amter. For there's a strong rumor percolating about that Father Divine's angels are solid for the local Stalinist candidate for governor.

Tears, Tears, More Glycerine

The Republican Moses, not to be confused with his biblical forebear, has broken down and wept before the rock that is Tammany. This exhibition of elephantine humanitarianism is brought forth by the bestial attack on the two hundred or so hunger strikers who attempted to enter Albany to lay their demands before Governor Lehman. That other hunger marchers, workers and unemployed have been brutally beaten at the behest of Republican governors; that the bonus army was tear-gassed, bayoneted and burned out of Washington by a Republican president is known to all—even to Moses. But... the hypocrisy of a boss-class politician before election knows no bounds.

D. R. S. JOYCE

Noted Physician and Author will give informal talks on:

WORKERS' HEALTH

Nov. 5—Colds, Sinus Infections, Sore Throat.
Nov. 12—Boils, Carbuncles, Fungus Infections.
Nov. 19—Diet and Digestion.
Nov. 26—Obesity and Leanness.
Dec. 2—First Aid.
Dec. 9—Glands.
Dec. 16—Physical Aspects of Psychology.
Dec. 23—Kidneys.
Subscription for full course \$1. Single lecture, 15c.
Every Monday at 8 P.M.
Stryvessant Casino, 142 Second Ave.
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Another Paper Union Folds Up

Boston, Oct. 25.—At last the Stalinists decided to give up the N.T.W.U.—And please note, that they do this not because they realize that they have been wrong, that their false policies left no other road open, nor anything to give up. Oh, no! The infallibility of Stalinism would not permit that! They take this step because they have become suddenly merciful and come to the rescue of the poor dressmakers in the I.L.G.W. How good of the Stalinist-controlled G.E.B.

A few questions to the kind general secretary Gold: And we will go back only a brief two years.

Looking at the Record

Gold will probably recall that two years ago the dressmakers worked for starvation wages, even under worse conditions than today and needed united strength. Why was it that under your leadership, or shall we say under the Iron heel of the Profrontier, the G.E.B. refused to call a united front for a single strike to gain conditions for the workers?

In Boston at a general membership meeting of cloak and dressmakers, at which Gold spoke, the present writer pointed out that the only way to gain conditions was to have one union in the industry and that the Stalinists were carrying out a wrong policy by splitting and keeping the ranks split. Was Gold lying to himself and to the workers when he exclaimed, "Workers, do not listen to Eva Winer. She is a 'Trotskyite' whose policies are wrong and counter-revolutionary. We will never give up the Industrial Union! The workers will come back to us!" (?)

And keep up they did—till they lost the bulk of the membership. The few who remained did so out of necessity. Either because they worked in the few shops then still controlled by the Stalinists or be-

cause they stubbornly believed in the slogans of their leadership.

Again, if the dressmakers need your help—and it is help you want to give them and always did—why was it that when the New York dressmakers last year under the I.L.G.W. went out in that gigantic strike which involved almost the entire trade you even then refused to face the truth break with your isolation policy and enter as a body into the I.L.G.W.? Did you still expect that the workers would come back? No, we know better.

Will the Workers "Come Back"?

In spite of the slanders against "Trotskyism" with which our proposals were always met by the Stalinist bureaucrats, the correctness of the policy laid down by the C.L.A. came to the fore again. When Koretz was sent here to discuss with us the situation in the trade in Boston I again spoke for entry into the I.L.G.W., demanding full rights as old members and help the needle workers' fight. The old reply came this time from Koretz, that they will keep up the Industrial union even with seven members, so sure were they that the workers would not gain conditions through the I.L.G.W. and would come back.

Today Gold states that the workers are very badly off. Would it not be consistent to wait till they "come back"? But no, there is now an order from afar and above to give up, and the old slogans go overboard for no other reason. Gold now becomes soft-hearted and presents the right wing with the "dress department". But the leadership? They still have a sacred mission. On the outside they will keep up the office as a bogeyman to scare the right wing leaders. The fact, however, is that the chiefs of the G.E.B. dare not face the workers. They know that they pursued this hide-and-seek policy too long to expect the workers to have any further trust in them and seek their leadership.

Discretion Better Part of Valor
The following is proof of this bravery and conviction of these

leaders: Only a week ago Koretz and Gold came to Boston to "convince" a few staunch followers to carry out the final act for them; and they found it not so easy. For these few who repeated religiously after the pope, "Do not give up, the workers will come back" so often till they began to believe it, it became difficult to face reality. What was to follow was still worse. To come face to face with the "rank and file" and lay before them the new "turn"; to attempt to undo in one evening what they had done in several years was too much for Gold and Koretz. They were not equal to the task and left Boston just a day before the meeting! Gold who had shouted phrases, and Koretz who had stayed in Boston for a period of time and educated the followers to the Stalinist slogans now took the easiest way out. In their stead they sent Gross to bring the sad news to Boston.

How did the "rank and file" react? Half of the already tiny group left did not attend the meeting in protest against this cowardly act of Gold and Koretz. Those who did attend "learned" from Gross that the New York workers have become so passive that they do not vote any longer and are disinterested in the left wing. Truly a sad situation for the Stalinists to admit while they still consider themselves the left wing! But the workers know otherwise. The years of treacherous misleadership of the Stalinists did throw apathy into the ranks of the workers, but that will not be for long.

Led and inspired by a conscious vanguard working side by side with them, the workers will again raise their heads; organize into a strong left wing and fight for conditions. It is true, never again under the leadership of Stalinism, but with the assistance which can come only from the tested, clearheaded workers whose views history itself has vindicated.

—EVA WINER.
SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

MARCH OF EVENTS

Second International Begins to Crack

Faced with insoluble contradictions between the stark realities of decadent capitalism and the "theories" of gradualism and reformism based on a bourgeois democracy that is rapidly disappearing, the Second International, long dead politically, begins now to show all the signs of crumbling as a system of ideas. German fascism wiped out the largest Social Democratic party. Any remnants of this party cannot conceivably base themselves on the old forms of revisionism but must inevitably become part of a new revolutionary party still to be built. In Austria the socialist workers took up arms not only to combat fascism but to disprove conclusively all the tenets of Austro-Marxism. The vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, including the socialist workers, rallied to arms, the latter under the banner of a party that had consistently denied the validity of force and hence failed to prepare the working class for the revolutionary action that capitalism compels us to use to bring about its overthrow. The French socialists, threatened with the same fascist fate as their brothers, took to heart the fearful and inescapable lessons of Germany and Austria and broke with the outright reformists, now clearly revealed as masked reactionaries, in order to move to the left. The French party in its present state consists of a number of fractions, each with its own press, each striving for political leadership and for the final adoption of its program.

The American Socialist Party

The American Socialist party, no more than the French or the Swiss, can escape the devastating effects of the same contradictions. How can this party reconcile its support of the revolting Spanish workers, its hailing of their unsuccessful at-

tempt to bring about a workers' state by force of arms,—with a continued advocacy of nothing but peaceful and legal means in the United States? Which page of the New Leader shall one read most closely, that describing the shootings in Oviedo or that appealing for votes for Norman Thomas in the campaign to help solve all problems? And if the United States is in some strange sense different from Europe, then perhaps Thomas had better omit his constant references to the approaching danger of fascism here too. But in America also socialist workers have come to a realization that their party rests on unreal foundations. They have begun to move to the left, but this natural trend is hampered and stifled by an extremely reactionary Old Guard of petty bourgeois businessmen and professionals, including the old Forward clique and the socialist trade union bureaucracy. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the last convention represented not any clear-cut break with the past but a weak compromise, a distinct concession made by the "lefts" to the standpat reformists of the Waldman-Onesal calibre under the threat of split made by the latter. The right centrists like Thomas intended this compromise to have the effect of stopping any further tendency to go left, and at the same time to preserve the "unity" of the organization. Thomas clearly revealed that he leans upon the right wing at the same time that he wishes to control the lefts in his statement on the referendum: "... the one thing we socialists cannot afford to do is to allow it (results of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles) to break up our unity, destroy our discipline, or continue to distract our energy." Again, "There is room within the S. P. for considerable divergence of view on certain points, if only we will work for socialism." —JACK WEBER.

CLEVELAND BRANCH OPEN FORUM

Sunday, Nov. 11, 2:30 P.M.:
"Bureaucracy or Democratic Centralism"
Sunday, Nov. 4, 2:30 P.M.:
"The NIRA & Strike Wave"

QUESTION BOX

BROWNSVILLE WORKER—

Question: What are the contradictions in Soviet and International economy which prevent the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.?

Answer: It is unfortunate that Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the C.I." is out of print since a complete answer to this question is contained in this work. The following cannot pretend at any such completeness.

Under capitalism the productive forces were increased by extending the social division of labor until it became world wide in scope. A further increase of productive forces requires a further extension of this world-wide division of labor. To attempt to construct a socialist society within the boundaries of a single state, i.e., to attempt to set up a self-sufficient economy independent of the rest of world economy, would mean to divorce that country from the international division of labor to which it has historically developed and thus thrust its economic development backward even further than it had taken place under capitalism. This can be the ideal of the petty bourgeoisie but not of revolutionists. (As evidence of its class roots note that "Socialism in one country" means national socialism, the name of the German Fascist party.)

Soviet economy is inseparably linked with world economy. From this fact flowed the Russian revolution which, according to Lenin's famous formula, occurred because WORLD capitalism broke at its weakest LINK. The seizure of power by the proletariat, however, has not destroyed this interdependence between Soviet and world economy; it has simply changed the ownership and control of the Russian productive forces. Being forced therefore to export and import, the Soviet Union can only find a solution for her economic problems in the international arena. This is the main contradiction which prevents her from building a Socialist, i.e., a self-sufficient, economy within the limits of her State boundaries, and since politics is merely economics raised to a higher plane, the matter will be finally solved politically on the world arena, by the international proletarian revolution.

Question: Do you insist that the proletariat must come into power in several of the advanced countries in order to save the Soviet Union from destruction?

Answer: We merely echo Lenin: "We do not live merely in a State but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME IS UNCONCEIVABLE. In the end one or the other must triumph." As to the statement which mentions "several" countries we have but to quote one statement by Stalin with which we agree but which he has since revised: "For the final victory of Socialism, FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, THE EFFORTS OF ONE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY OF SUCH A PEASANT COUNTRY AS RUSSIA, ARE INSUFFICIENT. For this the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary." (Stalin, "Lenin and Leninism", Russian 1924 edition, pp. 40-41.)

Question: What is the difference between Socialism and Communism?

Answer: Socialism is the first stage of a CLASSLESS society in which certain "inequalities" remain, differences in wages, etc. The productive forces will not yet have matured to give "to each according to his needs". Under Communism, the latter condition, made possible by an additional advance in technique, culture etc., will exist.

In order to harmonize the contradictions of their "theories", the Stalinists confuse Socialism with the Proletarian Dictatorship and with Communism. (See "Question Box" of October 13.)

Question: Does not Stalin concede, at least in theory, that all Socialist construction is not a guarantee to capitalist intervention nor even to a restoration nor even to a restoration of capitalism?

Answer: Stalin concedes the first condition but cannot recognize the second without abandoning his theory, since he would then be admitting that sufficient MATERIAL forces for the building of a Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. do not exist. The whole Stalinist theory, however, is based on exactly the opposite claim. (To be continued.)

GEORGE STANTON, BROOKLYN—(Supplementary answer to September 29th)

Question: From Lenin's "The Third International and its Place in History", Trotsky quotes as follows: ("The Permanent Revolution", page 108) "... the contradictions between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' OVER BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of democracy—to proletarian or Soviet democracy." In the edition published by the Stalinist International Publishers this is stated as "... this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' to the highest form of democracy, THROUGH DEMOCRACY to Soviet or proletarian democracy." Since these two have different meanings, can you tell me which is correct?

Answer: To supplement our previous analytical proof that the Stalinist quotation is incorrect, we now present evidence of a factual nature.

We are indebted to comrade Max Shachtman for the following: "... Wir werden uns kaum irren, wenn wir sagen, dass gerade der Widerspruch zwischen der Zurückgebliebenheit Russlands und seinen 'Sprung' zur höchsten Form des Demokratisches, UEBER DIE BÜRGERLICHE DEMOKRATIE HINWEG zur Sowjet-oder proletarischen Republik." (N. Lenin—"Die Dritte Internationale, ihr Platz in der Geschichte"—DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE INTERNATIONALE, Moskau-Petrograd, No. 1, 1919, p. v. edition of the Rote Fahne, Berlin, Aug. 1919.)

Comrade J. MacDonald is to be thanked for this one: "It would not be misconstruing the facts to say that this striking contrast between Russia's backwardness and its leap OVER THE HEAD OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of democracy, the Soviet or proletarian democracy." (The Communist Review, March 1929, Vol. 1, No. 3, published in London, England by the British Communist Party.)

The emphasis is ours in both cases.

COMRADE R. CAPE TOWN, BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA—We are replying to your questions by separate letter, a copy of which we are sending to the Lenin Club.

A. P. BRONX—See the "Question Box" for August 18, and 25 for the quotations concerning the trade union policy of the C. P. before the inception of the T.U.U.L. and the basis upon which the R.I.L.U. was formed.

COMRADE B. BROOKLYN—See "Question Box" of October 6th.

Editor's Note: We regret that we cannot accede to the requests of comrades for immediate answers by mail since this only increases our work and our facilities are limited. Comrades who enclose air mail stamps only force us to go to the additional trouble and expense of returning them.

HAS THE COMINTERN LEARNED?

By ERICH WOLLENBERG

Many Communist workers, who are critical of the Comintern, are today of the opinion that the Comintern has made "a turn of 180 degrees". They therefore believe that all the demands of the Opposition have been fulfilled and that every one who today still remains a critic of the political line of the Comintern or its sections is a "critic on principle", a hopeless babbler.

We revolutionary Communists should never forget that in the struggle against the mistakes of the Comintern every exaggeration is so much grist to the mill of the bureaucrats and impedes the process of the revolutionary clarification of the Communist workers. We must always bear in mind the lessons which we have drawn from the exaggerated character of the struggle against the social democrats. The social democratic workers began to understand long before Hitler that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthless" but they knew that the S.P.G. was not fascist party and that it was not pursuing fascist policies and that it—neither the leaders nor the workers—were social fascists as the Communists always insisted. Therefore the social democratic workers received all the attacks of the C. P. on the S.P.—even those that were justified—as "ordinary slanders". Therefore it is self-evident that the theory of "social-fascism" and the resulting policies (the red referendum, etc.) in reality helped to constantly strengthen the shaky positions of the social-democratic leadership with its own membership.

A Critique of Criticism

A similar process of clarification, but not in such a developed form, which existed among the social democracy for a number of years began to manifest itself among the Communist workers after July 20, 1932 and especially after January 30, 1933. The Communist workers also understood that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthless". Today we must guard against making the same mistakes as regards the Communists that the Communist party made as regards the social democratic workers. We will be guilty of these mistakes if we represent today everything the Comintern does as false or completely counter-revolutionary, e.g., when we do not submit the policies of the Comintern and its sections to criticism but instead content ourselves with pointing to the "dishonest motives" of the Comintern bureaucrats. Only when we declare openly whenever the Comintern says or does something correct that it is correct will the Communist workers believe us whenever we brand other actions as false and fatal, or when we brand its political line as objectively counter-revolutionary.

The report of the July 9-16 session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is now at hand. It is a kind of touchstone for the policies of the Comintern, an indicator for the "turn". This report shows with terrifying clarity how little the Comintern has learned. Of course, both Klorin and Platitzky have asserted that the German working class had suffered a defeat in January 1933 and that "the inability of the Communists to begin the struggle on July 22, 1932, at least to draw in a section of the proletariat and thus to show that the Communists were really in a condition to carry on a struggle, that they are capable of mobilizing the masses for this struggle—all this has made a shocking impression upon the workers". This "discovery" of Platitzky is undoubtedly a step forward. One need only recall that as late as April of 1933 the writer of this article was expelled from the Communist party by this same Platitzky for making this self-same assertion.

Spreading Illusions

Comrade "Richter", member of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P.G. correctly asserts in his report on the situation in Germany that on the one hand, fascism makes difficult the struggle to win over the workers, but on the other hand facilitates the struggle by "shattering the illusions" of the workers. But unfortunately, Richter tries with might and main to arouse all the illusions on the situation in Germany. He asserts that "everybody is dissatisfied with the Hitler regime in Germany", "no more, no less. It is indeed 'everybody'! The working masses are dissatisfied, the urban middle classes, the masses of petty and middle peasants are 'dissatisfied and discontented'. Even the capitalists 'are not at all satisfied'. Why the hell then, hasn't the fascist dictatorship been overthrown? Klorin and Platitzky say approximately the same thing as Richter and arrive at a conclusion that Hitler in reality leans more and more upon the Reichswehr and the police. They seem to have forgotten that these two instruments of power of the bourgeoisie also do not inhabit a vacuum but are bound up by a thousand living threads with all the layers of the population. Dissatisfaction among all classes and layers of the population would also become manifest in the Reichswehr and the police and turn them

The Author of this Article:

The writer of this article, comrade Erich Wollenberg, is present among leading German Communists. His service to the revolutionary movement and his distinguished career in it entitles him to speak with authority. Wollenberg joined the Communist party as an active army officer in Munich in early 1919. During the existence of the Soviet Republic he was local commander of the Red Army in Bavaria, in charge of the main front at Dachau. He distinguished himself at that time as well as on later occasions by his extraordinary personal bravery. Captured by the army of Ebert-Hindenburg, he was sentenced to several years imprisonment. On his release he became party editor in the Ruhr district and in East Prussia. In 1923 he was put in charge of the military direction of one of the biggest German districts and was one of the few comrades who, against the will of the Central Committee, wanted to strike out in the Fall of the year.

After the defeat of the party he was obliged to flee to the Soviet Union because Secret Servicemen had been shot down in a raid on the military direction. In the Soviet Union Wollenberg entered the Red Army and soon received the rank of captain. In 1932 after repeated requests and no less repeated refusals Wollenberg was permitted to return to Germany, where he became editor of Rote Fahne and a leader of the League of Struggle Against Fascism.

During the pre-Hitler days Wollenberg came into constant conflict with the Central Committee of the party over its nationalistic orientation and its aping of the Nazis. Thaelmann attempted to buy his silence with a Reichstag mandate, but with no success. When Wollenberg was stung at a Nazi demonstration by Storm Troopers, causing him to convalesce in a hospital for several weeks, Thaelmann utilized the opportunity to remove him from all party posts. The resentment in C.P. ranks against this bureaucratic usurpation was so strong that Thaelmann prevailed upon the E.C.C.I. to recall Wollenberg to Moscow where he was denied any active work for the German Communist party. Comrade Wollenberg was expelled from the C.P. in the summer of 1933 when he requested to be permitted to return to Germany and work for the creation of a new Communist party. He is at present in exile.

into undependable props of the fascist dictatorship. But unfortunately these "assertions" of Richter, Platitzky and Klorin are false, awaken frightful illusions and must serve as a point of departure for false policies.

In addition, it serves the leaders of the German Communist party and the Comintern also in order to justify their continually reiterated idiotic theory since 1932-1933 that everything which has occurred in Germany for the last three years was no defeat for the working class but a "revolutionary upsurge". And Richter does, as a matter of fact, speak up and say "we can today declare that this revolutionary upsurge—which was formulated in the October resolution of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P.G. as well as in the resolutions of the 13th plenum of the E.C.C.I.—is being recognized and felt by broad masses of the working class". At what a remote distance are the present emigre leaders of the C.P.G. in Paris and Copenhagen from the real situation and the real opinions of the workers in Germany!

The "Revolutionary Upsurge"
In his report Richter attempts to give a few examples of this "revolutionary upsurge". He points to the "more intense propaganda activity for the first time where over the whole Reich local papers are again appearing for the first time". In order to point out the activity of the C. P. G. he is compelled to give the lie to the earlier reports of the bureaucracy of the C.P.G. because for a year and a half the leadership of the C.P.G. was emphasizing in all their reports and articles that their local papers were appearing regularly, some once every week and others once a month. Richter goes on to list a number of strikes in which he restricts himself to the bald enumeration of some movements and he doesn't describe a single one of

these strikes completely although naturally the methods of strike struggle under a fascist dictatorship must be extraordinarily interesting and rich in lessons. Platitzky and Klorin themselves appear to have little faith in the report made by the member of the C.C. of the C.P.G. because they remark in their own reports that the C.P.G. has been unable to lead a "single important strike". It may or may not be true when Richter asserts as a proof of the revolutionary work of the C.P.G. that—already prior to June 30, 1934—"one big place in Germany alone, five leaders of the S.A. are connected with the C.P.G. and circulate their acquaintances (among the storm troopers)". Should this be true, it would show the inability of the C. P. G. to utilize for revolutionary action so severe a crisis in Fascism as the slaughter of June 30.

Muenzenbergism!
The most important thing in the session of the E.C.C.I. is what the Comintern and the C.C. of the C.P.G. have to say about the social democratic workers. "There are dozens of places where half of the C.P.G. units consist of former social democratic workers. In a city in Thuringia, we have among 200 party members 100 former members of the social democratic party. In a Bavarian city, we have connections with the social democratic key men who in their turn are connected with 500 workers. In a sub-district 200 social democratic workers have entered the party; thanks to this seven units exist in a place where we didn't have a single unit during the times of legality." Etc., etc! These reports so openly bear the stamp of Muenzenbergism, that is, of political brigandage that one need not treat them seriously. They are uttered in the same breath with Klorin's report that the C.P.G. is of the op-

tion "of creating in illegality a colossal mass organization numbering at least 100,000 members". The value of the turn of the Comintern is to be appraised not by the uncontrolled figures of the entry of the social democratic workers into the C.P.G. but by the policies of the C.P.G. The united front is the axis of the entire proletarian policies in the present period. One of the most important conditions for a revolutionary united front policy is a correct position towards social democracy.

But Klorin speaks about "our correct formula that the social democracy and fascism are twins, our correct international formula which states that the social democracy is the chief social prop of the bourgeoisie" concludes literally the following: "the situation in Germany has altered but it is correct today also to call Wels a social fascist; it is correct that the fascists and the social democracy led by Wels were twins." Thus the Comintern remains holding the old fatal formula of Stalin and shamefully keeps silent over the fact that Stalin had furthermore declared "Fascism is a formless bloc of these two organizations (S.P.G. and N.S.D.A.P.) and the bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself at the helm without this bloc." Naturally the Comintern cannot openly compromise Stalin who does not consider it his duty to appear personally at the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

"Without a Stalin There Could Be No Hitler"

The session of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. of July of this year shows that the Comintern in some questions tried to draw some lessons from the defeats of the German and international proletariat. But where it does so it does not point out the source of these mistakes for then it must openly admit a share of guilt in the victory of Fascism over the German working class. "Without the social democracy, Fascism could not have triumphed," says Klorin. "Without Ebert there could be no Hitler," the author of these lines wrote in the Summer of 1932 in the Rote Fahne, the central organ of the C. P. G. July 20, 1932, January 30, 1933 and the seventeen months of the Hitler dictatorship have shown this statement to be only a half-truth which through the pedagogy of history found a fatal supplement, "Without a Stalin there could be no Hitler!" Without the policy of the C.C. of the C.P.G. fascism could not have triumphed without a battle. Klorin correctly differentiates between the "social democratic groups now functioning illegally in Germany" and the C.C. of the S.P.G. in emigration with Wels at the head but, just the same way must one differentiate between the Communist groups now functioning illegally in Germany with the C.C. of the C.P.G. now in emigration with Heckert, Pieck and Ulbricht at the head. Let the Piecks and Wels lead at each other's throats or make united front proposals to each other! This touches the problem of the proletarian revolution in Germany only on its periphery. The precondition for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Germany will obtain if the illegally struggling communist and social democratic workers will build a new communist party on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice.

funds to stay off creditors. We feel confident that all our readers and those who are interested in the launching of a new party will agree with us on this matter. Toward this end we make the following proposals:

1. TO OUR PLEDGERS: If at all possible, send in your pledge in advance to January 1. After that date we will begin a drive for a new list of pledgers in the new party.
2. TO OUR BRANCHES: Arrange at once for a Sixth Anniversary Militant affair to help clear up your bundle account.
3. TO ALL READERS: Send in a 25¢ greeting for the Sixth Anniversary issue. State explicitly whether we may print your name in full.

ADDRESSOGRAPH CONTRIBUTED

The Youngstown Branch of our organization has contributed an addressograph to the Militant. There remain the necessary accessories to be bought—a stamping machine, name plates and some cabinets. The Youngstown comrades found a local place where these can be bought at half the price we would have to pay here. The complete outfit, including crating and shipping to New York comes to a total of \$35.

We take this opportunity to thank our Youngstown comrades for their generous contribution (which saves us about \$150) and secondly to appeal to our readers and friends to send in their donations toward the \$35 so we can get the machine here just as fast as possible.

MAKE YOUR DONATION AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE AND MAKE IT SOON! Be sure to state the specific fund you are contributing so that our money will be used for this special purpose.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

WORLD OF LABOR

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT FLARES IN MEXICO

In New York, the Communist Party forms a United Front with Father Divine—against war and Fascism. In Mexico, the Communist Party forms a united front with the Pope of Rome, vicar of Christ on Earth—Against "Socialist Education" in the schools!

For the past several months, since the new program for "Socialist Education" was adopted by the Mexican Government, the political situation in that country has become extremely tense. Huge mass demonstrations of students, housewives and school children who, under the influence of the clergy, object to a slight dose of sexual instruction in the schools, have been staged throughout the country. These "popular" demonstrations have on almost every occasion been broken up by the hose of the fire department, the clubs of the police, and the rifles of the military. The students of many schools and colleges, led by the Catholic Youth and the Young Communist League who now march shoulder to shoulder "against the common enemy" have staged a number of student strikes. In spite however, of this mass protest on the part of the backward strata of the populace, the proletariat and the radicalized peasantry, unable to analyze the fine points of "socialist education", find in the government program some features which they consider to their interests.

Once again, this time under the guise of "Socialist Education", the national bourgeoisie regime of Mexico, as a cover-up for its anti-labor activity in other fields, and as a means of liquidating the opposition of the rightist elements in opposition to it, continues to flaunt its pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery before the whole world. The plan to apply a new program for "socialist education" in all schools of that country, has brought to the fore once again the century old conflict between the Calles political group, now concentrated around the National Revolutionary Party (P.N.R.) and the Catholic clergy, as representative of the blackest reactionary forces of the country.

The clergy, realizing that this might well be its life and death struggle, made a desperate attempt to rally the most backward masses of the populace against the "socialist education" program and especially against the "sexual education" aspect of the new program of instruction. During this whole conflict, the Stalinists have played directly into the hands of the clerical reaction. The Stalinists, considering the anti "Socialist Education" strikes of the Mexican students, and the "mass movement" of the fanatical housewives and mothers of families, to be progressive simply because they were mass movements, and because they were against the government, have thrown all of their forces on the side of the Roman Catholic clergy and against the government. In their customary fashion they find themselves unable to take a truly independent position in such a question. From open and unrestrained collaboration with the national bourgeoisie against the clergy from 1926 to 1929, they have now turned to open and unreserved support of the Catholic reaction in its struggle against the national bourgeois regime of the P.N.R.

The Communist Internationalists of Mexico, while pointing out that the P.N.R. or any other bourgeois regime is incapable of establishing real socialist education, and that this can only be done under workers' rule as in the U.S.S.R., indicate to the workers that the policies of Roman Catholicism have just as reactionary content as they have always had. In one more case, the need of a new revolutionary workers' party is being demonstrated.

NEW WAR THREAT IN SOUTH AMERICA

War with Venezuela is being discussed openly throughout Colombia, as a result of the growing acuteness of imperialist antagonisms. These conflicts center around petroleum and other concessions in the regions of Colombia that border on the Venezuelan oil fields near Lake Maracibo. The interests of British and U. S. imperialism are playing a desperate game within the politics of Colombia itself. Although the British interests dominate in the recently inaugurated Lopez government, the American concessionaires and industrialists are still able to exert pressure both with the governing group and also through the opposition bourgeois party.

The working class of the country is divided into several camps, mostly under reformist-liberal leadership. This contributed largely to the lack of any serious opposition to last year's Leticia "war", and is of course a source of great weakness today also. However, the workers are becoming more militant in the recent period as evidenced by the many important strikes that have taken place. The failure of every single large strike to gain its objectives, has weakened the little faith that the masses still retained in their leadership. There is a wide sympathy towards communism among broad masses of workers, but this is not translated into communist influence in the unions because of the inability of the party to lead any struggles to a really successful finish. There is no Opposition Communist movement in Colombia with the exception of a small group in the provincial city of Cali, which controls a few minor local trade unions and adheres to the International Comtrade Union.

SPANISH REACTION PREPARES NEW BLOWS

As the government troops of the Lerroux-Gil Robles regime mop up the remaining bodies of armed workers, the reactionary forces within the government itself, are preparing for new advances. The number of workers imprisoned as a result of the revolutionary general strike and uprising is estimated at about 15,000. Many of these have already received long sentences and twenty death penalties, a number of them against Catalan nationalists and army officers who had joined the uprising are pending. The Popular Actionists (Fascists) are demanding wholesale executions and a virtual reign of terror against the workers and their organizations, most of the leaders of which are now either in jail or in hiding. The Radicals of Mr. Lerroux's party however, fearful of the forces of the working class, weakened but not smashed, are vacillating on the policy to be followed. Seeking a further pretext for the repressions, and especially in an attempt to justify these repressions internationally, the reactionaries are inventing extravagant atrocity stories. It is claimed, for instance, that in Asturias the revolutionary workers seized the little children of the Civil Guards and gouged out their eyes. But in spite of this and numerous other charges, even the more moderate bourgeois elements tend to ignore the "horror" stories.

Political measures are being taken against the Catalan Generalidad and many of its autonomous features, such as police, courts and taxation powers have been rescinded. Preparations are being made to declare the Socialist Party illegal at the parliamentary session, scheduled to open in a few days.

Six Years of the Militant

November 15th marks the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Militant. At the same time we are preparing for a leap forward on the road to the building of a new revolutionary party based on a Marxist foundation.

Those who have been with us during these trying six years remember the difficult times we have had and feel proud of the share they had in helping to overcome them at all personal costs and sacrifices.

The Militant has served a great

historic mission during this period and will continue to serve the movement after the new party is formed.

In order that the Militant shall be in a position to expand and improve after the new party is launched, we must make heroic efforts NOW to liquidate all past obligations. If we do this, we will give the official organ of the new party a running start and thus enable the editors and business office to concentrate on expanding the paper instead of on collecting

ANNIVERSARY OFFER

Here is a special anniversary offer of interest to all our subscribers and friends. With this special combination offer you can obtain just the book or pamphlet you want and a subscription to the MILITANT.

We have set as our birthday aim—to double subscriptions. We can count on our friends to double with us? Send in your subscriptions at once. This campaign ends Dec. 31st.

COMBINATION OFFERS

Six Months Subscription to the MILITANT and one of the following pamphlets: Both for \$.50

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WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER—by Trotsky
One Year Subscription to the MILITANT and one of the following books: Each Book \$1.50

IMPERIALISM—Lenin. STATE AND REVOLUTION—Lenin.
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EDITORIAL

Radek for a New Party?...

KARL Radek, editor of *Izvestia*, is the chief ballyhoo artist for Stalin's foreign policy. In an interview with Fred C. Kelly, reported in the *New York Post* on Oct. 29, Radek is quoted as expressing a certainty that there will be no revolution in the United States for a long time, and that "the United States will be the last country to give up capitalism." Radek, ignoring the misery of the American workers which has become so intense during the last five years, states that "life is still too comfortable in the U. S. for a real revolt to occur". Overriding all Stalin's older "theories" of the "third period" and the "deep-going radicalization of the workers", Radek opines that the American workers "are more conservative than the farmers". Lending support to A. P. of L. officials who claim that a policy of rotten compromise has the freely-expressed support of the rank-and-file (the textile strike committee, for example), Radek charges that American workers are always willing to settle strikes "whenever employers make even slight concessions."

Thus much of Radek's comment, all transparently false, deals with what Marxists call the "objective situation", even the state of mind of the working class, its class consciousness, which he rates so low, being "objective" to the revolutionary vanguard. Aware that he has made a poor case for his prophecy and that the capitalist class may not be able to comfort itself very much from these analyses, Radek turns to a consideration of the subjective factor. "No country," he is quoted as saying, "ever has a revolution until there is a class-conscious group capable of carrying on the revolution. It must be led by zealots who believe in it so thoroughly they are willing to make great sacrifices for it." It is the absence of such a "group," or party as we call it, which Radek sees as the decisive factor making for the permanence of capitalism in the U. S.

It is not surprising to see Karl Radek throw bricks at the American Stalinists. Years ago he expressed over the tea-cups the opinion that the American C. P. was the agent of the international movement. Looking at its record after the five years of world-shaking crisis which have ensued, he naturally holds an even lower opinion of the Browderian horde than ever before. Quite fairly, in his view, these specimens are not "capable of carrying on the revolution."

Now, comrades, don't go off the deep end. True, Karl Radek was once a member of the Russian Left Opposition. True, too, Louis Waldman, in rejecting the application of Ben Gitlow for admission to the S. P., informs us that "once a Bolshevik always a Bolshevik". True, again, he recognizes the permanent usefulness of himself and his organization to carry forward the banner of the proletarian revolution. But it is true that Radek, after capitulating to Stalin, has begun to smuggle Trotskyism into the Comintern? Is he, in his dotage, bitten by conscience, slyly setting that banner in a corner and walking off in the hope that someone else will pick it up? Is he painfully and in this round-about way sending us greetings? Is he making an analysis and begging us to draw the conclusions?

Are we to read between the lines of Radek's statement the Macedonian cry: "For God's sake, somebody start a new revolutionary party?" In a pig's eye we are. We know that in Radek we have the official representative of the Political Bureau of the Russian C. P. and of Joseph Stalin himself.

All the logic of Radek's analysis, viewed by a Marxist, points inevitably to the need for a new party. But Stalin's mouthpiece means something different. What this is becomes clear from some of his other recent remarks.

"August", a well-informed reactionary London journalist, cables to the *New York Times* (Oct. 30), an interview with "the greatest living British diplomatic expert", concerning an "event of historical importance", the presence at the funeral of the King of Yugoslavia of 150 members of the Turkish President Kemal's bodyguard. "Thus", comments August's friend, the diplomat, "we discover the Soviet Government in the quite unexpected part of a friend of the existing order. We who follow political developments in the Balkans know that the influence of the Soviets in that part of the world is a conservative one."

A slanderous remark, you ask? And August's informant answers: "Some time ago in Berlin, just before the Hitler revolution, a small company had met in a private house to meet the well-known Communist journalist, Karl Radek, whose real name is Sobelson. The conversation came to the interesting topic of the gradual change in Soviet foreign policy, which from being Marxist and international is gradually acquiring bourgeois and nationalist traits."

"Radek replied to the critics that it is all very well to find fault with Soviet policies, but he defied anybody to live five or six years in the Kremlin without beginning to think that, after all, there was a great deal to be said for the principles of Peter the Great and other Russian autocrats."

More slanderous remarks you ask? Then turn back to the Moscow cables on the assassination of Barthou, and read how Radek, in *Izvestia*, called him "the man of peace". Or turn to the cable on the tenth anniversary of French recognition of the U. S. S. R. and read Radek's raptures over the rapprochement between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist bourgeois (but perhaps, unlike the Trotskyists, "revolutionary bourgeois") French government. There Radek expresses "full confidence" that Laval, the new French foreign minister in the Bonapartist Doumergue Cabinet, will carry out the pledges of the beloved martyr Barthou, "the man of peace!"

No, Radek's conclusion from the failure of the C. P. U. S. A. is not that we should found a new party. He is not giving us contraband wishes of sympathy. His conclusion—not to go into the question of whether the hen or the egg came first—is for the U. S. S. R. to rely upon alliances with capitalist governments and to abandon the international revolutionary movement. And his "prophecies" are mere promises to the American bourgeoisie that the Stalinist C. P. will "behave".

We shall have to go forward, as we have these many years, without Karl Radek and all the little Radeks who capitulated with him. We will build a new revolutionary party and teach Radek and his anxious allies, the bourgeois foreign ministers who demand and get constant reassurance from him, that the tide of the class struggle cannot be halted by any Canute, not even if he cries his commands from the Kremlin itself.

There is no revolutionary party—in this we are at one with Radek. We add only the rallying cry: Forward to the founding of the revolutionary party!

The Times and Fascism....

SUNDAY'S *New York Times* really contained an eye-fel. We recall how, a year and a half ago when Hitler came to power and heads rolled in the sand, the *Times* talked about Fascist brutality. It was, of course, particularly agitated because of Hitler's anti-Semitic measures taken to keep his pledge made to get the German petty-bourgeoisie some gravy by squeezing the largely middle-class Jewish element of Germany. So excited was the *Times* by the so-called anti-Semitic drive, which for a moment or two threatened to go so far as the expropriation of some Jewish capitalists—a crime even in the eyes of those aristocratic capitalists who will not let a Jew into their home—that it even mentioned some of Hitler's crimes against workers, their property, leaders and organizations.

Similarly, years ago, the *Times* carried some news about Mussolini's brutalities.

On Sunday, however, the *Times*, which cannot find space for a brief communication from the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee seeking to correct misrepresentations in a *Times* report of the Committee's activities, gave two columns to a Brooklyn capitalist, B. H. Namm, to extol Mussolini truthfully for saving capitalism, and to extol him falsely as a benefactor of the people of Italy.

And in the same issue appeared an article by a Hitler propagandist on the beauties of the Fascist labor camps. These are portrayed as a sort of combination rest-cure, physical culture resort and summer camp; there are the usual pictures of men reading books, listening to radios and whatnot. "The healthy work, the sunshine, and above all the cheerfulness... seemed to me to be powerful arguments for the system."

We cannot here give space to refute every lie and misrepresentation in the *Times* article on the Hitler slave-camps. Suffice it to say that in them are herded workers for whom employment cannot be found in the decaying economy of German capitalism, and here they are given slop, blows, hard labor and military training. They all smile—and if they ever stop smiling they are beaten over the heels with steel rods.

The *Times* has definitely abandoned printing the truth about the brutalities of the Hitler regime. It printed some truths for a while because it could not avoid doing so, and because its owners resented Hitler's anti-Semitism which, if carried out without restraint against the rich Jewish bankers of Germany as well as against the poor Jews, might both weaken the structure of German capitalism and set a precedent that the rich Jewish owners of the *Times* would not like.

"ORGANIZER" RAPS VIGILANTES

(By Mid-West Correspondent)
Minneapolis.—The supporters of Law and Order here have recently made a test thrust at the working class.

On Tuesday, Oct. 16, sometime between midnight and dawn, several carloads of night riders drove up before the Workers Book Store (Stalinist) on Third Street, between Hennepin and Nicollet. This little shop is located in the heart of town.

The vigilantes smashed the glass in the door, entered the shop and went to work.

Hundreds of pamphlets were torn up and scattered on the floor. Book shelves were overthrown and smashed. Over a hundred books were carried out to the cars, together with many pamphlets. In their patriotic ardor, the 100 per centers were not above stealing the small supply of cash in the store; about five bucks. Before they gleefully drove off, the raiders stuck a large sign in the window:

"modern
Boston Tea Party
NO REDS
Wanted in Minneapolis"

The vigilantes then drove out Wayzata Boulevard a few miles from town and made a bonfire of their plunder. In the morning you could stir among the ashes and pick out part of a title page of an Upton Sinclair novel, the charred cover of Jack London's "The Iron Heel". Blackly floating over the countryside were what was left of some damned good books by Jack Conroy, Dos Passos, etc., not to speak of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

At this site also, the vigilantes left signs:

"First Warning
to Communists",
and

"This is what
we do to
Communist Literature".

That day the boss press headlined the raid, hoping to build up mass sentiment for a continuation of such admirable activity.

"Irate citizens," said the Minneapolis Journal, "raged by activity of revolutionary forces in Minneapolis, smashed their way into the Workers Book Store... early today."

Cops—Deaf, Dumb, and Blind

"Irate citizens!" Not a word of condemnation for the unlawful and cowardly actions of the vigilantes. Not a hint as to who the raiders were. Not a question raised as to just what the police were doing while their aid was on. (Anybody who has been on the streets of downtown Minneapolis after midnight, when the sidewalks have been rolled up, knows that it would be a physical impossibility for the police to be unaware of the vigilantes. The noises of breaking glass and splintering furniture must have shrieked through the usually silent streets.)

The Tribune and the Star followed the lead of the Journal in attempting to obscure the meaning of the raid to the working class.

But another paper was published the day after the raid—it hauled the *Organizer*, weekly organ of Union 574, makes its appearance on Tuesday afternoon.

"Organizer" Denounces Raids

Headlined on the front page of this paper was: "STOP THE VIGILANTE RAIDS". The *Organizer* warned the Minneapolis workers not to permit such actions to go unchallenged, because "today they will strike at the Communists—tomorrow it will be the Socialists—the next day the trade union halls. If they think they can get away with it, these vigilantes would like to terrorize every worker, every liberal minded person in the city."

After calling on every worker to come to the support of the victims of the vigilantes, and exposing the part played by conniving police, the *Organizer* wound up with a call for action: "If the police will not stop the plundering of the workers by these lawless vultures, the workers will. STOP THE VIGILANTES!"

It is unnecessary to say that Union 574's paper took exactly the correct line on the vigilantes. Against such a tactic of the bosses as this, the workers must present a united front, standing shoulder to shoulder to repel the raiders. An injury to one is the concern of all! Fortunately, there exists in the Minneapolis labor movement a force sufficiently formidable and sufficiently alert to raise the alarm, to come out with the right slogan. Such a force is Local 574.

Remember "Deputies Run!"

If the bosses in Minneapolis want to fight it out with their lawless

gangs against the united workers,

we will give them a fight. We gave them a fight once before, on a certain Tuesday morning in the Market.

We must show the workers that it is foolish to look to the police for protection against these plunderers, these vigilantes. We must show that it is necessary for the workers to present a united front against the bosses, to stop the vigilantes!

This raid is but a fore-taste of what may become increasingly frequent as the struggle becomes tenser, and it is in such a light that the raid must be seen by every worker, by every workers' organization. We must begin now to organize to beat back the thrusts of vigilante fascism.

A few days after the raid, the Stalinists issued a leaflet calling for three meetings at which the raid will be discussed. The Communist League, Minneapolis branch, is holding an open discussion meeting on Sunday afternoon, October 28, at which the raid will be discussed, and concrete proposals raised as to the best methods of combating these plunderers directed by the bosses.

Who Are the Vigilantes?

Present-day vigilantes are invariably the instruments of the boss class for extra-legal use against the workers. They are used for purposes for which the police themselves cannot be utilized without giving away the entire shell-game of capitalist "democracy".

The bosses wish to stamp out rebelliously the growing spirit of rebellion in the Minneapolis working class. Very well, they strike first of all at that segment which has the least mass support among the workers—in short, at the Communist Party. They gather together a band of thugs, of the "sports" among themselves, and of those elements among the workers and the middle-class foolish enough to fall for their propaganda, call themselves "irate citizens"—and proceed with their dirty work.

Stalinists Bewilder Workers

The hardest task we face in Minneapolis is to make the workers understand why they are to come to the support of the victims of the recent night-raid: the Communist Party in Minneapolis. The bewilderment of the local workers over this point is understandable.

For so many workers say that the Communist party committed an unpardonable crime against the working class during the recent 574 strikes. They attempted to split a union, a powerful union, a

Through diligence and concerted efforts, we have been successful in gathering together a limited number of incomplete files of the Minneapolis *Organizer* which we are now offering for sale, at \$1 and \$1.50 per file, depending upon the number of issues missing.

The *Organizer*, as our readers know, was issued daily during the great Minneapolis truck drivers strike, and was the official daily organ of Local 574. Its contribution to American strike strategy is invaluable.

If you want to know how the Minneapolis Truck drivers won their right to unionization in a period when this elemental right is a fighting issue in all strikes; if you want to know how these workers fought off Governor Olson's militia; if you want to know how these men out-manuevered the Citizens Alliance plot of a Rank and File opposition; if you want to learn how the women helped in this historic fight—GET A FILE OF THE *ORGANIZER*.

Nos. 1 and 2 of this paper are not to be had anywhere. We have only 5 files which contain these two numbers. The remaining files all miss these numbers as well as a few other numbers. But the most important material is included. We also have a number of single copies on hand. Those wishing samples of the *Organizer* can get them singly at 5c a copy.

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM
"Does the American Working Class Need a New Revolutionary Party?"
Speaker:
AL DASCH
Sunday, Nov. 4 at 8 P.M.
1281 49th Street, Brooklyn

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.
JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

But now the *Times* has definitely gone over to propagandizing for Hitler, as well as for Mussolini. Its Jewish owners and the Jewish editor of its Sunday Magazine, which published the pro-Hitler article, are delighted with the effects of Hitlerism "on the whole". At least it saved the danger of revolutionary unity in the working class and thereby saved capitalism for another period of exploitation.

Clearly, the workers of America, all the exploited, all the minorities—the Jewish workers and poor of America included—can expect no honest aid from the *Times* or similar "democratic" institutions, should American capitalism ever take the road of Fascism to defend its class interests against a rising workers movement. The *Times* is pro-Fascist at heart, and the center of gravity of the anti-Fascist movement is and can be only in the working class. To this class must all honest anti-Fascists ally themselves by joining its immediate struggles. One of the tasks of the new party will be to launch a serious, militant, broad anti-Fascist movement.

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY DANCE
November 17, at 8 P.M.
at 144 Second Avenue
Aspirics: Downtown Branch, N. Y.
A good band — Refreshments
Save This Date and Celebrate
With Us.

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League Expels Goldman For Capitulation to S.P.

The National Committee of the Communist League of America has decided to expel Albert Goldman of Chicago because of his openly declared intention to disregard the course pursued by the League and join the Socialist party as an individual. This action was taken after Goldman had availed himself of the opportunity to explain his position before the Chicago membership and before the National Committee.

Goldman was ready to desert the League, not only severing organizational relations, but desert it also politically. Despite his assertion that he stands on the same political platform as before and is merely changing the form of his allegiance, the objective logic of his step, taken as an individual and flying in the face of the course we have adopted for the creation of a new party and a new international, is tantamount to capitulation. By this action, Goldman ends his brief sojourn with the International Communists where his abilities had been useful but where his political weakness was most clearly demonstrated by his readiness to discard our principled platform and banner in return for a place in the S. P., to which he comes as a humble capitulator. Toward capitalists we have only one attitude, clearly established a long time ago. It means a definite parting of the ways.

In taking the position stated Goldman also violated elementary discipline of the League by submitting his views to non-League members, including members of the Socialist party, before thrashing them out in his own organization. Important though this aspect of his case is, we consider it a subsidiary matter under the circumstances.

The real issue is the political question involved—the question of which course to pursue toward the creation of the new party and the new international. That is not a mere incident; it affects the very life and development of the revolutionary movement itself.

In its essence, the issue is drawn between revolutionary Marxism on the one hand and social reformism and centrism on the other. Centrism appears today both in its bureaucratic Stalinist form and in the diluted form of militant pacifism now characterizing the S. P. since the adoption of the new declaration of principles which seeks vainly to establish an independent course between revolutionary Marxism and the reactionary brand of social reformism represented by the Old Guard. This issue still stands in the center of the present historical processes. The League has played and will continue to play an active role in this process; but our point of departure is the creation of the historic instrument, the creation of a revolutionary force emerging now in its initial stage as the Workers Party of the United States. In pursuing this aim we have adhered to the principle of building a cadre of conscious revolutionists, welded together by an historical objective and not tolerating a situation where members may follow opposite courses.

In the position we have taken during the period of existence we have represented the connection between the October revolution and the international revolution. It imposed upon us for a time the isolated existence of a propagandist group; but we never accepted the purely trade unionist criterion which measures in terms of bare numbers. The catastrophic defeats suffered by the international working class movement in recent times only too closely reveal the falsity of such criteria. Numerically powerful working class parties went down to disaster because of the absence of a revolutionary policy. And it is by absorbing the lessons of these defeats that the inescapable conclusion arises: to create the new instrument which can prepare for the triumph of Marxism on a new historical scale.

Where will the forces come from to constitute the new party? An important factor in its development will undoubtedly be constituted out of the regroupments and new leftward currents within the existing parties and particularly through the radicalization of the proletarian kernel in the Socialist parties. But it is inconceivable that the Socialist parties will play the role of revolutionary leadership of the working class or serve as instruments for the reform of the Second International on which they stand.

The roots of the Second International are deeply imbedded in reformism. Its leading bureaucracy is still one of the props of the bourgeoisie and it is waging a relentless struggle against the leftward currents arising within the affiliated parties. Those who capitulate from a former revolutionary position and go over to the Socialist party without a banner inevitably start out from the false concept that this party as such can become the revolutionary force. That is clearly revealed even in the United States.

The American Socialist party is feeling some of the repercussions from the European events and from the sharpened class struggle in the United States. Although, in con-

tradition to some of the European parties, it is not at all representative of the main stream of the working class, new currents have arisen within it. By a very small majority and by only a small part of its membership participating in the referendum it has carried the declaration of principles—of the declaration of militant pacifism—of the Detroit convention. The "militants", representing the main body of the diluted centrism which has so far carried the day and carried it with the assistance of the reactionary municipal socialists led by Houn, made their first political retreats already at the Detroit convention. Facing the pressure of the Old Guard, which is in control of the strongest party institutions and the strongest state apparatus, the "militants" have yielded since and will yield further to social reformism. It is true that out of this combination of the pressure from the Old Guard and the yielding of ground by the "militants", a definite leftward current will arise; but its true revolutionary expression it will be able to find only in the struggle for the new party and the Fourth International.

The statement of Gitlow and those who have rallied around him to enter the Socialist Party flies in the face of these actual conditions. Not only do these people say that they have no intention whatever of functioning as a separate faction inside the Socialist party, they foster the illusion that it is possible "to revolutionize it and to build it as an instrument for working class emancipation." In reference to the adoption of the so-called declaration of principles they say, "it now makes it possible to unite the revolutionary forces of the country in the socialist party and to build it up as a powerful revolutionary force, rooted in the soil of the country and responsive to the needs of the workers." This position includes the planting of the germ of organic unity—unity between the Socialist party of militant pacifism and the Stalinist centrist party together with all who verbally adhere to revolutionary socialism. Such an organic unity by the false illusions it creates of the possibility unity between Communism and Socialism could mean only a further barrier in the working class road toward emancipation and a combination of two bureaucratic regimes so much more effectively to hinder the process of regroupments, at least for a time, and so much more effectively to wield the power of the apparatus against the developing truly leftward currents. These proposals cater to the worst feature of the centrist concepts of a party of unity in general, loosely connected and without a principled position.

Goldman, in his entry into the Socialist party cannot but accept the Gitlow position; and the objective logic of all who enter in this manner as capitulators from a former revolutionary position and without a banner can lead only to the acceptance of the S. P. as the future revolutionary force and thus to false illusions and new defeats. Our road lies in the opposite direction. We are setting out now to build a revolutionary party, to build the new party. It is, as our readers know, to be launched very soon. It begins on the basis of unification of two groups, the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. It is the first real signal of actual unification of revolutionary forces to stand henceforth unitedly on a principled revolutionary platform and by that very fact alone become a powerful factor in stimulating the leftward developments in the S. P. and preparing the ground and the framework within which they can find their future revolutionary expression.

—National Committee,
Communist League of America

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JAMES P. CANNON
(Just returned from Europe)
SUNDAY, NOV. 11, at 8 P.M.
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Fargo Drivers Win in Militant Milk Strike

Dunne Jailed for Activity, Released By Mass Pressure

BULLETIN
Fargo, N. D.—Miles Dunne, militant leader of the Minneapolis truck strike, who was arrested in Fargo, North Dakota, where he had been helping to organize the truck drivers, has been released "on his own cognizance." The strike of milk drivers, which he helped to organize, has ended in victory for the workers.

Mass pressure—the threat of the workers to call a general strike—forced his release. The indictment against him of "inciting to riot" has not been dismissed, but with the workers thoroughly aroused, it is questionable that the authorities will dare to press the case.

Dunne has been in Fargo for the past three months, at the request of the local union leaders, who were impressed by the tactics that had won the Minneapolis strike and wanted them introduced in the Fargo situation.

A strike of the milk-wagon drivers followed a successful organization campaign. The strike was conducted along lines similar to the aggressive Minneapolis battles, and brought the bosses to terms within 24 hours. Our correspondent's account of the strike and of Dunne's arrest follows.

By Our Mid-West Correspondent

A pebble is cast into a pool. Rhythmically, irresistibly, concentric circles form, well outwards. Fargo is a town 250 miles from Minneapolis, just across the North Dakota line. Its population is 30,000, Fargo being much the largest town in the sparsely-populated state. It is the center of a rich agricultural community. Wheat, oats, corn, cattle, dairy products—these are the commodities which the state sells. There is no water-power available in the state, there is almost no manufacturing carried on. Trucking is a most important industry.

The Fargo workers were greatly interested in the Minneapolis truck strikes. They sent delegations to Local 574, and offered to assist the Minneapolis workers in their struggle. After the settlement of the July-August strike, the teamsters union in Fargo asked Local 574 to send out an organizer. Miles Dunne was loaned to the Fargo union and for the past several months he has been in Fargo, organizing the drivers, stimulating work in the North Dakota labor movement, winning adherents to the cause of the workers from other local unions and the public generally, especially the unemployed.

The Fargo Drivers Union Local 173 rapidly build up a membership of 400. This union had the same broad organizational policy pursued by Local 574. Milk wagon drivers, bakers, inside workers were organized in the union.

The conditions of the Fargo workers are bad. The town is dominated by chains—the banks are branches of the huge Twin City financial institutions. When one goes to a movie in Fargo, one attends a Public house. The largest store is a Sears Roebuck branch. The largest dairy plant is but a branch of a company having its home office elsewhere.

The milk wagon drivers worked under particularly hard conditions—the 7-day week, 70 to 90 hours a week, a wage not exceeding \$15—this in comparison with the \$34 milk driver wage in Minneapolis, with the 6-day week prevailing in the larger city.

With relatively high living costs, it is apparent that the milk drivers had genuine grievances. A list of demands was drawn up and presented to the bosses. The demands were ignored. A strike of milk wagon drivers was called for Sunday morning, Nov. 4, at 4 A.M.

Early Sunday morning pickets began to assemble at the union headquarters, a large 2nd-floor hall in the middle of the town.

The logic of events and circumstances of a strike always crystallizes a definite opposition group among the employers, a definite scene of action. In Fargo, the Fairmont Creamery, the largest creamery in town, furnished both the backbone of the opposition and the scene of action.

Picketing was carried on along the precise lines laid down by the Minneapolis strikers, allowing for

Cannon Forum Postponed Membership Meets Sun.

A general membership meeting of the Communist League will be held Sunday, Nov. 11. Comrade Cannon will report on the International Plenum which he attended as the delegate of the League. The meeting will begin at 11 A.M. and will be followed by an all day discussion. The lecture of comrade Cannon scheduled for Sunday evening at Irving Plaza has been postponed for one week.

Gorman Plans A Love Feast With Bosses

Textile Workers Get It in The Neck While Faker Talks "Cooperation"

Francis J. Gorman, first vice president of the United Textile Workers of America, whose shameful betrayal of the textile strike stunned even conservative sections of the labor movement, has now come forward with another ingratiating offer to the mill owners—a joint employer-union campaign to expand markets, and promote industrial peace.

This time he offers his services directly to George A. Sloan, chairman of the Cotton Textile Institute, which subsidized the thugs who broke the strike. It will be remembered that an industrial "truce" was declared, which was signed by Gorman, but never by Sloan. Accordingly thousands of workers found themselves locked out when Gorman called the strike off.

Gorman's letter to Sloan, however, breathes not a word of complaint, and not a single demand. He offers his cooperation to the textile industry without qualifications, fawning before Sloan as a flunky fawns before his master.

It Seems . . .

"It seems to me," he writes sweetly, "that when wage readjustments have been made, as the result of inquiries (inquiries, mind you!) now being made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Trade Commission shall have concluded adjustments of the discrimination cases before it, and when the three work assignments boards shall have been set up, the time will have arrived when employers' organization representatives and union representatives can begin conferences looking toward the improvement of the textile industry and its outlook."

The ink has scarcely signed on the "truce" that broke the strike and betrayed the workers, and here is Gorman proposing pleasant round-table conferences with the same bosses who a few months ago were shooting down textile workers.

For the general benefit of the industry—to promote foreign markets, for the expansion of domestic markets.

But does the offer of cooperation end there? You do not know Gorman if you think so.

Cooperation with Mr. Legree
"Joint cooperation should extend beyond the matter of extending the use of textiles and our offer of cooperation covers the entire field of industrial relations, of course."

And, of course, "the union cannot contribute its efforts except in cooperation with the organized employers. . . . The United Textile Workers of America do not yield even to the owners of the mills, in the desire to promote the welfare of the industry to a point where it may be fairly, soundly, and genuinely prosperous." (Prosperous for whom?)

Throughout there is never any reference to the recent strike except to express satisfaction with the result, and to hail the "complete restoration to a peace basis."

Not a word about the discrimination against union workers in the Southern mills; not even the suggestion that if the bosses want the aid of the union in their market-grabbing schemes, in the imperialist schemes to wrest markets from Japan and England (and War, too, is a method of expanding markets and making industry profitable for the owners), the bosses might offer concessions or sop to the starving mill hands, North and South.

National Jobless Day Supported by Unions

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Final plans for National Unemployed Day were completed at a meeting of the National Action Committee just concluded here. Reports compiled from all over the country indicate that there will be an enormous turnout in the nation-wide demonstrations to be held November 24.

The more than 1,000 local units of the cooperating organizations have been instructed to begin their demonstrations at 10 A.M. on Nov. 24. They will march to relief stations throughout the country to present their demands locally. The climax will be the visit of a national delegation to the President.

The National Action Committee, of which David Lasser, chairman of the Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, is secretary, has written President Roosevelt for an appointment for a delegation of 15 to present the demands of the unemployed on Nov. 26 or 27.

In addition to the 750,000 organized unemployed represented directly at the meeting here, the demonstration will have the backing of numerous local unemployed groups.

In Minneapolis many A. F. of L. unions affiliated with the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, unemployed organization, will support the Nov. 24 parade. In New York the Dressmakers Joint Board and the United Hebrew Trades will mobilize members and other unions are expected to follow suit. In Toledo where the National Unemployed League is a powerful force, many trade unionists will join the unemployed in demonstrating.

The call to action is signed by the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, Minnesota Central Council of Workers, American Workers Union (Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska), Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, Texas Central Council of Workers, Fort Wayne Unemployed League.

The American Civil Liberties Union has informed the N.A.C. that it will aid the demonstrators in case of police interference. In a statement to the press Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, expressed belief that the police would accede to the A.C.L.U.'s request that they remain away from relief centers during the presentation of demands.

"Police officials will provoke trouble in places, no doubt," said Johnson. "Some can be expected to act as if the jobless are criminals or bands of looters. But this is our only way of driving home our demands and we are going right ahead to fight to the last ditch for what's coming to us even if we have to take it in the end."

All members and sympathizers of the C.L.A. are asked to mobilize for the great demonstration on Nov. 24. This should be an historic event, the greatest display of organized power ever made by the unemployed of the whole nation.

Dyers Strike Holds Lines In 2nd Week

Paterson, Nov. 8.—Paterson is shut tight as a drum. The dye workers' strike has been extended to the bleacheries. In East Rutherford yesterday a giant mass picket line, the biggest ever seen in Rutherford, closed down the bleacherie there. The police, of course, were mobilized beforetime with their tin hats, gas bombs and all the other police machinery for strike-breaking. However, the pickets were not at all intimidated. A minor scuffle ensued; and after a few windows were broken and a car overturned the management announced that the plant would be closed down until the strike was settled.

A bleacherie in Lodi was likewise shut down.

In the face of the determined militancy and solidarity of the dye workers the bosses are for the moment banking upon the arbitration board to effectively "settle" the strike for them. By now the workers have been pretty well immunized against arbitration; and they know what to expect. Nevertheless, despite the statements issued by the leadership there is no doubt that tremendous pressure is being exerted to put an end to the strike, with of course the minimum concessions on the part of the bosses.

The negotiations which have been broken off several times are now once again in progress, under the supervision of the N.R.A. figure-head, Squires. Last night a "secret session" was held. The bosses are "secretly" threatening that if the negotiations fall through this time they will negotiate no more but fight it out to the finish. At the same time the yellow press in Paterson drums up the optimistic prospect that a settlement will materialize shortly. And rumors are being assiduously circulated among the workers "on good authority" that the strike will be settled by the end of this week.

The Militant in its previous dispatches pointed out that the situation is very favorable to the workers. Thus far the strike has been extremely effective, and it obviously has reached its turning point.

Today, more than ever, the dye workers must maintain vigilance against any arbitration deal the bosses may try to put over. The union demands are: the union shop, the 30-hour week, the 30-dollar wage. This is the basis on which the strike should be settled. And as a matter of fact, the bosses will not be able to hold out much longer against the solidarity that has marked this strike from its outset.

'Truce' Government Falls in France; Class Lines Drawn

Convention of C.L.A. Call November 26

Pursuant to the official call issued by the National Committee, the delegates to the Third Convention of the Communist League of America will assemble in New York City November 26. Outstanding among the problems to be considered is the organization of the new party in the United States.

The decisions to be made by this convention will thus be of far-reaching significance not only for the League itself but for the American working class movement. It occurs at a time when the destiny of humanity virtually hangs in the balance. Events of a world shaking character have taken place during the most recent period.

It will now be presented in concrete form to the League convention. The delegates who will carry the mandate of the membership and represent every branch of the League will therefore face the responsibility of final decision. Their task has been facilitated by the work that preceded the convention. Our branches have been informed about the various developments in the negotiations between the League and the American Workers Party, having as its objective to prepare a basis for fusion of the two organizations in the new party. In the pre-convention discussion which has taken place in the branches our membership has had the opportunity to formulate its point of view on this important question. What remains is the convention action.

The National Committee will present to the convention such additional material pertaining to this question as still remains to be submitted. It will present the proposition to the assembled delegates to proceed, on the basis of agreements obtained with the Provisional Organizing Committee of the A.W.P. to the unification of the two organizations and to the formal launching of the new party. If this proposition is accepted by the League delegates and similar action is taken by the A.W.P. convention, meeting simultaneously, the unity convention will follow immediately thereafter on the scheduled date of November 30.

The full agenda of the convention, covering all the problems facing our organization has already been submitted to the membership and will be followed when the delegates assemble.

**National Committee,
Communist League of America,
ARNE SWABECK,
Secretary.**

French Bolshevik Paper Calls For Decisive Steps

Rumblings of civil war are already audible in France. The collapse of the Doumergue "truce" government has brought the issue of Fascism or proletarian revolution closer on the political horizon. The government of Etienne Flandin, not quite so reactionary in appearance, but no less anti-working class in character will prove to be no better than a temporary stop-gap.

It cannot cut the Gordian knot that binds French economy. Unemployment is growing apace. The middle classes are being ruined by shrinking markets. Wages are sinking. The crisis in the ranks of the Radical Socialist party that caused the demise of the "truce" government is but a reflection of the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie under the pressure of its economic difficulties.

On the political field the Fascist organizations arm everywhere for the destruction of the organs of working class democracy, the political parties and the trade unions. On the other hand the revolutionary fever of the French working class is rising. Between this hammer and anvil the new middle-of-the-road must come to grief.

What is the French working class to do if it is not to meet the fate of the German working class in its worst variant or of the Austrian or the Spanish at the best?

The following article translated from *la Verite* organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party of France) throws the light of Marxism on the French political situation and points the road for the triumph of the proletariat.

How is the offensive of reaction to be defeated? The coordination committee of the S.P. and the C.P. is conducting a campaign of meetings.

L'Humanite (organ of the C.P.) has raised the question of a "popular front" through the extension of unity of action to sections of the petty bourgeoisie. But in the one case as in the other they are not concerned with concrete methods, precise aims and adequate organization to block the road to the maneuvers of reaction in revising the constitution.

Frossard (right wing leader of the S.P.), declaring that there is no possibility to beat back the reactionary hands by the forces of the working class alone, concludes, in unison with Marquet, with a plea for entering the Government.

Marceau Pivert ("left" S.P. leader) is much clearer, but he conditions real action on an offensive of the reaction, as though their attacks on us have not continued for months.

"Common", "popular", "republican" front, all these words breathe nothing but confidence in parliamentary and legalist methods. The Austrian Socialists declared:

"We will not leave the terrain of bourgeois legality unless the bourgeoisie does; but if it dares then we shall see."

How well they saw! And the example of Spain should serve as a guide for us if we want another fate than heroic death.

All these illusions must be discarded. The bourgeoisie is not embarrassed by its own legality. But extra-parliamentary action will frighten the middle class without whom a victorious struggle is impossible? No, what will alienate them is the absence of perspectives, aims and a broad and hardened workers' organization.

The bloc of the socialist and communist workers must say to the toiling masses of this country: the bourgeois maneuvers are aimed only at super-exploitation. Bold methods are needed. (40 hour week, nationalization, monopoly of foreign trade, moratorium on mortgages, etc.) Only a workers and peasants government can make them a reality. Struggle with us forth is power by the methods that the situation requires. Only through this means will the middle class turn to the proletariat and the physical struggle against the enemies of the workers, the unremitting struggle for which it is necessary to prepare, will be victorious.

Let us trace the broad lines of a plan of struggle:

THE AIMS:

Immediate measures in the interests of the workers;
A constituent assembly of the people, assuring the broadest democracy;
A workers and peasants government capable of taking these steps;
For this it is necessary to get rid of:

The capitalist Chamber of Deputies,
The Doumergue government, the product of the reactionary

NOT AN APPEAL-AN ALARM!

By the skin of our teeth we managed to publish the last issue of the Militant. This time we have to take the skin off our teeth to do the job.

These are no exaggerations, comrades.

The plain truth is that we are operating on our nerve and not on money. Under socialism it may be different, but under capitalism in America, U.S. currency is the only means for carrying on a business. Even the business of overthrowing capitalism.

It is time now to speak plainly and bluntly.

Some comrades may think we write appeals merely for literary exercise. Others, less cynical, but no less unrealistic, seem to think that when it comes to financial matters we are given to exaggeration.

We may be wrong but the indifferent response to previous appeals can lead us to no other conclusion. Perhaps an explanation is necessary.

That you receive this issue of the paper after our appeal last week doesn't mean we raised the money, nor does it mean that we were bluffing.

The cruel truth is that we publish the paper by taking it out of the hide of all the functionaries in the editorial offices and in the print shop. Nobody gets paid. But bills pile up for paper, ink, gas and electricity, to say nothing of rent.

We lost a whole day this week because of a measly \$8 which we couldn't rustle up to pay the gas bill. That's why you get the Militant one day late. The linotype had to hang around doing nothing for a whole day.

Add to that the eviction threat the landlord has made. He has given us a dispossession notice. If the comrades don't believe this, write and tell us and we'll publish a genuine facsimile—that is if we can raise the money for the cut.

Financially we are at the end of the rope.

Need we say that this is an intolerable situation? At the very time we are at the verge of merging the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. we face the danger of having to suspend the Militant. At the moment

when the new party is becoming a reality we have to consider skipping issues of its most effective mouthpiece, the Militant.

Does this mean interest is lagging or comrades are greeting the new party only with apathy? We hardly think so.

Judging from the letters we have been receiving from all over the country, hailing the formation of the new party, from the enthusiasm engendered here in New York we are certain that such is not the case. Then what's the matter?

Unemployment and low wages causes this situation, but only partially.

New headquarters, new branches, new activities entailing new expenditures causes this situation, but only partially.

The real cause is the unwarranted optimism of the comrades and the readers of the Militant. You undoubtedly think that since no issues of the paper have been skipped in so many months in spite of the constant appeals for assistance that every thing is hunky-dory. Nothing could be more fatal from the truth! Nothing could be more fatal! Assistance is needed—badly, immediately and plenty of it.

We planned to make the next issue of the Militant a special anniversary number. We planned to add an extra two pages to it. Six years of the Militant is no mere birthday celebration—it is an event of historic importance in the labor movement of the entire world! As matters stand now, if no response is forthcoming, we will be forced to skip the next issue of the paper.

Can we make the point any more emphatic? IF THERE IS NO CHANGE IN OUR FINANCIAL SITUATION THERE WILL BE NO NEXT ISSUE OF THE MILITANT!

Comrades! Friends! Sympathizers!

This is not an appeal; IT IS AN ALARM! An alarm that calls upon you to raise every dollar and dime you can lay hands on and mail it immediately to the Militant 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

(Continued from last week)

IV.

Can the proletariat utilize contradictions existing between imperialist powers? It not only can but must. It is the direct duty of the workers (of which Lenin spoke hundreds of times), in the struggle for power as well as after the seizure of power, to utilize every "crack" (as Lenin put it) that weakens the class enemy and correspondingly strengthens the forces of the revolution.

Utilizing antagonisms between the non-proletarian classes in general or between different groups of the bourgeoisie, PRIOR TO AND DURING THE SEIZURE OF POWER, the proletariat however cannot consider these antagonisms as its MAIN reserve, as a principal factor determining its tactics. This factor plays a secondary subordinate role compared with the mobilization of the direct reserves of the proletariat. The line of utilization of these antagonisms, PRIMARILY taken as the main line of the Party, upon which the latter builds all its tactics, means to abandon mobilization of the proletarian masses for the struggle against its own bourgeoisie and to minimize the role of the proletariat as the principal factor in the struggle.

Comrade Browder is trying to find a basis for the main line of the Communist Party in America in its struggle against war, the line of utilization of the inter-imperialist contradictions in long quotations from Lenin, namely Lenin's speeches at the Moscow Party Conference, Nov. 20, 1920, at a meeting of secretaries of Moscow Party nuclei of Nov. 26, 1920 and at the meeting of the Communist fraction of the 5th Congress of Soviets on Dec. 21, 1920. Their attempts to find support in Lenin have no basis, and only reveal a superficial and mechanical approach to the fundamentals of Lenin's theory.

In Comrade Browder's presentation of the question, two things are confused, namely, the policy of the Soviet state in relation to capitalist countries and the line of Communist parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against the war. Lenin raised the question of permissibility in principle and tactical necessity of utilizing inter-imperialist contradictions for the Soviet STATE. Lenin's speeches quoted by Browder dealt precisely with the PROLETARIAN STATE. Thus the leadership of the American Party has mechanically identified the tactics of the proletariat after taking power with the tactics of the proletariat while still fighting for power, and drawn a complete parallel between the foreign policy of the Soviet State and the line of the Communist Party in a capitalist country.

The one-sided line developed by the leadership of the CPUSA in the struggle against war led in practice to very serious distortions. The Communist Party in practice

carried on its struggle against the threat of war primarily AS A STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM. While carrying out a widespread campaign of utilizing the robber acts of Japanese imperialism, the CPUSA put in the secondary place ITS TASK OF UNMASKING AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND mobilizing the masses to struggle against it. It is very indicative that for the last 2½ months (April, May and the first half of June) only one leading article appeared in the Daily Worker exposing the sending of war supplies from America to Japan (Daily Worker April 20); in another leading article, on May 18, one example of sending war supplies from America to Japan was mentioned in passing, and on June 1 there was a news item about the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. To be sure, the Daily Worker printed exposures about the recruiting of White Guards carried on by Japan and Czecho-Slovakia (Daily Worker, April 25) and the purchase of arms by Japan in other countries of the world (facts were brought out showing the purchase of war supplies by Japan in Birmingham, Glasgow and Austria) (Daily Worker, May 18), but in neither case was any mention made of the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. The Party was not able to organize a campaign to stop the sending of arms from America to Japan. To be sure, the Daily Worker called upon the workers to do this, but this was done either to an absolutely inadequate extent or else in an extremely abstract form. Instead of taking a concrete example to show where, when and by whom arms were being sent to Japan, of carrying on a campaign centered around this concrete basis, the central organ of the Party came to the workers with general appeals such as this: "Refuse to work upon to make or transport anything whatever for use to Japanese imperialism in making war on the Chinese people and the USSR" (Daily Worker, May 21).

A number of documents received here show that the line of the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggle against the war danger was understood by the local organizations of the Party to mean an exclusive struggle against Japanese imperialism, in which the struggle against the American bourgeoisie takes second place. It is characteristic that in the minutes of the meetings of the District Committee the anti-war committee of the Party has come to be called simply the "Anti-Japanese campaign" and that with regard to the proposal of the Politburo for the organization of an anti-war campaign, the District Committees issued instructions such as this: "Organize a demonstration against the Japanese Consulate if there is any in the city." And if there is none? The instructions of the District Committee say nothing about what should be done, probably considering that its anti-war campaign ends there.

The C.I.'s Guilt for the Policy of the C.P.U.S.A.

We publish herewith the second half of the communication sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1932 in connection with the chauvinistic "anti-Japanese" campaign conducted by the latter. The American Stalinists had launched such slogans as "Out the Japanese ambassador and commercial representatives from the United States" and the demand for the U.S. to break off diplomatic relationships with Japan in connection with the attack of the latter upon China and Manchuria, and the threat against the Soviet Union. By the whole manner in which the campaign was conducted, the American Stalinists, under the cover of "defending the Soviet Union" were ranging themselves on the side of American imperialism, covering it up, and playing into the hands of William Randolph Hearst and others of his kind. The whole campaign was a stench in the nostrils of every revolutionary worker. When the Militant submitted it to a vigorous criticism, we were denounced publicly by Browder as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and "enemies of the Soviet Union". The document of the Moscow

Stalinists is not merely a belated "condemnation" of Browder and Company, who are treated like ignorant incompetents who do not know the A.B.C. of Leninism, but it is at the same time a revelation of the utter hypocrisy of the leaders of the Third International themselves. In not the slightest degree is their censure a fundamental, or a revolutionary criticism of the chauvinism practiced by the Stalinists in this country. It is solely aimed at putting through the same policy in a less brazen manner. The Stalinists here are simply instructed not to take the open initiative in the wretched campaign, but to set in motion the wheels of a few party fractions so that the initiative may appear to emanate from a "mass organization" under the control of the Stalinists.

The fact that the Moscow Stalinists are fundamentally in accord with their American representatives in the whole matter, is further demonstrated by the fact that the notorious interview granted American correspondents by Karl Radek, which constituted the point of departure and the basis for the "anti-Japanese" campaign of Browder and Co., is

tacitly condoned in the letter of the Third International. Not a word is devoted to a criticism of the interview which was an open appeal to American imperialism for an alliance against Japan. Browder merely made the "mistake" of putting into effect the elementary implications of the views advanced by Radek and prominently reproduced in the Daily Worker of that period with obvious approbation.

Another signally important aspect of the document is the fact that this is the first important instance, to our knowledge, of a case where the leadership of a so-called "communist party" is formally attacked for a social patriotic policy and conduct without the slightest measures being proposed against this leadership. The reason for it is not incomprehensible. The basic theory and practice of Stalinism—"socialism in a single country"—inexorably promotes the virus of nationalism throughout the Third International and its sections. The whole Browderian campaign was a product of the idea that anything and everything is permitted for the alleged "defense" of the Soviet Union so that a national utopia may be constructed there.

The line of the leadership of the Party with regard to the utilization of the contradictions between American and Japanese imperialism was expressed in the Daily Worker in a still more flagrantly incorrect form, sometimes leading to outright opportunist conclusions. This line was "explained" at times by the Daily Worker in this form: "We know the importance that Lenin attributed to the existence of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers from the point of view of strengthening the forces of the revolution which he expressed in the repeating of the old popular proverb: 'When thieves fall out honest people get their due.'" (Daily Worker, April 10). The error of the Daily Worker expressed in the publication in the issue of April 12 of a telegram from a bourgeois correspondent dealing with Radek's article in Izvestia, (an error which was condemned by all comrades in their speeches at the Politburo but not condemned in any resolutions of the Politburo) was not a chance error but the result of the incorrect position of the Party in the anti-war campaign. The Daily Worker not only published this telegram in an emphatically sensational form, without any attempt to verify the information that Radek put the question in such a way as to mean that the United States was a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union; the Daily Worker also printed an editorial declaring that this alleged declaration of Radek

represented a "new step" in the policy of the Soviet Union and that this step creates NEW POSSIBILITIES for the mobilization of the masses in the United States directly in support of this policy, i.e., in support of the line based on the assumption that the United States is a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union. Such flagrantly opportunist conclusions were possible only because of the incorrect position of the Party which substituted the mobilization of the masses for struggle against American imperialism with speculation on the zig-zags of foreign policies of the world powers. In the Daily Worker, April 14, we find a statement which leads directly to opportunist conclusions.

"In order to not be directly (!) responsible for the conflagration of world war this spring, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM MUST first of all STOP encouraging Japanese imperialism, CHANGE ITS own hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, and put an IMMEDIATE STOP to the shipping of munitions and material for armament directly or indirectly to Japan." (Daily Worker, April 14).

This "appeal" to American imperialism, inviting it to change its imperialist class nature, leads directly to the social democratic attitude of reformist admonitions instead of revolutionary struggle, to reformist illusions instead of exposure of American imperialism, and to appeals and admonitions to imperialism, instead of calling upon

the masses to struggle against it. The Party proclaimed on one day one conception of the role of inter-imperialist contradictions and on another day another, diametrically opposed to it, without any attempts to explain to the workers and without any serious attempts to criticize previous errors, to explain them and correct them. Thus, for example, the Politburo unanimously approved, on May 13, the line of Comrade Browder's article, which he formulated as follows: "This line is the fullest possible utilization of the inner-imperialist contradictions for the purpose of PREVENTING or HINDERING the establishment of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union," and four days later we find in a leading article of the Daily Worker, May 18, the following statement: "Let no one imagine for a moment that the events of the past few days in Japan indicate that intervention against the Soviet Union may thereby be postponed by the 'inner-conflict' between the imperialists. No greater or more dangerous illusion could arise." And in the Daily Worker of June 4 it says: "The conflict between Japan and the United States for domination of the Pacific does not prevent the war against the Chinese people and war preparations against the Soviet Union being carried through."

The lack of any serious explanation by the Party of these vacillations on the basic questions of the anti-war campaign and the lack of thorough discussion and criticism of the anti-war line of the Party in the Politburo constitutes a serious shortcoming of the entire leadership of the CPUSA. This lack of self-criticism cannot in any way be replaced by such "criticism" of the errors of other parties as the unfounded, unjust and tactless attack on the leaders of the British Communist Party which was made by Comrade Browder at the Politburo meeting May 11-13.

VI.

From further material which we received here it is clear that the question of the line of the American party in the struggle against war came to the surface at the meetings of the Politburo May 11-13, and that some comrades brought up the question of the correctness of this line, and particularly the correctness of the line of Comrade Browder's article. At these meetings of the Politburo it was stated that the tactics of the CPUSA were "based to an extreme degree on the question of Japanese-American contradictions". However, none of the comrades pointed out clearly what errors had been made or worked out a clear and correct line. The 3 day discussion of the question ended in UNANIMOUS adoption by the Politburo of a resolution declaring that "the general line of the Politburo on the war situation is correct" and also the speech of Comrade Browder which represented the line of the Politburo; "nevertheless, serious deviations occurred in the conduct of the anti-war campaign, both of commission and omission"; the Secretariat was instructed to thoroughly examine all phases of the Party's work and to work out a clear plan for strengthening our struggle for the next PB meeting". On the question what the results of this investigation were and whether or not any kind of proposal was put forward by the Secretariat we have received no material, and the representatives of the Politbureau who have arrived for this ECCI plenum were able to point out the distortions which occurred or to clearly understand them, or much less correct them.

It is the important task of the CPUSA to bring complete clarity into its line and in the practice of the struggle against the war danger, and to overcome all errors, confusions and contradictions in the formulation and carry out this line, and on the basis of the correction of this line and the explanation of it to the Party and to the workers, to continue to further mobilize the

American working class for struggle against the war danger and intervention.

The immediate tasks of the leadership of the CPUSA are the following:

1. To organize in the leading organs of the Party a detailed discussion of the line and practice of the Party in the struggle against the war danger on the basis of this letter.

2. To propose to Comrades Weinstein and Browder to correct the errors of their former statements in articles to be published in "The Communist".

3. To publish in the Daily Worker a series of articles explaining the incorrectness of the previous statements of the Daily Worker and explaining the line of the Party to the workers.

4. To continue an energetic campaign of exposure of the robber organs of Japanese imperialism. No slackening of this campaign must be permitted as has recently been the case in the Daily Worker (the first half of June); on the contrary this campaign must be intensified.

5. To intensify the systematic unmasking of the role of American imperialism in its preparation for war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

6. To take up concrete examples of the sending of war supplies from the USA to Japan, concentrating our agitation on these examples and organizing action of the workers on every concrete occasion.

7. To carry on relentless anti-war propaganda among the agricultural workers, poor farmers and the Negroes.

8. To draw the foreign workers into the anti-war campaign of the Party, especially the Japanese workers, organizing joint groups of American and Japanese workers in anti-war demonstrations, with Japanese placards, etc., thus emphasizing to the masses our proletarian solidarity with the workers of Japan.

9. To systematically discuss in the Politburo reports on the progress of the anti-war campaign of the Party, particularly as carried on by the Daily Worker.

Erratum.

Our proofreader allowed an error of the linotype to appear in the previous installment of this document. In the introduction it is stated that this is a "letter sent to the leaders of the Communist party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated Sept. 27, 1934." A note at the top reads: "Received N. Y. Nov. 14, 1932.—E.B." The first date is obviously wrong. Instead of Sept. 27, 1934 it should read Sept. 27, 1932. It will be noted that point VI follows point IV. This is due to an error in the Comintern document which we have meticulously followed, making neither grammatical nor typographical corrections.—Ed.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

What's Wrong With this Picture
Harold Riegelman, representing the Republican party said: "The police provisions against disorder were arranged with the highest degree of efficiency and intelligence. Police activity was non-partisan in every sense."

Similar sentiments were expressed by Ben Howe for the city Fusion party and George Gordon Battle for the Democratic party.

David Freedman, representing the Communist party, joined with the representatives of the above mentioned parties in congratulating the Police Department. "It is the first time that the Communist Party has had direct contact with the Police Department, and directly at headquarters," he said. "It is an indication that an honest election is possible with the cooperation of the city authorities."

Among the complaints, the dispatch goes on to say, from which these items are abstracted, was one from Frank R. Crosswaite, Socialist candidate for United States Representative for the 21st district, Manhattan, who complained that in eight or ten election districts the lever above his name on the machines was locked, so that votes for him could not be cast. They were similarly locked the last time he ran, he declared.

The Majesty of the Law or What's Sauce for the Goose is Poison for the Gander

Because Albert Jackson, 23 years old, was caught with the "loot" consisting of 3 dimes, a battered nickel and three pennies, one of the latter of such old coinage that it readily was identified on the witness stand by the complainant, a sentence of thirty years in the penitentiary was imposed on him by his Imperial Majesty Judge Allen in General Sessions. William Eason, 22, and Winslow Cameron, 24, confederates of Jackson, received terms of from ten to thirty years

each. In their pursuit of the eternal verities of American democracy—Life, Liberty and Happiness these boys never dreamed that they would be tripped up by a couple of tin dimes, a battered nickel and a few old pennies.

Fish, Flesh or the Best Discipline of Lenin?

Illif Ira Strahan, able bodied seaman, blushed recently when he asked for a copy of his birth certificate and was told that he was a girl. He scurried about and found the doctor who had brought him into this complicated world. The medico thereupon proceeded to a notary public, plunked down two bits and swore that Strahan was a boy. And so the matter now stands. All of which suggests tremendous possibilities. If a notary's public seal can determine so complicated a matter as one's sex then why not determine other controversial subjects by this very convenient method. For instance the discipleship of Lenin. Walter Durrant and Joseph Djughashvili are both equally emphatic as to Stalin being the best disciple of Lenin. Now the question can finally be cleared up, thanks to the hitherto doubtful Strahan. What is lacking is the seal. Any seal will do. A good Soviet seal will be acceptable to us. Stalin, his thee to a notary!

Between Ourselves

If all the readers of this column were as loyal to it as M. Morris of Manhattan, a better column indeed could be turned out. What we ask you to do is to tear out any clipping that you find striking and that might serve as material for the column. Mail it in addressed to: Reviewing the News, c/o the Militant, 144 2nd Ave., N. Y. C. Comrades in the hinterland please take notice.

Warning

Don't work the items up yourself. Leave that to your columnist. The reason for that being, not that we think we can do it better but that all items commented on in this column are authentic whether quotes are used around quotations or not.

Support the Militant; Continue Your Pledge

As we have repeatedly stated, no revolutionary paper can be self-sustaining. It must necessarily depend upon a subsidy in one form or another.

The Militant has attempted to work up a list of Pledgers as its main financial support, since the organization itself could not possibly supply the needed subsidy.

It was largely through the help of our Pledgers that we have been able to weather the many storms in the past few months. But some of our Pledgers have not kept up their payments recently and we have been obliged to go along on a credit basis. Now the piled up debts are pressing very hard on us and we must find some means of liquidating them. Especially is this necessary in view of the steps which are progressing toward the formation of a new revolutionary workers party. We want the official organ of the new party to get a good start.

We take this opportunity to make a special appeal to all our Pledgers: We ask specifically that those who are able to do so, send in their pledges in advance to January 1st. In response to our appeal in the last issue, Jefferson Rail and the comrades in the Downtown Branch of Local New York paid up on their pledges. And comrade Rhodes of California contributed two dollars. It was through the help of these comrades and a few others that we were able to get out this issue of the paper. We hope that all who are at all able to make a special donation at this time will answer this call.

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Special Offer

The following letter was received in reply to our circular letter to all branches asking them to take up the new subscription drive for the Militant.

"Dear Comrades:
The Branch Executive Committee today selected two captains who are to be actively in charge of the division of the Branch into competitive teams and take active charge of the new Militant Sub Drive. This will come meeting the Branch at the next meeting. You'll be hearing from Minneapolis.

Comradely yours,
OSCAR COOVER."
Minneapolis has the habit of saying little and doing much. We know that we can expect big results. We hope other branches will follow this example.

THIS DRIVE ENDS DECEMBER 31st. GET BUSY!
What the Militant means to our readers is indicated by the following excerpt from a letter. It is only one of many.

"Dear Comrades:
I have enjoyed reading the Militant and wish that I could continue to take it. However, present conditions make this impossible. . . . Your efforts toward unity with other fractions are to be commended. I remain with best wishes.

Yours for the Revolution,
A member of R.P.C. of S.P."

If those of our readers who are more fortunately situated will come to the assistance of the Militant, we will be able to send the paper to this reader and many other until such time as they are able to pay for their subscriptions.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL OFFER.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Add Your Name to New Party Honor Roll

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Tanos	2.00
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Brant	50
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Lewis	1.00
Morris D.	1.00
Stevens	1.00
Borkeson	1.00
Lewitt	1.00
Schlossberg	1.00
Weber	2.00
Konkow	2.00
Sterling	1.00
Nelson	1.00
Winter	50
Hubbard	1.00
Victor	1.00
Bernstein	1.00
Sam Gordon	2.00
Karsner	1.00
Outler	1.00
Mann	1.00
Tanis	1.00

Bronx:

Stamm	1.00
Streeter	1.00
Eldensohn	1.00
Swkabeck	1.00
Lankin	50
Beecher	1.00
Glade	1.00
Cochran	1.00
Brandmark	1.00

Boro Park Branch:

Berg	1.00
Kamat	1.00
Engel	2.00
Bauman	1.00
Leaser	1.00
Levine	1.00
Avril	2.00
Tovin	1.00

Harlem Branch

T. R.	2.00
Black	1.00

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Danger in France

The maturing political crisis centering about the "reform" of the French Constitution, in actuality an attempt to seat more firmly the dictatorial Bonapartist government of Doumergue-Tardieu, is filled with the utmost danger to the French proletariat. The Parisian workers are at the forefront of the united struggle against the government that represents the preliminary stage leading to fascism. Well aware that the decisions made by Paris today will be those made by the provinces tomorrow, the bourgeoisie is determined to strike a crushing blow at the Paris workers as soon as possible. Tardieu would like to imitate the deeds of Gil Robles in Spain. He wishes to provoke an armed struggle at the time chosen by the bourgeoisie, when the stage has been set to drown in blood any armed resistance by the masses. The troops already encircle Paris, the fascist forces have been ordered to stand by and not to take to the streets prematurely.

In this situation the middle classes are being cleft asunder, the upper layers moving to the right and gathering under the banner of the big bourgeoisie, the wider lower strata of the exploited petty bourgeoisie moving leftwards towards the united front of the so-

S. M. 6.00
Tursman 1.00
Beecher 1.00
Cochran 1.00
Visconti 25

Brownsville Branch

Lorenz	1.00
George	.15
Schaap	1.00

Total \$76.50

The names listed above are entirely from our N. Y. membership. Other branches, sympathizers, friends are urged to follow their example. The new party needs your support NOW!

cialists and communists. Herriot is working might and main to prevent this split of forces in the middle class Radical Socialist party; in reality he is attempting to force the entire middle class under the yoke of Bonapartism and fascism. But in so deep-going a crisis Herriot is powerless to suppress the profound antagonisms that exist in the middle class and that drive a sharp wedge between the oppressed layers and the oppressing top sections. And with the splitting asunder of this class the revolutionary crisis will have matured.

The Commune Once Again

Under the frightful threat of armed reaction, the workers of Paris and of all France will have every reason to turn their thoughts to the Commune once again. The pressure of the events makes mandatory on the advanced workers that they utilize the united front to establish everywhere Communes or Soviets. Only with this powerful weapon of defense and struggle can the utmost forces of the proletariat and the supporting toilers be properly organized and given leadership so as to defend workers' democratic rights, so as to guide the general strike for the overthrow of the Doumergue government of reaction, so as to establish a workers' government with a single legislative-executive chamber, the Commune itself. The armed working class, the workers' militia, must be formed without delay to defend working class rights, to protect the Commune and to place itself at the disposal of this repository of workers' democracy. The Commune is the ultimate aim, the highest goal, of the united front against fascism under present circumstances in France. The lessons of Austria, now again of Spain, are plain and clear, that militant struggle must be organized in advance and directed towards a clearly defined goal. That goal is the establishing and maintaining of Soviets or Communes. The fate of the French and of the world proletariat rests on the ability of the French workers to grasp clearly the costly lessons of recent history. It is given to the modern French proletariat to add anew to their glorious revolutionary traditions.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

BROWNSVILLE WORKER (Continued)—

Question: How can we conciliate the successes of the five year plan with the numerous reports of starvation in the S.U.?

Answer: The successes of Soviet economy are due to the political and social structure of the workers' state, which makes a planned economy possible. We must, however, recognize the limitations which her present world position and inherited backwardness place upon the S.U. and upon such planning. A serious food shortage or other difficulties (e.g. the shortage in cattle after Stalin's 100% collectivization adventure), difficulties caused by drought, etc., or by an accentuation of contradictions (disproportions between the different parts of the economy) are by no means excluded, and, while they flow essentially from the backwardness of the country and not from the social form under which it is living, only a living Communist party can guard against them. By choking the party, Stalin has only prepared the way for a further accentuation of the contradictions and for unexpected, unpleasant surprises.

It would, however, be safe to greatly discount the "famine" rumours since these mostly emanate from anti-Soviet lie factories. Unfortunately, between these and the Stalinist exaggerations, aimed at bolstering up the prestige of the bureaucracy, it is exceedingly difficult to get a factual picture of affairs. Trotsky's "Soviet Economy in Danger" probably gives you as good a description as is available.

R. Z., LOS ANGELES—

Question: What is the declared public policy of the Soviet Union towards proletarian revolutions and fascist counter-revolutions in other countries? Is it true that official statements have appeared in the Soviet or other C.P. press declaring that the U.S.S.R. is opposed to any disturbances that will upset the present status quo?

Answer: The official foreign policy of the Stalinists was expressed by Litvinov at the disarmament conference, and repeated by Stalin at the meetings of the C.P.S.U.: "The sole purpose of the Soviet Union is the building of Socialism on the territory of the U.S.S.R. If objection is raised that this was intended only to fool the capitalists then let such objectors answer why Litvinov's speech was published as a ONE-CENT pamphlet, i.e., it was intended for the widest distribution among the workers."

Since the main HISTORICAL task which the Stalinists set for themselves is the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, EVERYTHING WHICH INTERFERES WITH THIS MUST BE SACRIFICED TO IT. A revolutionary upheaval disturbs world and therefore Soviet economy, which must export and import, so that the logic of their position forces the Stalinists to do everything in their power to maintain the international status quo. They do not state it as bluntly as this, as your question suggests, but what is decisive is the logic of their position as it must work out in practice.

The capitalist reporter, Walter Duranty, gives us a picture of how the Soviet Bureaucracy reacted to the recent revolt of the Austrian workers: "... Here perhaps lies the explanation of the Soviet confusion at what is happening in Austria. Whether the Bolsheviks like it or not the situation here is as follows: 'The only Communist party congress held in three and a half years has devoted itself to two questions which in a sense are one—the second Five Year Plan and the organization of the party and governmental system to handle the same most efficiently. Foreign problems have been considered primarily in the light of the plan—that is, their possible effect upon it. It is true that the speakers, from M. Stalin down, have talked of world revolution and have even given the Communist International an occasional pat on the head. But that has been only a side issue.'

"It was clear throughout to any impartial observer that 70 percent of Soviet interest was concentrated on the Five Year Plan and its organization, 29 percent on foreign affairs in so far as they might hinder or help the plan, and, maybe, 1 percent on foreign affairs in regard to world revolution."

"So the Austrian workers' revolt, although intrinsically gratifying to the Bolsheviks, has elements of surprise, the consequences of which may be unpleasant." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 18, 1934.)

A capitalist reporter? Yes! But the Stalinists have never denied the report and it is impossible to deny that it fits their theories perfectly.

The clearest official document which expresses the Stalinist position towards revolution is the promise made by Litvinov to Roosevelt: "... it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." (Daily Worker, Nov. 18, 1933.)

What other documents are necessary?

Question: Has the C. P. of the U.S.S.R. called any anti-Nazi demonstrations before and since Hitler's coming to power?

Answer: If they have it certainly has been kept a dark secret even by the Daily Worker which surely would not be backward about reporting such demonstrations. In 1923 huge demonstrations and meetings were held in the Soviet Union to support the German proletarian revolution, on the order of the day at that time. Compare the present attitude as further evidence of the Stalinist foreign policy and its objective results.

Question: The following is taken from the C. P. platform in the 1934 California elections: "All Nazi ships should be prohibited from landing or trading in U.S. ports." What should be the Communist position towards this question as regards Soviet ports?

Answer: The above slogan is obviously ridiculous. It is tantamount to asking those workers permanently engaged in unloading goods from Germany to give up their jobs. Then why not from Italy? Carry it to its logical conclusion, why not permanently refuse to load or unload ships of all the capitalist countries, including the U.S.S.R. since they are all controlled by finance capital? Even the U.S.S.R. cannot correctly take such a position, but on this the Stalinists are silent.

The chief difficulty with the Stalinist slogan lies in its failure to set limits to the perspectives of this type of struggle in support of the German workers. Our position on this was stated editorially in the Militant (Oct. 21, 1933) as follows: "An international strike against the handling or transport of German goods and communication, as an anti-fascist demonstration for a definitely limited short time, should be the aim..." This applies equally as well to the U.S.S.R. but the Stalinists exclude this country from their slogan so as not to embarrass the foreign policy of Litvinov.

Draft Thesis for C. I. A. Convention

The Need for a National Spartacus Youth League

This thesis is submitted by the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League and approved by the N.C. of the C.I.A. for discussion by the League membership to be ratified at the C.I.A. convention. The thesis contains a statement of the general relations between the youth and adult organization. They hold with equal force in reference to the new revolutionary youth league and the new party. Other youth resolutions for the Spartacus Youth Convention to be held on December 2nd in New York City have been published in a supplement to the October number of Young Spartacus. Copies are available at 144 Second Ave., N. Y. C. Comrades are urged to study these documents and submit their comments and criticism to the discussion.—Ed.

I a. The future of our movement depends upon our ability to win the young workers to our banner. This is true both in regards to our immediate task of constructing a Marxist international party, and our ultimate aim of using this instrument to accomplish the workers' revolution.

The building of a new party means the assembling of the best elements in the present labor movement on the basis of revolutionary Marxism and our active participation in the economic struggles of the workers, in the struggle against imperialist war and fascism. As the experiences of the last World War, the building of the Communist International, the victory of fascism in Germany, have shown, the youth are more sensitive to social and political crises. They are less fettered by traditional conservative ties fostered by capitalist training and old (workers') party allegiances than the mature adult workers.

This is demonstrated once again by the reaction of the radical, especially the socialist, youth in the United States, as well as in Europe, to the recent events in Germany and Austria: the unmistakable leftward trend of these young workers.

b. The youth are not only the most immediate reserves of capitalist military organizations, but also a great potential source of the future active forces of fascism. Imperialist war and fascism are not distant, but immediate dangers to the working class. To think of conducting effective anti-war activity among the civilians or among the armed forces, without seriously organizing the youth is a hopeless dream. All talk of the struggle against fascism which is not predicated on winning the young workers and students for the proletarian revolution is fruitless practice.

II a. The most effective medium through which the mass of young workers and the radical youth can be won for the new revolutionary movement is an autonomous political organization which accepts the political program of the Communist League (and later the new party). Since the young workers are part of the general working class and thereby affected by the same problems, the youth league works on the basis of the program of the vanguard of the entire class. For us, to form a political youth organization on any other program is utopian and dangerous. It is an endeavor which dies in the face of reality and runs counter to our needs.

b. Political subordination means that the strategy and tactics of the Communist League are the strategy and tactics of the youth league. The latter is a broad mass organization which includes strata of young workers and students who want to learn communism. Such training requires the most intimate connection between the theoretical and the practical, the study group and the field of class struggle. Political subordination is maintained by a capable Communist League (or party) cadre working inside the youth league which directs and leads it; by an exchange of representatives of respective committees—national bodies to local executive committees; and by a sound Marxist policy in the class struggle which the youth will readily follow.

c. Since the political youth league should have in its ranks primarily militant youth who are to be trained for the Communist League (later the party); that is, to become revolutionists, it is necessary that it have organizational autonomy. This includes the right of its members to govern their organizational life, elect their own committees and officers, and determine youth policies, all within the general framework of the political program of the Communist League (and the new party).

This is needed so that the youth can develop their own methods of work and policies suitable to the special needs and desires that arise from the physical and intellectual immaturity of the young workers; the special effects of capitalist militarism and bourgeois youth organization upon them; the necessity of winning the youth from the reformist and centrist (including the

Stalinist) youth organizations; and for the self-discipline and self-education of the militant youth.

d. To provide the youth leaguers with an understanding of the decisions and policies of the Communist League, particularly affecting the youth, they are encouraged to attend discussion meetings of the branches of the Communist League, and discuss these policies during their own pre-convention period. Further, the two organizations conduct joint activities in united fronts, industrial, unemployment, anti-militarist and anti-fascist work.

e. "It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth should take the revolutionary formulas fighting, transform them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion, their own personality, and be able to fight their own opinion with that courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character." (Trotsky). In this spirit we should train our youth for the new party.

III a. Our two and a half years of youth work has resulted in a national organization, the Spartacus Youth League, which, though handicapped by small numbers and material poverty, has already made its impression on the more radical

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Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

Anti-Militarism and the Struggle Against War

The fundamental concepts of this work have been laid down many years ago. The special youth character of this question lies in the particularly brutal manner in which it affects the youth. The problem as a whole, it must be understood, is again a problem concerning the working class as such, especially of decisive importance for the revolutionary party. There has been a definite tendency in the revolutionary movement to consider this work as having a purely youth character, and leaving the youth to grapple alone with this tremendous and decisive question. Actually, anti-militarism and the struggle against war is a major party activity in which the youth play a most important role. The fact that periods existed when the youth alone carried the banner of anti-militarist struggle is no justification for this division of labor. "Militarism is of such great importance that it must be fought by the entire labor movement. This task cannot be carried through ONLY by the young communist leaguers." This is fundamental.

The last imperialist war witnessed the collapse of the only workers' international with the result that the proletariat remained defenseless against the crushing blows of the ruling class. Left without a leadership, observing that its parties surrendered to chauvinism, the

workers were on their own, so to speak, in the conflict against the war. The only bright star to cross the horizon was the International of Socialist Youth (it later became the Y.C.I.) which seized the deserted banner of proletarian anti-war and anti-militarist work and together with the Bolsheviks and the International Left, proceeded to struggle against the war and the cruel system of militarism. With the increasing danger of a new imperialist war, it is necessary to prepare now. The existing international, by their propaganda and activity, demonstrate that a repetition of the past by them is likely.

It is highly important that this work shall not be left entirely or primarily in the hands of the youth organization. The youth must carry on an education of its own section, rally broad masses of the youth in the struggle against war, fight the pernicious influences of pacifism, penetrate the armed forces, etc. But "the youth performs all of this work under the political leadership of the communist party." We need now to stress the acute danger of war, the need of intensified efforts in the struggle against its outbreak, and should it come in spite of this struggle, to organize the forces of the proletariat to put an end to it, through the "transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war".

Discussion Article

The Fight for Full Social, Economic and Political Equality

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

One of the most serious problems that confronts the American section of the Fourth International is the breaking down of the walls of white chauvinism and so-called race prejudice held by the white proletariat of the country (who are influenced by the white bourgeoisie) and the winning of full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses. Such a victory will give the franchise to over nine million black peons of the southern south. Such a victory must be won if the white workers ever expect to win and enjoy true working class democracy.

The American bourgeoisie has always felt the acute need of maintaining division of black and white in the working class and thus render it impotent in the struggle against the ruthless exploitation of the oppressed. Race hatred has been one of the chief means of keeping the workers divided. Karl Marx truthfully stated years ago that "Labor in a white skin cannot emancipate itself so long as labor in a black skin is branded." The black American, despite the persecution meted out to him, is kept by the white capitalist as a reserve of cheap labor for the purpose of breaking the morale of white workers who revolt against a lower standard of living. The Negro should not be held responsible for this. However, this has led the less developed white workers to believe the Negro a professional strike breaker.

Most Negro proletarians, who have been used for this end by the capitalists are ignorant of the role that they oftentimes play. However, the black proletariat is gradually losing his race consciousness and acquiring a class consciousness, and is destined to play an egregious role in the labor movement in the near future. Let us take Bostons, Iowa for example. Some years ago Negro labor was brought to Boston to break a strike and lower the morale of the whites. The job was accomplished, but twenty years

later the Negro workers were playing a leading role in the labor unions. Graphic examples could also be cited of the coal mining areas of Illinois. Despite this the American labor movement in the past has ignored the importance of the Negro worker joining its ranks. It shunned the helpless Negro proletariat by aiding the bourgeoisie to Jim Crow him. The American Federation of Labor has always barred him from or Jim Crowed him in the craft unions.

At present, the Stalinists are holding up, as a means of attraction, the wooden horse of Self-Determination or a Jim Crow Republic in the southern section of the United States. We, the International Communists, sometimes called Trotskyites, are opposed to this theory because we see that it will eventually, like most Stalinist theories, serve as a boomerang to the emancipation of the proletariat.

A Jim-Crow Republic for the American Negro will simply lend to the strength and influence of the Negro bourgeoisie who is as much an enemy of the working class as the white bourgeoisie. If the labor movement aids such a movement it will help prolong the life of capitalism and retard the triumph of world socialism or communism.

It is therefore, the duty of the Communist League of America, the Bolshevik-Leninists, to divert the attention of all fellow Negro workers from the idea of Self-Determination for the Black Belt, which in reality means more discrimination, and focus his attention on the fight for full economic, social and political equality, which carries within it the embodiment of true working class democracy.

In the light to gain this objective the Negro proletariat must be given every assistance to defeat the Negro bourgeoisie. The Negro worker must be taught to see that capitalism is destructive and is as dangerous in the hands of a black man as in the hands of a white man, and that humanity cannot be free until capitalism is overthrown.

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WORLD OF LABOR

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY ELECTION VICTORY

The Municipal elections in Norway brought the expected results, in the colossal victory of the Labor Party. As against the Storting (Parliament) elections of 1933 the party gained, even though in the municipal elections the eligible electorate was smaller than in the Storting elections. (Two years residence in a city is required for participation in the municipal elections.)

The Labor Party received in the present elections 44.49% of all votes cast; if we add to this the Communist vote the total would be 45.58%. In the capital, Oslo, the party received an absolute majority, where it enjoys 43 representatives as against 41 of the bourgeois parties. In at least 45 additional cities and communities the party enjoys an absolute majority. In a number of other cities the party has an equal number of representatives to the combined strength of the bourgeois parties, and again in others such as Trondheim, Bergen, etc., they fell short of an absolute majority by only a few votes. There is hardly a community where the Labor Party is not the strongest party.

The National Socialists received altogether 2.88% of all votes cast. In Oslo they were united on the same ticket with two bourgeois parties. This ticket received less votes than did the fascists by themselves in the Storting elections of last year. Here too the effect of the events of June 30th in Germany were unfavorable to the Norwegian fascists.

From our point of view one can establish that the stronger the Labor Party becomes the more reformist it is. The whole propaganda in the present election campaign was pointed in this direction. They emulated the policies of the Swedish and Danish Government Socialists while the "radical" united front policies of the French section of the Second International were condemned by the Norwegian "Independent" Labor Party.

It might be expected that after these favorable results the party will at least issue the slogan "dissolution of the Storting and new elections". Under the pressure of the election results and the general feeling in the country it becomes probable that the Labor Party should receive more than 50 percent of all the votes in a new election. This would be the first time that a reformist party would in actuality receive the hoped-for 51 percent of the votes and one can await with anxiety the policies that will result.

But it is not to be "feared" that the Labor Party would raise such a "radical" slogan. The "dissolution of the Storting" has never taken place in Norway and the Labor Party follows traditions very closely. It will merely limit itself to the demand for power when the Storting meets in January. The King and the Prime Minister, Mowinkel, will declare that this demand has no foundation since the bourgeois parties in the Storting have a majority of six. And then quiet will prevail until the Storting elections of 1937.

EXECUTIONS IN SPAIN

The Lerroux-Gil Robles government has carried out the first executions of participants in the recent uprising on the persons of two terrorists. Jose Naredo and Jose Guerra were shot in Asturias Thursday morning after all attempts at intercession and pressure on the government for pardon or commutation had been exhausted. Many other rebels however, including a number of Catalan leaders who had also been sentenced to die, have had their sentences commuted to long prison terms, such as 30 years, life imprisonment, etc. Hundreds of other cases are still pending, awaiting court action.

In spite of the unanimous vote of confidence that it obtained from the rightist controlled parliament a few days ago, the present government is quite evidently under strong pressure from both sides. Lerroux is still obliged to heed the voice of the masses. It is significant that the revolutionists are being prosecuted for individual acts of terrorism rather than on strictly political charges. The two executions were only carried out "with deep regrets" on the part of Lerroux who feared to show further signs of weakness. However, while attempting to make a few examples, Lerroux does not dare to institute a reign of terror against the working class.

The Fascists and Monarchists have demanded that the most severe penalties be meted out to all those implicated in the revolt and that the Socialist and other labor organizations be declared illegal. But in spite of the setback suffered last month, the Spanish workers have still been able to maintain their organizations. They returned to work defeated and sulen, but by no means demoralized and hopeless. They are now, despite continuance of martial law, still in a position to exert considerable pressure on the reactionary rightist regime. The workers' movement is now entering a period of readjustment in which a serious realignment of forces is taking place. Drawing the lessons of the defeat, the revolutionary currents of both major camps—socialist and Syndicalist—show signs of breaking with their inept and traitorous leadership. It is the task of the Communist Internationalists to support these progressive currents, fixing with them the responsibilities for the October debacle, drawing them to a Marxist position, and together with them constructing the new revolutionary party without which victory in the pending decisive struggle will be impossible.

MENDIETA IN STRAITS

Wall Street's Cuban puppet Mendieta has appealed to the opposing capitalist parties and political groups for assistance in surmounting the present critical period. Having lost most of his own popular support, he now finds himself on the brink of the abyss. Only the army under Batista, stand between him and oblivion. With a rise of the revolutionary wave the lackey of the sugar interests now finds it indispensable to broaden the base on which his rule rests.

The masses meanwhile are reassembling their forces in an attempt to carry still further the revolution begun in August 1933, and which suffered a serious check with the fall of Grau San Martin last January and his replacement by Mendieta. While the petty bourgeois groups are still in the lead in the general political fight against the present government, the workers, upon whom the real outcome must depend, are rapidly and persistently elbowing their way to the fore. Strikes follow each other in rapid succession, each wave rising higher than the preceding one.

Within the proletarian ranks a deep ferment is taking place. The Bolshevik Leninist party advances rapidly, increasing its mass contacts and influence; the Stalinists are losing ground no less rapidly. "Young Cuba", the split-off left petty bourgeois wing of the Grauist "Auténticos", now seek a united front with the Bolshevik Leninists. Decisive struggles approach.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.
P.S. All emphases mine—A.G.

S.P. Groups Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

to be for a cooperative commonwealth, reject control by the Third International, will be loyal to the principles of democracy within the party and the labor movement and will abstain from participating in factional groups within the party" (when all the active socialists are already in factions!) and are willing "to use the ballot and party and labor organizations as our present method in the struggle for our goal," are qualified to be members of the Socialist party.

Reformists, centrists of all shades including ex-C.P. members and revolutionists can belong to the party, according to Norman Thomas. "At this time we can afford to differ quite considerably on what may be necessary in some conceivable crisis, provided we work now with proper regard for all that is valuable in the American tradition of civil liberty and democracy," adds this liberal-turned-radical.

Thomas Panicky

In reality Thomas and the "Militants" are panicky over the prospects of a split. The important institutions and at least half the party membership would go with the Old Guard. Hundreds and perhaps thousands of the newcomers may be expected to drop out of the party. The talk of a labor party, formed by the reconstituted Old Guard and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, may captivate the wavering members.

More than that. With the Old Guard reformists cut off, the internal struggle will not end but rather take on sharper form. The "Militants" will be forced into a fight with the Hoan reformists, with Norman Thomas acting as conciliator. Hoan who is against the "Forward crowd," who wants an "American" party with as little socialism as possible, will once again openly display his real colors much to the discomfort of the "Militants." He and his followers will move towards reconciliation with the Old Guard within some new organization or find new reformist channels.

A split under present conditions may well mean the strangulation of the Socialist party.

What Shall the Left Wing Do?

But what of the genuinely militant and revolutionary workers in the Socialist party and Young Peoples Socialist League? They will undoubtedly put up a fight against those leaders of the "Militants" who stand in the way of an irreconcilable struggle against reformism in all its forms. It is hardly to be expected that the "Militants" will remain intact.

With these prospects before them the Socialist workers should not fear a split with the Old Guard. On the contrary they have everything to gain from it if they organize on a revolutionary Marxist program against all reformist and centrist groupings. They can play a progressive role, they can save the large sections of genuine militants in the Socialist movement, only by struggling on this basis towards fusion with the new revolutionary workers' party soon to be launched, towards the Fourth International. —JOSEPH CARTER

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Youth Thesis

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youth of the United States, especially the Young Socialists. The S.Y.L. aims to win the newly awakened and radical youth for communism. In its latter period it has been politically subordinate to the C.L.A. on the basis of the fundamental organizational principles already outlined.

b. Through its organ, *Young Spartacus*, the S.Y.L. has put forward the International Communist program on the burning problems of the day: the militarization of the youth, preparation for imperialist war, fascist movements in Europe and America and the needs of the young workers and students. Through this means the S.Y.L. attracted new youth to its ranks, educated and equipped its members with an elementary understanding of revolutionary Marxism.

c. Large masses of young workers and students, and in the first instance, socialist and Stalinist youth, were reached with our program through the participation of the S.Y.L. in united fronts against imperialist war, against fascism, and for the unionization of the young workers.

d. The S.Y.L. through its international delegate, aided in the formation of the International Bureau of revolutionary youth organizations (last Feb.) as a step towards a new youth international, as an integral part of the Fourth International. The S.Y.L., the Leninist Youth League of France, the Bolshevik-Leninist Youth League of Belgium and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth League of Spain, which are all politically subordinate to the respective national sections of the International Communist League, are connected on a world scale through an International Youth Commission of the latter.

IV. The reasons for the shortcomings in the work of the S.Y.L. in addition to the general limitations which affected the International Communists as a whole, were: the failure of the C.L.A. to understand the needs and character of the S.Y.L.; consequently the failure to apply in practice the fundamental principles which govern the relations between a revolutionary political party and its youth section; and the absence of sufficient leading cadres.

V. To improve and extend our youth work the entire membership of the Communist League, and in the first instance, its leading bodies, must acquire an understanding of the basic tasks of the S.Y.L. and follow closely the development of the youth movement. The Communist League should from time to time re-examine its relations with the S.Y.L. to determine how to improve co-operation between the two organizations, strengthen its own cadre in the youth league, promote joint activities and gain new members from the youth group. Only thus, can the Communist League give real aid to the youth movement. Only in this way can we win the youth for revolutionary Marxism.

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MILITANT CIRCULATION TO ALL BRANCHES

In the last issue of the *Militant* we asked all branches of the League to arrange for special Sixth Anniversary affairs for the purpose of raising funds and at the same time celebrating the founding of the *Militant*.

The Downtown Branch of Local New York is the only one that has informed us of definite action. This branch has arranged for a Sixth Anniversary Dance for November 17, and promises all participants an enjoyable evening.

We urge all other branches to take immediate action and inform us about it.

MILITANT GREETINGS

Greet the *Militant* on its Sixth Anniversary. Send 25c and be sure to state whether we may print our name in full.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

The Minneapolis *Organizer* is truly a chronicle of "history in the making." This paper was issued daily during the historic truck drivers strike and records every aspect of the battle as it took place. We have a few incomplete files of the *Organizer* on hand, which we have gathered with much trouble. We are selling them at \$1 and \$1.50 depending upon the number of copies missing. We also have some single copies. They sell at 5c a copy. Get a few samples and we feel sure you will want a file.

HEALTH LECTURES

Dr. S. Joyce began his series of lectures on Workers' Health with an informal talk on colds. He spoke both informatively and interestingly. His second lecture will be on boils, carbuncles, fungus infections. No doubt many workers have quite a few misconceptions on, say, athlete's foot. This lecture will clear those up since it is a scientific explanation of both origin and cure of just such ailments. The lecture will be held on Monday, November 12 at the Shuyesant Casino at 8 P.M. sharp. Admission is 15c. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

The Truth Is Alien to Them

Stalinist Hokum on Minneapolis

Minnesota and its neighbors have long been centers of advanced political development. Its workers have often pointed the road to the heavy-industry proletariat of other regions. Characteristically, it is from this section that hail the two Governors and two U. S. Senators who are not members of the Republican or Democratic Party. And, just as general agrarian and proletarian discontent have knocked out of the picture the traditional parties of American capitalism, so the fully class-conscious elements of the proletariat have thrown up here an unusually significant group of thoroughly developed revolutionaries.

When the Communist party, headed by Jay Lovestone and acting under orders from the Stalinist bloc, expelled the Left Opposition in 1928, it lost its foothold in Minnesota. It was no accident that all that there was of Communism in such a city as Minneapolis was Trotskyist, that is to say bred-in-the-bone Marxist and no pretty prey to revisionist bureaucracy.

Since the Communist movement of Minneapolis became Trotskyist, the Stalinists have never had a look-in on the labor movement. They lost every last trace of unionist by expelling the Trotskyists, and have today not a single member of a Minneapolis union. Due to a series of fiascos, they have lost even the small section of unemployed whom they bamboozled for a short time.

Consequently, when the drivers struck in Minneapolis last spring and summer, the local C.P.—a couple of dozen woebegone petty bourgeois "led" by petty bureaucrats—could but gnash its teeth in rage. But at the top of the strikes were to be found none other than the despised and spurned Trotskyists, and although they busied themselves spreading vicious slanders, the Stalinists could not win the ear of one solitary striker!

Under the leadership of the "enemies of the working class," General Drivers Union 574 was built up between January and May of this year from 150 to 5,000 members. In May it clashed with the bosses in a sensational and militant strike and won a partial victory. By July the bosses had taken steps to retract the concessions forced from them in May, and Local 574 launched a second strike, a veritable struggle for existence.

Country Electrified

That strike electrified the country for five weeks. Bloody Friday and its toll of two dead and 48 wounded; the efforts of the militia under the command of Farmer-Labor Governor Floyd B. Olson to smash the strike; the publication of the first daily strike bulletin in American labor history; the launching by the bosses and the bold smashing by the union leaders of one of the most vicious of recent scares; the rallying of the unemployed to the union's banner; the daring forced marches of pickets in defiance of police and militia; the brilliant organizational work and political strategy of the union leaders—all these made of the Minneapolis strikes milestones in labor's struggle.

The strike ended with a settlement which gave the workers their jobs back without discrimination, minimum wage rates with arbitration for upward (and only upward) revisions, and improved working conditions. The union won the right to recognize the important group of market inside workers on whose behalf the second strike had been called. The elections provided for later won the union full recognition in almost all the large trucking firms and many of the small ones. The union is solidly grounded and growing steadily.

Not a worker in the city—indeed, in the whole region—who does not feel inspired by the deeds of 574. Every section of the labor movement hailed the outcome—and this includes many a labor skate who attacks the strike leaders for radicalism but is forced to admit that a victory was won. Only the bosses, whose press is preaching the lesson "Do not strike," and the Stalinists are dissatisfied with the outcome.

Two recent developments confirm this estimate. As a result of arbitration, in which the workers were represented by the strike leaders, the wage levels have already been raised 2 1/2 cents an hour above the minimum stipulated in the strike settlement. Equally significant, the militant milk truck drivers of Fargo-Moorehead, N.D., when it began the organization drive which culminated in the present strike, borrowed from 574 one of its leaders, Mick Dunne, to head their forces.

The Spleen of the Stalinists

To the Stalinists, however, the story of the Minneapolis strikes is a bitter pill. They did not have a look-in—and a historic task was performed by the hated Trotskyists. Under the title "Permanent Counter-Revolution," they have now issued a dime pamphlet "analyzing" the struggles of last spring and summer. The pamphlet includes

an article from the *Communist*, by M. Childs, and several *Daily Worker* pieces by William Frances Dunne, the hero of Outer Mongolia. It is one of the most malignant excretions in all Stalinist history.

To list all the lies and slanders in this pamphlet would require an entire issue of the *Militant* is not proposed to give so much space to the matter. The story of the Minneapolis strike is written in the capitalist press of the Northwest, which cursed every move of the union leaders, and in the columns of the *Organizer*, strike bulletin of Local 574. Those who wish to check every factual question must refer to these documents above all others. It is furthermore the intention of the C.L.A. to publish soon a pamphlet giving the story of the Minneapolis strike.

In the meantime on or two things might be pointed out about the Stalinist pamphlet.

The greatest enemy the strikers had to face was the militia, called out and commanded by Governor Olson. Bosses, scabs, police were beaten. Not until 2,500 troops began their strike-breaking work were the strikers a tight hole. The policy of the union leaders toward the troops was, consequently, of crucial importance to the outcome of the strike. It is a touchstone of the whole strike policy. This Stalinist pamphlet recognizes, and consequently devotes a major portion of its attention to lying about this very question.

"It was not until martial law was declared that the Trotskyite leaders began to criticize Olson," declares this pamphlet. Over and over it charges that the Trotskyites offered no opposition.

The Workers' Illusion

The strike began on July 16. As soon as the Minneapolis police made serious efforts to interfere with picketing, there could be heard from most strikers repeated expressions of hope that the militia would be called in. This is a strange and unfortunate but indisputable fact. The workers of Minneapolis had elected Olson, and most of them believed he was "their" Governor. They hoped that "his" troops would tie the hands of the boss-controlled city police, enabling the pickets to handle all scabs and win the strike in one-two-three order.

The troops were not called out until July 26, ten days after the strike began. During this period the sentiment of the strikers in favor of martial law under Olson's administration increased constantly. After Bloody Friday this became a question of active agitation by Farmer-Labor leaders, to whom many workers gave a ready ear. In this period, to criticize Olson, to fight against the calling of martial law, was to risk widespread unpopularity among the workers. Only a true Bolshevik, endowed both with the theoretical apparatus of Marx that recognizes the boss state—and its Governors and its troops—as the implacable and inevitable enemy of the workers, and with a firm courage to tell the truth in labor's interest would risk such unpopularity.

What did the leaders of Local 574 do?

The Leaders' Policy

Did they "assure the workers that they had nothing to fear from the National Guard, that Gov. Olson had mobilized the troops for the protection of the workers?" (The Stalinists use quotes on that phrase; we defy them to produce evidence that a single 574 leader, Trotskyist or non-Trotskyist, used such a phrase.)

Here is the truth: The *Organizer*, strike bulletin, of July 18 (third day of the strike, one week before martial law was declared, four days before troops were seen outside barracks), contains a leading editorial comment on the question of troops and Olson's attitude. This occupies the central columns of the front page and is printed in heavy type. It is entitled "Troops in Minneapolis—What For?" Here are some quotations:

"One battalion . . . has already been mobilized. . . Governor Olson in his statement to the press said: 'The important question is the preservation of law and order.'"

"We don't believe that this is the right way to put the problem. The most important question now is: Has the underdog, the worker, the exploited and persecuted, the right to organize into unions and to demand a decent living?"

"The only threat to public peace comes from those who try to provoke the strikers by the use of thugs and scabs and deputized hoodlums. . ."

"Governor Olson, in his statement, said he will not take sides in the strike. But his action in mobilizing a battalion of the National Guard on the first day of the strike—is that not taking sides? Many workers will be keenly disappointed both with the statement and the action of Governor Olson. They voted for him in the firm conviction that he would side with them against the bosses. Union men and women have a right to doubt that anyone can be really neutral in the

great struggle between capital and labor. But in any case they expected something more than neutrality from the Farmer-Labor Governor. They expected support of their struggle, not the threat of military force against them.

"That is the only way the mobilization . . . can be understood—as a threat against the strikers. That is why the workers who are enlisted in this fight for the right to live, demand and will continue to demand:

"WITHDRAW THE NATIONAL GUARD IMMEDIATELY!"

Opposition to Olsonism
This is the way in which the "counter-revolutionaries" behaved. This was their "deal" with Olson. Is there anything more shameless than a Stalinist pen-prostitute?

And this is far from the end of the story.

Martial law was declared July 26. The *Organizer* of that day announces that "574 DEMANDS OLSON RECALL MILITIA ORDER." "Martial law," it declares, "cannot help the strikers. It must help the bosses. . . We call upon every labor union in the city . . . to second this demand. We ask them to impress with the utmost force and solemnity upon the Governor the implacable opposition of the overwhelming mass of the population to the presence of these troops and the operation of martial law."

The main headline of the *Organizer* of July 27 is "MARTIAL LAW CLOAKS SCAB MOVES."

On July 28 it blazes forth: "STRIKERS DEMAND 'PROOF' REMOVAL," and there follows the text of the resolution of the Strike Committee of 100 against martial law.

On July 30 appears a photograph of General Walsh sitting side by side with Bloody Johnnies. Chief of Police; under it is a satiric editorial driving home the truth that Olson's troops are hand-in-glove with the murderous police.

From Words to Deeds
And on July 31 (when picketing was a military crime) appears the sensational announcement:

"PICKETS TO REPORT AT 4 A.M."

Replying to the latest public statement of Governor Olson, the leading news article in this issue states: "The Strike Committee of 100, shortly after noon today issued a public statement, expressing its complete dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs and with the Governor's latest orders."

The statement is quoted: "Despite all his harsh words directed at the employers, Governor Olson directs all his harsh blows at the Union and the strike."

Against this attempt to undermine and break the strike, Local 574 has but one alternative: to fight. . .

And the editorial entitled "We Will Not Submit!" says of Olson: "The course of action he has taken has served but one purpose: to aid the bosses and to hamper and restrict the independent activity of the workers in their struggle for the right to live and to enjoy the benefits of union organization. They cannot forgive that and they cannot forget it. And what is more, they cannot submit it without fighting back."

On the next day the strikers, following the plans laid down by their leaders, defied the militia and picketing was resumed in force.

On August 1 appeared the reply to Olson's seizure of headquarters and arrest of strike leaders and pickets:

"ANSWER MILITARY TYRANNY BY A GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE!"

One could go on indefinitely. So intense and skilled was the campaign of the official union paper, the leaders' speeches and a steady agitation in the ranks of the strikers, that Olson's raids and arrests failed to break the strike. The workers, shocked by the troops' actions, found a new point of orientation in their leaders' policy, a source of renewed courage in the fact that their leaders had fallen into no trap and had plans for handling the situation which the rank and file had not foreseen. The ranks were reformed; the workers defied the troops and labelled their commander, the once-idolized Olson, what he was: A STRIKE-BREAKER.

Olson's Friends

So pertinacious were the strike leaders in their anti-troop campaign, both before and after the declaration of martial law, that all Olson's adherents began to whine, and still do whine, that the strike leaders cared nothing about winning the strike but only wanted to put poor old Olson, the people's friend, on the spot. For example, Anne Ross, an Olson hector, made just such charges in the "liberal" *New Republic* among whose editors is the devoted Stalinist "sympathizer," Malcolm Cowley.

The study of the Stalinist attitude on this question of troops in Minneapolis would be incomplete if we limited ourselves to the filthy lies of the Dunne-Childs pamphlet. The true viciousness of Stalinism can only be understood by comparing their criticism of the "count-

ter-revolutionary Trotskyites," with the actions of the Stalinists themselves.

Shortly after the troops began their strike-breaking activities, the Stalinists were confronted with the issue, not in Minneapolis where in their ignominious security no issue ever confronts them, but in New York City where they have a following.

The strike-breaking moves of the State of California had stimulated the formation in New York of a Committee for Workers Rights, a joint body composed of delegates from half a dozen defense organizations, with the object of defending the rights of the Frisco workers. When the martial law situation reached a crisis in Minneapolis, it was proposed at a meeting of this committee that a protest be sent to Governor Olson. The representatives of the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.), the League for Industrial Democracy and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense supported the proposal. It was opposed by Frank Palmer of the Federated Press and other delegates of the American Civil Liberties Union. Palmer stated that a protest would be ill-advised because some Minneapolis workers favored martial law. Louis Berk, representative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, protested against Palmer's statement. His remarks were received with stony silence by Allen Taub, representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (of the I.L.D.) and by Anna Damon, representing the I.L.D.

The proposal of a protest against the Minneapolis suppression was handled about for several weeks. Allen Taub, in a sub-committee, declared that the use of troops need not always be bad for the workers and that his people (the Stalinists) would even demand martial law for protection against lynching in the South! The Stalinist representatives never once raised their voice of the protest proposal. They served as the passive allies of the A.C.L.U., which attacked the proposal for a dozen different "reasons". The Liberal-Stalinist bloc succeeded in paralyzing the Committee and no protest was ever made by that body.

A similar pretty tale could be told about every major point in the Stalinist pamphlet. The long and short of it is that, since the Trotskyists recruited the members of the union, agitated for and organized and led and won the strike, it is a counter-revolutionary strike. . .

It is a victory, but a victory for counter-revolution! Starting out from Stalinist "theories", Dunne and Childs quite naturally compose a masterpiece of brazen lies. And behind each lie is a Stalinist crime.

A Crime Against the Class

The pamphlet is, however, more than a web of lies. It does not merely obscure the truth about a strike and slander the Trotskyists. It is a blow to the working class as a whole.

Its main object is to "inform" workers, especially those of Minneapolis, that they have been defeated! All who have derived encouragement from the triumph of militancy in a day when so many militant performances are crushed or trapped into the National Run Around, are to be discouraged. Labor has again been beaten. The stimulus given to the Minneapolis trade union movement is based on a misapprehension; Minneapolis and other workers in the section who have joined unions, others who have begun to press their leaders to adopt the policies of Local 574, are all wrong. They should be discouraged, not heartened. No doubt they should relax into pessimism and passivity, quit the unions or whatnot. As for the workers of Fargo-Moorehead, they must bounce Mick Dunne, their strike leader, now under indictment for inciting to riot, and go jump in the creek for not knowing a fighter from a traitor!

For a so-called proletarian organization to sacrifice class morale in order to deal a blow at another organization is nothing short of a crime against the whole class. Little wonder that after such behavior the hardest task of the Minneapolis C.L.A. and the leaders of 574 in organizing a protest against a recent vigilante raid on the Stalinist bookstore was to convince workers that the interests of the class were involved. To them the Stalinists look like stooges for the boss and nothing else. Once the Dunne-Childs pamphlet appears in the Minneapolis bookstore, workers who want to defend that store against vigilantes will be as scarce as hens' teeth.

No doubt the pamphlet will be a success in New York petty bourgeois circles, however. It is rich in the corrupt qualities which well-fed dilettante Stalinists adore. All who think it a wonderful piece of work, and who would like to see Bill Dunne stay sober long enough to really clean up on the Trotskyists once and for all, will no doubt suggest that he accept the C.L.A.'s challenge to debate publicly the question of the Minneapolis strike policy. And it is equally certain that Bill Dunne will accept. Believe that and I'll tell you another one. —HARRY STRANG.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

SEND FOR MILITANT BUNDLE ORDER AT 2 CENTS PER COPY.

Truce Gov't Falls

(Continued from Page 1)

THE METHODS:
The general strike which is an immediate necessity, the preparation for which can be assured by the constitution of factory and district committees.

The People's Militia.
Time presses. We must begin at once. We must not wait until the constitution is revised and the relation of forces changed in favor of the enemy. We must not wait for a new coup to launch the general strike. The bourgeoisie has learned the lesson of the February events. And the Joubaux (yellow trade union leader) delay an answer under the pretext that six days are necessary for preparation, will find pretexts to make this answer completely negative.

The only possible defense for the workers against the maneuvers of the reaction is broad action, prepared from today on, unleashed forcefully and followed through to victory.

The only way to avoid the fate of the workers of Germany, Austria and Spain—paralysis and then defeat—is a revolutionary policy of broad scope, of well organized, well prepared struggle. It is high time our socialist sections and all workers' organizations took this road. —P. FRANK.

Fargo Drivers Win

(Continued from Page 1)

differences of size in the two communities. The roads leading into town were picketed, and a large picket line assembled at the Fairmount plant. Here the scabs were bottled up by the picket line.

The picketing was 100 per cent successful. Not a milk truck moved, with the exception of those bound for hospitals and children's homes, which were permitted to operate by the strikers.

A restaurant owner who brandished a revolver in an effort to frighten the pickets into permitting milk delivery at his place was disarmed by the workers and returned to his business considerably subdued. Upon this incident, apparently, were based the charges against Dunne and other union leaders who were arrested.

Sunday afternoon Miles Dunne and five other Local 173 leaders were arrested and thrown into jail on charges of inciting to riot, an offense which carries a penalty of 3 to 7 years imprisonment in North Dakota. The warrants were issued on complaints signed by a small creamery owner.

This act was all that was required to arouse the greatest propolis—were warned by the Stalinist among the Fargo workers. Agitation for a general strike spread immediately.

The bosses became frightened. They had made a mis-step, overlooking the devotion which the strike leaders had inspired in the breasts of the workers.

They called a conference, and sent word to the union that they were ready to arbitrate.

Local 173 said: "First release all our leaders and bring them here." The bosses grumbled and groaned—and consented. By 1 A.M. Monday morning an agreement was arrived at, giving Local 173 union recognition, a 48-hour 6-day week and a \$3 weekly raise, with the agreement to arbitrate wages upwards within ten days.

The principles of Local 574 are spreading, are being assimilated by community after community in the northwest—and by the workers all over America. The success of this short militant Fargo strike added impetus to union organization throughout this section.

The Fargo workers were warned by the Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis in that pretty pamphlet, "Permanent Counter-Revolution", —to have no truck with the General Drivers Union Local 574. But the Fargo workers had their own interests to consider.

The Fargo one-day milk drivers strike may be considered another victory for the tactics of Local 574 in the American labor movement.

BRONX OPEN FORUM

Socialist Party of New Workers Party?

BRONX OPEN FORUM
Speaker:
JOE CARTER
Friday, Nov. 16, at P.M.
1739 Boston Road

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM

Reform or Revolution—S. P. C. P. or New Yorkers Party?

BURKE COCHRAN
Friday, November 16, at 8 P.M.
1281 49th St., Brooklyn
Auspices: Boro Park Branch C.L.A.

HARLEM OPEN FORUM

Seventeen Years of the Russian Revolution.

Speaker:
A. L. DASCH
Friday, Nov. 16, 8 P.M.
143 East 103rd Street
Auspices: Harlem Branch C.L.A.

NOTICE TO CHICAGO READERS:

The *Militant* is now available at the Post Office News Bookstore, Monroe Street between Dearborn and Clark Streets. Non-subscribers may get copies there henceforth.



Weavers Will Decide On Joining General Strike of Dye Workers

Dyers Spurn Boss Truce Offer and Continue Struggle

Paterson, Nov. 16.—When the Militant comes off the press, the weavers will have decided the issue of a complete tie-up in the silk industry.

Meanwhile the negotiations by means of which the dye plant operators had hoped to force upon the dye workers the continuation of the intolerable conditions prevailing in the industry under the old contract have been broken off.

The maneuvers of the bosses availed them nothing in the face of the determined front of the workers. The industry has been completely shut down since the inception of the strike. The 25,000 striking dyers are resolute in their decision to strike until their demands are met.

Having failed to force what amounts to the conditions of the old contract with the added provision that the dye workers bind themselves not to strike for two years against the very same conditions they are now fighting, the dye operators intend to break the strike now by force. The importation of scabs, gangsters and provocateurs and the direct utilization of the police, and all the armed forces of their government locally and throughout the state scale, reveals their frantic efforts for this end.

Fighting the Strike with Bullets

Their plan of campaign is obvious. They are attempting to break the strike by trying to reopen plants at the outlying centers. The strike stronghold being Paterson, the bosses are for the moment concentrating on plants outside of Paterson. The first plant the bosses attempted to reopen is the Warren Dye Works at Union City. The mass picket line of workers from Paterson, Lodi and Passaic was attacked by the police, who used their clubs and revolvers. The police fired shots—the shots were not blanks. Despite the turning of this plant into a fortress with machine guns, it is not operating.

The inception of the boss terror is accompanied by the familiar campaign in the yellow press, which is attempting to terrorize the strikers with indirect threats of plants moving out of the area, of false reports of plants operating, and of direct threats to operate plants with imported scabs.

The workers know that dye plants cannot be run with scabs and machine guns; and they have learned from the experiences of the past few months that their only hope lies in their own strength, solidarity and militancy.

Striking the Stoppers

The most important developments of this week are the unmistakable signs that the silk weavers are not to be restrained any longer by the vacillations and cowardliness of "progressive" Eli Keller and by the betrayal of his reactionary U.T. W. allies.

The militant drive of the silk workers has been to join the dyers in their common struggle. Their insistence on meeting the open challenge of the silk bosses has compelled Keller and his pals to accede to a meeting—which should have been called, at least, simultaneously with that of the dyers—this Saturday to decide on the question of the strike.

All indications point to the unanimity of the weavers, warpers, throwsters, twisters and loomfixers on the question of strike. Unless the officialdom with Keller at the head again resorts to its stalling tactics of telegraphing Gorman, Green and Co. for "approval", the weavers will come out next week in support of the dyers and to fight for the demands they were so shamefully cheated out of in the last general strike. Their action will have magnificent results. It will spread the strike to the entire Passaic Valley, and if the bosses refuse to meet the workers' demands, they will be faced not with an isolated section of the workers but with the entire organized force of labor in the industry.

A golden opportunity once again faces the workers of Paterson to take the lead and win first for themselves the UNION SHOP, the 30-hour week and higher wages. Paterson has shown the way before. It is going to do so again.

Giant Meeting Dec. 2nd To Greet Fusion

Arrangements for a gala mass meeting to greet the delegates to the conventions of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party respectively, are progressing.

Germania Hall—16th St. and 3rd Ave.—has been tentatively selected and the date is to be Sunday night, December 2nd which will be the last day of the proposed Fusion Conference. Admission is to be 25c.

Quitting among the speakers will be delegates from Minneapolis and Toledo who were active in both strikes and members of the National Committee of the C.L.A. and the Provisional Organization Committee of the A.W.P., as well as a representative of the Spartacus Youth League which is holding its first Convention the same week.

According to reports, there will be approximately seventy-five to one hundred delegates to the conventions of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth League and almost as many to the A.W.P.

Keep the date in mind. Come and bring your friends and shopmates to this historic meeting which will be the forerunner of the founding of a new revolutionary workers party in America.

Workers Set For Elevator Strike Here

The Building Service Employees International Union went ahead with preparations for a city-wide walkout of building service workers after representatives of the Real Estate Board of New York, the employers organization refused to yield to the union's demand for wage increases and the closed shop. The strike call will probably be issued Monday. More than 45,000 workers are expected to respond.

Union leaders have indicated that the walkout will first become effective in the garment center where building owners have broken a strike agreement concluded through the mediation of the Regional Labor Board. The strike will then be extended to the financial and apartment house districts.

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MOONEY WINS COURT HEARING; MASS ACTION NEED OF HOUR

Security Plan Nails Wolf to Labor's Door

Unemployment Insurance Scheme Provides No Solution

President Roosevelt, embarrassed by the startling election landslide, can no longer conceal the reactionary nature of the New Deal behind a smile and a comforting promise.

The time has come to fulfill the promise to the working class, and the government has absolutely nothing to give. Last spring the President made a desperate play for popularity, he intimated that the new congress this fall would see the passage of a sweeping reform, of a Great Social Security Program. Throughout the summer the American working class consoled itself with the hope of this reform. Indeed, not only the people, but even the intimate advisers of the President, appear to have been deceived.

This Thursday two hundred economists and welfare workers gathered in Washington to launch the Great Social Security Program, gathered, as they thought, to launch a New Era.

"Bold Stroke"—Niggardly Reforms
Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, addressed the congress, and aroused it to enthusiasm. He spoke of the necessity for a "bold stroke" to unite all phases of economic security in a single comprehensive program. Doubtless Mr. Hopkins himself expected the congress to accomplish something more than a few niggardly reforms.

We weren't, for it is evident that the capitalist government cannot improve matters radically for the workers of the country. It is no longer a matter of intention, for with the best possible will in the world the New Deal can not deliver the goods. There is one person who realizes this completely, that is the President himself. He knows that the New Deal is nothing more than an ineffectual stop gap, and that its popularity now rests, as it rested two years ago, on its promise, and not on its accomplishment. The President's problem is to keep up the promise, to keep up faith in the New Deal as long as possible, but he is already beginning to fail. Two years, and not one single promise, except the promise to business, has materialized.

No "Wild" Ideas Wanted

The Great Social Security Program fizzled out in a dismal fiasco.

(Continued on Page 4)

After 18 long years the Supreme Court, cloaked in the mantle of "impartial" justice has finally discovered the existence of the "Mooney Case".

The whole world quivered with indignation over the brazen frame-up. The international working class marched in the streets shouting its protest. Every scrap of evidence used to send Mooney to life-long incarceration was proved perjured, trumped-up or deliberately false. Witnesses against Mooney confessed that they had sold their testimony for a few filthy dollars. The trial judge issued a statement conceding Mooney's innocence. All living jurors have signed affidavits declaring that they brought in the verdict of "guilty" under pressure. But the Supreme Court—away from the maddening crowd, in splendid judicial isolation—failed to take notice.

The "Big-Hearted" Decision
Having finally bestirred itself, the Supreme Court is not granting Mooney a new trial. Nor does it propose to enter an elaborate examination of the case. The sum total of its munificent decision is a summons to Warden Holahan of San Quentin to show cause why Mooney should be denied a writ of habeas corpus. And he has forty days to do it in!

There can be no doubt but that this is a ray of hope—however slender it may be—for long suffering Mooney! The explanation for the action of the Washington justices can hardly be laid at their much vaunted "liberalism". Nor can it be said that pressure of the aroused working class is responsible. No, for years the movement for Mooney has lain dormant—betrayed by labor scabers, derided by liberals and false friends and stifled by Stalinists and reformists.

Mr. Dooley long ago supplied the answer when he said the Supreme Court follows the election returns. Three fourths of a million votes for Sinclair in California were votes for the liberation of Mooney. What will the Supreme Court do? Will its gesture recognizing this vote mean something real for Mooney or will it lead to the same old stall?

We cannot prophesy beforehand as to what the Supreme Court will do, but if past experiences with capitalist courts mean anything it must be said that the "ray of hope" will penetrate little of the darkness in Mooney's cell.

Protest Is Only Weapon

The Supreme Court and every other court, governor or capitalist official in the country respond to one thing, and one thing only when class war prisoners are involved. Action, protest and strike by the working class!

When Mooney was about to swing in 1916 it was only the stormy demonstrations that stayed the ex-

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Minn. Union Progressives In Conference

Militant Program Outlined By Fifteen Trade Union Representatives

St. Paul, Minn.—Not only has trade unionism in general been stimulated in this region by the great drivers strikes of last spring and summer, but progressive elements both in the A. F. of L. and independent unions have taken on a new lease of life. The best indication is the outcome of a conference held recently in St. Paul, which representatives of about 15 unions in various parts of the state attended.

All were union officials, acting with the sanction of their executive boards. Although the conference was purely informal, it is likely to lead to serious developments in the near future. Cooperation on a progressive basis was the object of the conference and a resolution of principles, which might well serve as a model for other states, was the outcome.

This resolution covers the following points:

1. For industrial unionism through amalgamation wherever possible and through building industrial unions in all mass production industries.
2. To promote class solidarity and reciprocal aid between all unions in times of trouble and strife.
3. For unity against vigilantes, law and order leagues, "citizens committees" and the like.
4. To promote working class education through forums, lectures, discussions, classes and an organ.
5. To infuse the labor movement with the class struggle attitude, to acquaint workers with the truth that the interests of the wage worker and those of the boss are antagonistic, and to oppose class collaboration.
6. To promote organization of unemployed workers for the protection of the unions as well as for the benefit of the unemployed.

A sub-committee is now perfecting the text of this declaration, and the conference, this time on an enlarged scale and more formal, will meet again in the near future. In view of the militant spirit of trade union members throughout this and neighboring states, it may be expected that this progressive current will go far in the Minnesota labor movement. It is one of the most hopeful signs in recent years, and in itself a tribute to the effective militancy of the strike leadership of the drivers union of Minneapolis.

Jobless Organizations Lay Nationwide Plans For Big Demonstration

Accommodations Needed For Convention Delegates

We expect about eighty out-of-town delegates to the conventions of the C.L.A. and the Spartacus Youth League.

The convention of the C.L.A. will open on Monday, November 26th at the Stuyvesant Casino, and will last until Thursday, to be followed by the proposed Fusion Conference for another three days.

As you might guess, the delegates will not be able to stop at hotels. While we are arranging to feed the delegates throughout their stay, we must depend upon our members and close sympathizers to accommodate them with sleeping quarters.

If you can possibly take care of one or more delegates, please fill out the blank below and mail AT ONCE.

DELEGATE ACCOMMODATION

BLANK

I can provide sleeping quarters for _____ delegate.

Male or female? _____

YOUR NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Directions for reaching your home: _____

Students in Free Speech Fight in L.A.

Los Angeles.—The reactionary whip of tory California strikes again. This time five students from the University of California at Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.) take the stingiest lash in the form of suspension. This has occurred in the heat of a bitter election campaign.

John Burnside, president of the student body; Tom Lambert, chairman of the men's board, Mendel Lieberman, chairman of the scholarship committee; Sid Zagari, debating head; and Celeste Strach, Phi Beta Kappa and member of the National Student League, dared fly in the face of that dictator of liberty, exponent of Deweyism (note: lecture Tuesday and Thursday at 2:00 P.M. Scope of Course: "Training in Independence of Thought"), the very right Provost of the U.C.L.A.—Dr. Moore.

Accused by Dr. Moore (once-

(Continued on Page 4)

1,100 Local Bodies March Nov. 24 for Relief Demands

New York, Nov. 14.—More than 750,000 unemployed, organized in some 1,100 local bodies from New York to California and from Minnesota to Texas are expected to participate in public protest meetings and demonstrations on Nov. 24, according to an announcement made yesterday at the office of the National Action Committee For November 24th, located at 22 East 22nd Street. This Committee, under whose auspices the manifestations will be conducted, is composed of representatives of the country's leading unemployed organizations, located in twenty-two states. In addition, a million or more unorganized unemployed and trade union members are expected to participate in the day's program.

In all likelihood this will be the greatest single campaign action of unemployed workers seeking amelioration of their condition which the country has seen since the depression began. The demonstrations, which will be of uniform character in all regions, will begin at 10 a.m. local time, and will have as their aim the presentation by mass delegations of a set of eight demands addressed to local county and state relief authorities for transmission to Washington.

A delegation of fifteen, representing the leading unemployed organizations of the United States, expects to present a report and a copy of the eight-point platform to President Roosevelt at the White House two or three days after the nationwide demonstrations. The eight points are:

1. That the Federal government undertake public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of a \$30 for a 30 hour week; 2. Passage of the Luncheon Unemployment Insurance Bill now before Congress; 3. Pending these, immediate direct cash relief of \$10 weekly for single persons, \$15 weekly for families of two, and \$4 weekly for each additional dependent; 4. Guarantee of the rights of organization and collective bargaining to all workers on public projects; 5. Recognition of representatives of organized unemployed by relief administrations; 6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public works and to and from the job; 7. Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief; 8. Passage of a universal 30-hour work week law without pay cuts.

Preparations for the Nov. 24 demonstrations have been proceeding rapidly in all sections during the past weeks, according to David Lasser, Secretary of the N.A.C., who has just returned from a meeting of the Committee in Pittsburgh which ratified final details.

A statement issued by the organizations cooperating in the Nov. 24 movement places the number of unemployed in the country, aside from part-time workers, at 12,000,000, a figure somewhat higher than the latest estimate of the American Federation of Labor. According to the statement, the Nov. 24 demonstrations will voice a protest against the insufficiency of existing unemployment relief arrangements and reflect the increasing sentiment of the unemployed for full-time jobs at decent wages. The hourly wage rates for relief workers—30 to 50 cents—are characterized by this statement as "starvation wages, especially in view of the fact that the average wage is between \$8 and \$12 weekly."

The participating organizations also regard as unsatisfactory the relief rates which range from \$12 to \$38 monthly for a family, and the fact that in most regions single men get no relief. The general attitude of relief administrators toward efforts of the unemployed to organize, is also disapproved strongly by these organizations.

Among the powerful organizations affiliated to the N.A.C. are the Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers which has branches in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Maryland; the National Unemployed League, with branches in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Kentucky; the Illinois Workers Alliance; the Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, and the American Workers Union with groups in

(Continued on Page 3)

FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

By JAMES P. CANNON

We celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Militant on the eve of our national conference which has to pass final decision on the proposal to unite forces with the A.W.P. and launch a new, independent, revolutionary party. From all present indications the conferences of both organizations, meeting simultaneously, will approve the recommendations of their respective national committees and conclude the fusion in a joint convention. If this turns out to be the case, as we are confident it will, our sixth anniversary will mark the conclusion of the first phase of our historic struggle, first as a faction then as a separate independent group, and open up a new chapter of joint struggle with broader progressive forces on a broader basis. The time is ripe for such a decisive turn, and we are ready for it.

The prospect of fusion between the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. has become the center of interest in the radical labor movement. It has already produced sharp reactions in all circles, ranging from panic in the camp of Stalinism and hysterical appeals to the "rank and file" of both organizations to hold back, to basty manoeuvres of the pseudo-"Militants" in the S. P. to open the doors to penitent ex-communists in the hope that they will provide the S.P. with a "left" covering to halt the movement toward the new party. As for the numerous small, independent groups, which have expressed, by the fact of their existence, the confusion and disintegration of the movement, the question of our fusion has thrown them into internal crises which herald splits or liquidation in practically every case.

The Influence of the Fusion

The actual accomplishment of the fusion will produce far deeper repercussions. It will mark the opening of a new stage in the process of differentiation and regroupment in the general movement of the advanced workers. If the participants on both sides prove equal to their task and their opportunity, the fusion will decisively influence the future developments of the political labor movement in the U.S. And it will begin to assert this decisive influence from the very start. The two-fold significance of the move will not be lost on those who observe political developments, especially on those who want to take a part in shaping their course.

First, the fusion will represent the first step toward unification of the revolutionary forces that has been seen for thirteen years! Since the merger of the C.P. with the left-socialists (Workers Council group) at the end of 1921 there has been no such thing as any two or more groups getting together. The C.P. expelled the left wing (the "Trotskyites") in 1928. Less than a year later the right wing (Lovelites) who had officiated in this expulsion were themselves expelled. The Proletarian Party, itself a small sect, suffered two splits. A multiplicity of little grouplets ap-

peared on the scene and they in turn split among themselves and moved in opposite directions (the ill-starred Gitlow-Field group, for example).

The Post-Lenin Scene

The general picture of the whole post-Lenin period in the United States has been a picture of disintegration. The masses of workers awakening to class consciousness were repelled by it. They left the parties, or passed through them, or stood aside from all organizations, waiting for a sign of unity and order in the general chaos. The fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., that is, of the two largest and strongest of the independent groups, is bound to signify for such workers the opening of a contrary process, the process of the unification of the revolutionary forces. By that fact alone our fusion will stir the deepest interest and attention of the non-party radical workers and help to break their passivity with regard to organization.

On the other hand, and this is no less important, the formal proclamation of a new party will bring all speculation about a return to the C.P., on the part of those who have broken with it on principle grounds, to a definite conclusion. This will leave no more room for those who have occupied a halfway position. They will have to choose. At the same time the launching of the new party, irreconcilably hostile to social democracy in all colors and variations, slams the

door in the faces of those weaklings and deserters of the revolutionary cause who want to "unite" everybody in the Socialist party and close the debate with them. The new party thus deepens the reformist and centrist parties, and gives the split a clearer meaning and more definite, finished form, while it heralds the unity of the revolutionary elements in the struggle against them. The chaos and disintegration will give place to a clear line-up of parties: Social Democratic, Stalinist (Centrist) and the party of revolutionary Marxism. Small groups and individuals will find their place in one or the other, and in making their selection they will disclose their real tendency unflinchingly. The issue will be clear.

The Test of Present Conditions

The process of clarification, unification and split, in a word, the process of regroupment on party lines and the liquidation of separate groups, has not been invented or set into motion by the groups or parties, all of which, without exception, are caught in it. The process in the radical political movement is taking place under the impact of momentous developments in the working class of the country. International events have played their part, especially in the fundamental ideological regroupment, but it is the rising mass movement of the American workers which is putting all the organizations and groups to the test, shaking them out of the old ruts and driving

them to seek a new point of departure. Fundamentally, the parties and groups find it necessary to adapt themselves to the rising mass movement in one way or another. The C.P. discards the whole idiotic rigmarole of the "Third Period" ("Red" unions, "united front from below", theory of "Social Fascism", etc.) like a dirty shirt, liquidates its separate unions pell-mell, and knocks at the back door of the S.P. with the offer of a non-aggression pact. The S.P. pushes its "left" wing forward, and decorates itself with the red feathers of a few wretched "captured" communists. Meanwhile the small propaganda groups which came into existence in the period of stagnation and reaction are confronted by events with a veritable command to break out of their propaganda circle and connect themselves with the mass movement or suffer annihilation. Those groups which do not heed this command in time are doomed.

The Course of the League

Our organization, on the whole, has understood this. Such is the explanation of the course we have followed during the past year. The definitive break with the Stalinist party and Comintern, the course toward trade union work and effective participation in strikes, the approach to the A.W.P. the moment it declared for an independent political party—all this has been inspired and motivated on our part

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Weekly Prosperity Note

James M. Curley, Democratic governor-elect of Massachusetts, sees prosperity rounding the corner at last. "For the first time in five years," he declared, "you can ride through Massachusetts at night and see factory lights burning." How about a popular song, "Factory lights are burning in Massachusetts again?" to the tune of "Happy Days Are Here Again?" Governor Curley could croon it over the radio to the million unemployed citizens of his Commonwealth.

Last week Marion Davies, on her return from London to the hills of Hollywood, was astonished to see a New Yorker smiling. In an interview she declared she was sure the smile indicated the return of prosperity.

A month ago a federal relief administrator predicted an autumn upturn on the basis of a slight increase in the sale of carpet sweepers and lace curtains.

We are considering a contest. A prosperity contest. Prizes will be awarded for the best poems of returning prosperity turned in by the end of the week. Look around! Are you missing the evidences of prosperity? Are you so wrapped up in keeping your navel and spine from meeting, are you so worried by poverty, by unemployment, by insecurity that you miss these encouraging signs? Look around! Is your dog wagging his tail more than usual? Are longer cigar butts being thrown away? Are children buying new lead pencils? Send your answer to the White House and get a prize!

Morning, Noon and Night.

Speaking before the morning session of the National Conference on Economic Security, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins brought the session to a high pitch when he declared for "a bold stroke" to unite all phases of economic security into a comprehensive program. President Roosevelt who addressed the delegates at the afternoon session, the same dispatch informs us, considerably "dampened the ardor" of the delegates by counseling caution and discussing only one point in the "comprehensive program."

Damn good thing there was no evening session.

The Majesty of the Law

The following should sum up the entire proceedings of the Vanderbilt baby for our readers who usually do not go in for that kind of copy in the press. We call from the Times of Nov. 15. "Mr. Justice Carewe decided that the child, Gloria Vanderbilt, is not to have for the future the life that it had from the death of its father up till June, 1932."

"But what does it mean?" asked the reporters.

"Every word means exactly what it says and nothing else," answered Justice Carewe.

"But it doesn't seem to mean very much," his questioners continued.

"It was designed," responded the irate judge, "to keep you from finding out what it meant."

"Was it designed also to keep the lawyers from finding out what it meant?" the reporters continued.

Justice Carewe glared as he formulated his answer: "It was designed for what it was designed for and I never want to meet you again."

Wanted: A Lewis Carroll.

Idea for a Brainstruster With Streamlined Brains

The latest settlement offered the Paterson Dyers was rejected by the workers because it contained a "truce" clause which would have deprived them of the right to strike. This marks the official end of President Roosevelt's bare industrial truce scheme, a great month after it was suggested. What next?

Perhaps the President will tear a leaf out of the history of the Catholic church and propose a part time truce.

During the days of chivalry the knights were busy most of the time robbing poor peasants and not, as the common fancy has it, in rescuing damsels in distress. Things got so bad the Church finally had to take action as its members, the peasants, were threatened with extinction. The Church promulgated a "Peace of God" which lasted from Friday to Tuesday of every week. During these days the chivalrous barons were prohibited from robbing the peasants, burning their huts or laying waste their fields.

Perhaps the President will suggest an "Industrial Peace of God" whereby employers will be prohibited from cutting wages, firing union men or locking out employees from Friday until Tuesday.

The rest of the week will be open season.

Flash!

This is no snippy head for a Winchell wisecrack. It is the name of the Dental Mechanics Union of official paper. It's a corker. It stands up well with that greatest of all trade union papers, the Minneapolis Organizer. Racy, clear-cut, American lingo and militant as hell. Get a copy.

Organization Notes - N.Y.

This Sunday, Nov. 4th, we held another meeting in Paterson. Right in the heart of the strike territory, at Oakley Hall, A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, Hugo Oehler, Industrial Organizer of the Communist League of America and Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed Leagues spoke on the dyers strike and the necessity for joint action on the part of the strikers and the unemployed. The meeting was orderly and the dyers present listened attentively to the speakers. Only in the question period did the discussion turn on the new party and its future in America. As a result of our meetings in Paterson, we are now assured of the formation of a branch in Paterson, as soon as the new party is launched.

The Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee is carrying the battle into the enemy's country. Continuing its offensive against the reactionary, disruptive tactics of the Stalinist controlled League Against War and Fascism, it has issued an open letter to the members of the latter organization and warned them that their organization is perpetuating the disunity which led to the defeat of the German working class. It concludes by issuing a ringing call to the League members to form a united front of all militant working class organizations against fascism. The letter is signed by the Steering Committee of the united front: G. Valenti, editor of *Stampa Libera*, chairman; Jack Altman, Socialist Party, Secretary; H. D. Sizemore, I.W.O., Vice-Chairman; H. Solow, Non-Partisan Labor Defense; Burke Cochran, Communist League of America; Saul Held, Communist Party Opposition; Ben Fischer, Y.P.S.L.

Continuing the struggle to weld a united working class movement to smash fascism, our newly organized Spartacus Youth branch of Harlem has succeeded in organizing another open-air meeting in Yorkville against the local Nazi-crop of fascism. Our local comrades succeeded not only in continuing their united front with the Y.P.S.L. circles of Yorkville and Harlem, but also in drawing into the united front a German working class club, the Proletarische Gemeinschaft. These united fronts, organized on a local scale, can become the backbone of the struggle against fascism, if properly organized and extended to wider areas and to embrace all the working class organizations and parties.

Feeling the pressure of the campaign of the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee the local prophet of the *Daily Worker*, Clarence Hathaway called a meeting at Irving Plaza to explain to the workers why it was impossible to unite, as a matter of "principle" with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. The Y.C.L. members had to pay 10c to hear the wisdom. Y.P.S.L.ers however had only to show their books. Our own Spartacus members, having neither the books, nor the dimes, nor the inclination, stood outside and handed to all Y.C.L.ers entering a leaflet explaining the Leninist tactic on the united front and the necessity of such action to smash fascism. The local small fry "functionaries" fearing that the Y.C.L. might catch the Trotskyist "disease", ran out, grabbed the leaflet out of our comrades' hands and made a bonfire out of them. (John L. Spivak, attention!)

This Thursday, Oct. 25th, both our Brownsville branch of the C.L.A. and the local Spartacus led an anti-eviction demonstration, in which over 4,000 workers participated. When the S.P. appeared with a sound truck on the scene, our comrades immediately arranged an impromptu united front and spoke from the platform to the workers present. It is just such alertness that has made our Brownsville branch popular throughout the neighborhood and has enabled them to penetrate more deeply into the local neighborhood work.

Our shop fraction of the Majestic Novelty Shop has issued the first issue of its paper "Our Voice". The 500 copies that were distributed among the shop workers on both the day and night shifts were very well received. Coming after the distribution of the stupid, ignorant and childish written shop paper of the Y.C.L. fraction, the Majestic men and women were eager to read a paper written in clear, concise English and which attempts to answer the problems of the Majestic worker. In our opinion the paper will have even greater success, if the shop problems are discussed in more detail and in relation to the work of the Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union as a whole.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The second installment of the series of articles on the Communist Party has been held over to next week. The article proved to be of extreme length and pressure of space forbids its publication in this issue. The subject of the next article is a compilation of documents and an analysis of "The Internal Regime in the Communist Party". Watch for it.—Ed.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

A Worker Looks at the A. F. of L. Convention

Those employers who were expectantly awaiting the A. F. of L. Convention, to see if that highest and most powerful body of American labor was going to reorganize their institution so that labor could more efficiently fight the oppressive tactics of the employer, can now lean back in their swivel chairs and rest in peace.

Consider the average worker. But does he think of the convention? It has been the writer's experience, and he is a member of a skilled craft that has long been organized, that the skilled worker wastes little of his time thinking of the A. F. of L. He knows there is such an organization because once or twice a year he hears a letter read in his local union requesting that body to take some action on a question, usually one of no particular interest to him. These letters are usually signed, "William Green, President." He reads in the press that William Green has made some statement regarding NRA or Matthew Woll has again attacked Russia and Communism. These small reminders constitute his only contact with the leadership of the American labor movement.

The A. F. of L. has never stirred in him any desire for more effective solidarity by actually bringing down to his little local union some plan whereby his condition could be improved upon, or made more secure. To him the A. F. of L. is just another convention of little more importance than the Elks or Moose and not nearly so interesting as the ballyhoo of the Legion. Of course, the worker who has recently been organized into a Federal Union may still be so naive as to believe that the A. F. of L. officialdom is going to help him protect his interests.

The only thing the A. F. of L. officials learned in the past year was that the employers can and do disobey the law. They have not yet learned that their moral persuasion and that of the President of the United States can prevent it. Regardless of whether the ordinary worker knows it or not, a convention was held and some organizational changes were made.

Industrial Unionism

Chief of these were on industrial unionism. The final decision of the convention on this issue will meet the present needs of labor very well, providing the international officials of the craft unions do not step in and demand jurisdictional rights. There is nothing in this new resolution to protect it from the dues-hungry chiefs of the craft unions. It was brought out in the debate that the law had been changed in no way. Craft unions still have the right to demand that the letter of the law be complied with. This can cause a great deal

of dissension in the new Federal Unions where the workers have been led to believe that their vertical union would remain intact.

The resolution also gives the A. F. of L. power to appoint officers, form the policies, to direct and administer the financial affairs for a provisional period. This gives the A. F. of L. officials an opportunity to get a machine organized in the new unions which will be capable of isolating any of the militant elements. If they are unable to establish such a machine, they may use the provisional period idea for an indefinite time, as there is nothing in the resolution which specifies just how long it shall last.

Jurisdiction Squabbles

The building trades dispute took a great deal of time at the convention. It is the opinion of many that it was used to take up time and to divert the interest of the delegates from other more important questions. The issue has not yet been settled. The unions involved have 45 days in which to settle their dispute. If no agreement is reached by that time, the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. must out-law the proceedings of the Building Trades Department Conference, held prior to the convention. The Executive Committee must then call a new conference at which the carpenters, bricklayers and electricians will sit in. New officers will be elected and all of the business will again be gone over. The new conference will by no stretch of the imagination settle the building trades dispute. Jurisdictional rights in a craft union under the present set-up are not so easily settled. These fights over jurisdiction have their beginning in the local unions. The membership of the local many times judges the efficiency of their business agent by the amount of work he is able to secure for them. If this happens to be work that has been awarded to another craft by the Building Trades Department, they are not particularly concerned. They are chiefly interested in their own well being.

The International Union official views this fight from a different angle. He sees his organization as a business, and the only legitimate source of income for that business is in the form of dues. In order for the men to pay dues they must have work, or it follows that one international declares war on another.

If the union officials could forget their personal interest in these disputes, and would realize that the strength of labor lies in its unity, they would make every effort to adjust them. Instead all of their activities have a tendency to accentuate them.

The more advanced trade unionist can readily see that while the unions are fighting each other they are in no position to give the boss much opposition.

The building trades need to be more closely affiliated than they now are in the Building Trades Department.

This could be accomplished by uniting all unions interested in this class of work into one International Union, instead of having a complete set of international officials for each trade. This would also relieve the membership of a great financial burden.

The 30-Hour Week

William Green seems to be extremely proud of the fact that he has advocated the 30-hour week for some time. To date that is as far as he has got. I know of no case where the A. F. of L. executives have handed down a program to the local unions for the gaining of this objective. So far they have placed all of their hopes in the NRA and in pleading to the moral instincts of the employers.

In the convention they threatened the employer with the idea that they are going to fight for the 30-hour law. If it takes them as long to get the 30-hour law into effect as it did to get the yellow dog contract out-lawed, all of the young workers who are now ready and willing to fight will be too old to put up a battle. The A. F. of L. officialdom always likes to take their issues as far away from the field of battle as they can, which, in this case, happens to be on the job.

Faith in Roosevelt

A year ago Green advised the workers to place their hopes in Roosevelt and the NRA. Now it has been proven even to the workers' satisfaction, that they cannot depend on the codes. The A. F. of L. officials are still hanging on, but they are not quite so enthusiastic. It was reiterated time after time in the convention that the collective bargaining clause is affording no protection for the worker. Workers are constantly being discharged for union activity and the employers have not been called to account.

In the face of all this, Gorman of the textile workers, in speaking of their recent strike from the convention floor, described it "as the most amazing victory ever won by any American labor union." The textile strike was called off without any agreement with the employers. The only agreement the union had was that the government would investigate. It must be remembered that the textile industry has been operating under an NRA code. Many of the militant workers have been unable to get their jobs back on account of their activities during the strike. The leadership led these workers to the mercy of the bosses. This was not a victory, but a major defeat.

It is the duty of all of the more advanced workers in A. F. of L. unions to form left wing groups, which will make it their business to show the rank and file how the A. F. of L. can be of service. The worker can not depend upon the present leadership. We must have a leadership that understands the present day economic development. It is toward this end we must work.

—AN A. F. of L. WORKER.

Unemployed to March Nov. 24

(Continued from Page 1)

Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma. Other affiliated bodies are the Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, the Dallas, Tex., Central Council of Workers, the Minnesota Central Council of Workers, the Fort Wayne, Ind., Unemployed Citizens League of Allegheny County, Pa., the California Workers Assn.

Some 60 unemployed organizations in six other states will also have local demonstrations on Nov. 24. Among the larger cities involved are New York, Baltimore, Camden, Bridgeport, Schenectady, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Dallas, Springfield, Ill., Toledo, Columbus, Wheeling, Tampa, Palo Alto.

In a number of these cities, locals of the American Federation of Labor have endorsed National Unemployment Day and the eight-point platform, and will mobilize members to participate in the demonstration of the unemployed. In Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Allentown and other cities relations between unemployed and trade unions have been solidified during recent strikes and the unemployed are now seeking to line up the official labor movement for their cause.

The N.A.C. states that it has received reports from several supporting bodies that police are planning to interfere with the demonstrations. The Committee states, however, that all participating bodies intend to carry through orderly demonstrations and to maintain their right to present grievances and demands.

SCHOOL NOTES

The class in "The History of the International Left Opposition (Trotskyites)" with Max Shachtman as instructor, went off to a flying start last Wednesday. There is still time for those who wish to register for the entire course to do so. The fee for the entire course is \$1.50. Single lectures may be attended at 20c per lecture. The class meets every Wednesday at 8 P.M. at the headquarters, 144 2nd Avenue.

FOOD FOR DELEGATES

Can you help us feed the delegates by donating any of the following articles, in any amounts? If so, please inform the Convention Arrangements Committee at 144 Second Ave. and we will send for the contributions.

We can use: Eggs, butter, sugar, bacon, ham, coffee, tea, fruits, bread and bakings of any and all kinds.

WANTED

The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the convention, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karner at the National Office.

BORO PARK OPEN FORUM

Coming Civil War in France. Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

AL DASCH

1281 49th St., Brooklyn

BROWNSVILLE OPEN FORUM

Will the Socialist Party Split? Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

MAX SHACHTMAN

1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

HARLEM OPEN FORUM

Socialist Party, Communist (Stalinist) Party or New Workers Party? Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

MARTIN GLEE

143 East 103rd St., N. Y. C.

BRONX OPEN FORUM

What Next in France—Communism or Fascism? Friday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M.

JOHN G. WRIGHT

1739 Boston Road, Bronx

All meetings held under auspices of local CLA branches.

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The drive ends DECEMBER 31st. Take advantage of this opportunity. Get a subscription to THE MILITANT and one of the Marxist classics at a considerable saving. Send the literature to one of your friends who you think should read it, and keep the subscription, or, if you prefer, the other way round. Regular rates are: One year—\$1.00; Six months—50c.

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The Crisis Is Still With Us!

Although we did not carry on any kind of a campaign to solicit greetings for this issue except by an announcement in the *Militant*, a number of our readers have responded. Some of the accompanying letters are quoted here because they show what our paper means to our subscribers.

"W" of Boston, sends in 25c spectively "for the Fourth International".

Comrade Gussie Krakowski, who never fails to respond to a call, brought in one dollar.

W. J. of Oakland responded with \$2 and John Dane of the same city with \$1, while C. of Minneapolis sent us 30c worth of postage stamps, all he could spare. J. Batavia of Paterson, subscribed for two years to help increase the income. Ludwig Lore sent \$1.50.

Bill Young of Boston writes: "Enclosed find 2/3 of the money I had on me when I got the latest *Militant*. Best wishes for the New Party." Enclosed \$2.

Marion McL. of Iowa sends \$1 and says: "Am much interested in the coming convention of the Communist League and the American Workers Party. I trust that this time the merger will be successful."

"Find enclosed \$3. At present this is all I can send to keep the wolf from your door without inviting my own wolf in." This from a student in a nearby college who is a member of its R.O.T.C. unit.

From another college student in Pennsylvania we got the following: "I read with horror the news that the *Militant* may have to miss an issue. Right now there is a great need for the *Militant* on the campus. I received the bundle this morning, and they are all gone. One of the professors has asked me to serve it to him weekly. I am taking a dollar from my food money and am sending it. Here's to the success of the *Militant* and may it never miss an issue."

If only enough of our readers felt as this comrade does, and would act accordingly, our inotype and press comrades would not have to miss so many meals, and the *Militant* would never have to waste space for "ALARMS".

A number of our branches took the ALARM seriously and came to the assistance of the *Militant*: The Downtown Branch of Local New York collected from its Pledgers as did the Harlem Branch. The Cleveland Branch rushed its payment on the bundle account.

Comrade Koehler of the Youngstown Branch writes:

"After sending what money we had in the treasury for Convention Assessments this morning, I received my copy of the *Militant* and had a chance to read your appeal. Have been able to raise \$3 and am sending this to you now."

WHY DON'T THE REST OF THE BRANCHES REACT IN LIKE MANNER?

J. N. and Fred Nash of the Downtown Branch have each contributed, especially to the Sixth Anniversary greetings.

Pauline Miller of New York and Jeff. Hall of Bryan Ohio have rushed in their payments on their Pledges. W. G. bookseller, contributed \$1.25.

"Gentlemen", writes one of our readers, "I have just received your last issue of the *Militant* and noted your appeal for funds. I am enclosing a check for \$5. I'm glad to help although it's very little."

D. T. Burbank, of St. Louis sends \$3 of which half is for a file of the Minneapolis Organizer and the other half for a greeting of the *Militant*.

Although this response was by no means phenomenal or sufficient to keep the *Militant* going, it helped to produce the forthcoming issue. But the problem of feeding our functionaries and paying off a few of the urgent bills still remains. Unless more comrades come to our assistance in the coming week as have those mentioned we will be faced with the same situation, and the possibility of missing an issue will remain actual.

RUSH FUNDS! DO NOT DELAY! PAY UP YOUR BUNDLE ACCOUNT. GET SUBSCRIPTIONS. PAY ON YOUR PLEDGE.

JOINT DANCE

Saturday, Dec. 15th, 9 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street

Tickets 30c. 40c at door

Auspices:

Communist League of America

American Workers Party.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Lull in the French Storm

The fall of the Doumergue government and its replacement by a new "truce" ministry can in no real sense be called a turn in the French situation. Rather it can be characterized as a momentary lull in the storm which must inevitably break out anew more violently and more intensely than before. What must be noted is that under cover of the defeat of the "whole hog" program of Constitutional reform, the Flaudin ministry obtains the major part of the powers desired by Doumergue. Further to be noted is the fact that Flaudin is completely in accord with the program previously outlined and followed by the Bonapartist Doumergue. The mistake of Doumergue—looking back at events from this distance—was that he thought he could repeat the coup d'etat of February 19th, but evidently he had failed to prepare the ground sufficiently so as to force the support of the frightened middle class. Herriot, leader of the upper layers of this class as organized in the Radical Socialist Party, was compelled, despite his outspoken fear of throwing the entire issue of state power into the streets, to take this risk in opposing the completion of Bonapartist rule because of the clear evidences of split in his own ranks if he supported this move. But the forces unleashed in French society in the February days will not be dissipated by Herriot's astute politics. The imminence of fascism acts as a giant wedge cleaving in two the upper and lower sections of the middle class, each section moving in an opposite direction. In terms of social dynamics Herriot's support of the new "truce" government ties the one section of the middle class into closer union with the Bonapartist and fascist forces in France, while on the surface avoiding the break with the exploited and misled bulk of the petty bourgeoisie. It is necessary that the vanguard of the working class win this lower section to the side of the united front against fascism in the temporary lull.

War Politics and Diplomacy

The evidences of the feverish preparations all over the world for the impending imperialist war continue to accumulate. The naval conference in London reveals Japan bargaining with England for aid against the U.S. The constant details of an alliance against America by British diplomacy mislead

WORLD OF LABOR

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution

The massacres of workers continue.

After the massacres and the Vienna days, the massacre and the Spanish days. This is a new defeat in the struggle of the workers against reaction in Europe, but a defeat whose revolutionary power strikes fear into the forces of the world counter-revolution.

Yes. On either side of the Atlantic, from the heroic Asturian miners to the thousands of fighters in Amsterdam and America the bourgeois counter-revolution has to reckon with the armed and tenacious resistance of the awakened masses. The blotting out of socialism which the bourgeoisie hopes to bring about by savage repression is everywhere shown to be a dream. The revolutionary workers' movement, extending over the entire world may perhaps be retarded here and there by bloody repressions but it can never be wiped out. But to overcome the defeats the revolutionary proletarian vanguard must be keenly alive to the epoch we are now living through, and especially to conditions in Europe.

Under the pressure of internal and international difficulties, the bourgeoisie in every country finds itself constrained to place itself on a subversive and reactionary soil, that is to say, it is forced to abandon the soil of so-called democracy and legality. It is the bourgeoisie, as a whole, which causes civil war by arming fascism whose only issue on the international arena is a new slaughter of the people.

More than ever, the cannibalism of the ruling class on the one hand and the bloody sacrifices of the toilers on the other, should convince the people that there is only one method to avenge, to simplify, to reduce the deadly suffering caused by capitalist decay: revolutionary struggle. Struggle or death; revolutionary struggle or annihilation; in this manner the bourgeoisie, which is determined to destroy everything to save its doomed regime, irrevocably poses the question.

Tollers, the example of Spain after that of Vienna, demonstrates again that the splendid heroism of the combatants does not suffice to assure victory over the enemy; undoubtedly physical force can only be defeated by physical force. With all our heart we are with our defeated brothers whatever their tendency. But precisely in order to avenge the victims and to liberate the prisoners it is necessary to prepare the new struggle, and this preparation, in the first place, should consist of open implacable criticism of the mistakes and the weaknesses of the workers' organizations themselves. After so many lies the proletariat needs the cure of truth.

The Spanish events should help the proletariat of other countries and particularly the French proletariat to learn in the fire of their experience. The processes which are hatching in France have long ago taken a mature form in Spain.

The Socialist party, carried to power by the spontaneous revolution, made every effort to arrest it and to save the bourgeois regime. New revolutionary attempts were crushed. This policy of parliamentary socialism contributed in stabilizing and strengthening anarchism and syndicalism, two tendencies which are fatal for the revolution. The Socialists, on their part, with their policy of social-fascism did everything to repel the workers into anarchism or to keep them in the parliamentary party.

It is this fatal triangle: social democracy, Stalinism, anarchism, which has ruined the masses by dooming to defeat a series of heroic attempts and by giving the reaction time to prepare and to arm itself. The Socialist party finally understood the mortal danger. It made serious preparations for struggle—but in a few months it was not able to efface the fruits of its past policy. The anarcho-syndicalists, however, remained hostile to the socialist initiative and could not find anything better to do than to empty their rancor on the head of the revolution. The reaction had thus gained the opportunity of free movement on the chess board by occupying one position after another.

But it would be futile to expect a new revolution now; it would be equally false to class Lerroux, Gil Robles and the fascist groups in the same category. It is a matter of different classes and different political tendencies. Not the revolution is on the order of the day, but an internal conflict in the camp of those who have defeated the Spanish October. The party of the proletariat should carefully follow the internal relations in this camp, which is ten times more heterogeneous than Hitler's camp and does not possess one one-hundredth of the discipline of the Nazis. It is superfluous to say that a sharp, even an armed conflict (which is hardly excluded), can again change the situation in favor of the proletariat.

Miserable philistines declare that military technique has emerged victorious from the revolution of the masses. They draw the conclusion that the armed struggle of the proletariat is condemned in advance. Our conclusion is the direct opposite. Armed struggle which is the inevitable outcome of the class struggle of our epoch can only be victorious on the basis of a revolutionary policy which tests the cadres and wins the masses by giving them a clear analysis of the real situation.

The army of the revolution is not improvised at the minute that struggle is forced on it by the enemy. The working class must be prepared systematically for unrelenting struggle; it must create the workers' militia. That is the lesson that should be drawn from the Spanish events.

Civil war, like all war, requires methodical preparation, a firm and capable leadership. We know that only a revolutionary proletarian party can assure this leadership. But we do not draw the false conclusion from the fact that the existing parties of the two internationals, socialist and communist, have once again demonstrated their bankruptcy, and hence the necessity of new proletarian parties, that it is necessary first to build the new party in order to struggle against fascism. The proletarian vanguard has begun to build this party in struggle; and it is in this struggle that it will grow in every country.

If the two internationals were capable of energetic initiative they long ago would have appealed to the working masses for the boycott against the butchers of the Spanish toilers. The negotiations in Brussels on the contrary, have demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the two internationals, which still occupy the posts of leadership in the workers' movement. While the workers in Spain battle arms in hand the delegates of the two bureaucracies from Moscow and Zurich hold "fruitless and impotent negotiations" in Brussels.

Workers, the road to victory still remains open to you. There is no time to lose. Unity of action is a step forward in barring the road to fascism. But in order that this unity of action be effective and efficacious it must not be limited to agreements between the tops, on the parliamentary sphere, it must involve and organize all the working people over the entire country; every barrier between the workers must be broken down; every worker no matter what his political opinion, can find himself in fraternal contact with his class brothers. The workers' alliance in Spain would have been able to oppose and certainly would have been able to offer a much more stubborn and more effective resistance to the attacks of the troops of Gil Robles-Lerroux, if in advance

NEW YORK TRADE UNIONISTS QUIT C. P. JOIN MOVEMENT FOR NEW PARTY IN U. S.

Comrades Taylor and Terry, signatories to this statement were the organizers and leaders of the progressive opposition group which conducted a fight in the big electrical workers local number 3 against the corrupt administrations of the local and of the International Brotherhood. This remarkable fight, which attracted nationwide attention and claimed the life of one of the opposition members, resulted in the resignation of the International president, Broach. When renewed later, due to continued gangster methods employed by the local administration in shooting and wounding several of the opposition members. Taylor and Terry were the main organizers and leaders in a broad rank and file movement of many A. F. of L. building trades unions. The gangster officials were removed and convicted, much of the trade union racketeering was effectively exposed and several of the progressive measures sponsored by the opposition were accepted by the electrical workers local union.

Comrade Taylor is a member of the C.P. since 1926 and comrade Terry since 1930. Both are as active as ever in their leading capacities within the progressive trade union movement.—Ed.

The present period demands the greatest decisiveness and unity of action by the working class. The mistakes of the party both on the trade union and political field has resulted not only in retarding working class unity against capitalist reaction but has also served to strengthen the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the social reformists. The realization of the mistakes of the party, long ago transformed into tendencies alien to revolutionary Marxism, has finally forced upon me the conviction that my place is no longer in the ranks of the official Communist party. The impossibility of a free and frank discussion and a possible correction of mistakes has strengthened that conviction.

For the past eight years I have been engaged in trade union work. The major portion of my activity has been confined to the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition. I will therefore confine my statement to this aspect of party work.

"Independent Action" The party some few years ago issued the slogan of "Independent action over and above the heads of the bureaucrats." The party fractions everywhere were instructed to conduct "Independent strike action." Assuming for a moment that the slogan of "Independent action" is correct, it is therefore logical to conclude from the content of the slogan itself, that the opposition forces within the trade unions are properly organized to conduct "Independent action over and above the heads of the bureaucrats."

The use of this slogan in the course of the actual struggle, however, soon convinced us that the party fractions within the trade unions were not only conducting "Independent struggles over and above the A. F. of L. bureaucrats" but that those "struggles" were also carried on over and above the heads of the rank and file workers themselves.

Indifference to the organizational strength of the Opposition in the practical use of the slogan "Independent action" soon resulted in liquidation not only of weakly organized opposition groups and party fractions, but of entire local unions.

Local 499 Painters A glaring example of the results of independent "strike action" will be found in reviewing the recent activities of the party fraction in Local 499 of the Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America. In the recent painters strike called by the officials of District Council No. 9, Local 499, under the influence of the party fraction, led the movement for independent "strike action" . . . organized its own picket lines, pulled jobs and conducted strike action "over and above the heads of the bureaucrats"

Naturally much confusion resulted. It had organized the toiling population into fighting formations in every factory and every workers' district.

Unity of action! But that should signify: preparation of the masses for the inevitable struggle. Form the workers' militia. No more proletarian massacres, but the organization of a victorious struggle.

Meetings, resolutions are useful for the Spanish proletariat in grips with frenzied reaction on the condition that this sympathy becomes active and energetic. Petitions and meetings leave the Spanish bourgeoisie as well as those of other countries indifferent. In face of the cannibalism of the counter-revolution let us organize our united front of struggle; let us create our workers' militia. Long live the armed struggle of the Spanish workers! Long live the proletarian power! Long live the IVth International, organizing the proletarian vanguard of all countries for the victory of world socialism!

—The International Secretariat, International Communist League

ed. The strike conducted by the District Council and the "Independent strike" movement led by local 499 created hesitancy in both camps. This condition was further and more seriously aggravated by the complete isolation of left wing influence and militancy from the strike movement conducted by the District Council.

"Independent strike action" was smashed squarely on the head by Philip Zausner and his District Council No. 9. Local 499 had its charter revoked and its members instructed to enter other locals. The Painters Protective Association (rank and file opposition) will not so very quickly recover from this blow.

Already rumblings of dissatisfaction with the party leadership issue from below! Many party members in soft tones and among themselves complain that Weinstein's articles in the Daily Worker and the Rank and File Federation proclaiming victorious achievements after each defeat do not by any chance turn defeat into victory but lay the groundwork for future defeats. Weinstein believes in doing "big things in a big way." He does not sit down with rank and file workers and together with them formulate policy and tactics. No, Weinstein is a "leader of the masses"—even though he leads those very same masses completely out of the painters' union and into a state of demoralization.

Local 2717 Carpenters

For years the party boasted about the "good work" of the party fraction within local 2717 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The party fraction completely dominated local 2717. The members of the local paraded in the party's line of march on May Day, supported the party's campaigns and sent delegates to the "Hunger Marchers". . . All went well until the party considered the tempo of activation too slow and insisted upon "Independent action" for local 2717. From then on it was "Independent action" for local 2717 both against and over the heads of the District Council in New York and the Executive Council of the Brotherhood.

In the conflict with the District Council the party instructed its fraction in local 2717 to prevent the local from paying per capita tax to the General Office of the Brotherhood. But the General Office simply liquidated the local.

Local 2717—as a single local—one out of more than 25 locals in New York City and vicinity, was forced into "Independent action", flad the party fraction within local 2717 coupled the fight with a program, on an inter-local basis, dealing with such demands as (1) lower dues, (2) protection of the union standing of the unemployed, (3) free speech and democracy, (4) reduction of the salaries of officials, both the party fraction and local 2717 would today be on firm ground! Such a program if properly applied on the basis of mobilizing all locals, should have resulted in the creation of a broad rank and file inter-local movement capable of effectively dealing with the corrupt officials of the New York District Council and of transforming the local unions into fighting instruments of the workers.

What is the result of this kind of "Independent action"? In both instances those of the carpenters local 2717 and painters local 499, the left wing had obtained a strong basis. Two local unions under its influence thus provided a good beginning for a serious fight against the reactionaries. It could have been extended by careful building of left wing groups in the other locals, cementing them all together and fighting on the basis of remaining within the A. F. of L. But the party followed the policy of capture and split with the result that it captured nothing, stands discredited as a splitter and its fractions are now almost completely divorced from the rank and file. They are a negligible factor in the life of the unions.

The position of the corrupt A. F. of L. officials has been strengthened at the expense of the rank and file into whose ranks temporary demoralization has set in as a result of the series of defeats prepared by the "advance guard" of the working class.

Rival Unions

The creation of rival unions has been the party policy during the last several years and it is a sore spot which spreads its poison throughout the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition. By rival unions I mean the artificial creation of new unions where the A. F. of L. already has a mass basis. The Independent Alteration Painters Union (T.U.U.L.) was organized some few years ago, with a wage scale and working conditions below that of the Brotherhood (A. F. of L.) The Independent Alteration Painters Union grew rapidly in the first stages of its existence.

In the course of time there developed vicious warfare between the Brotherhood and Independent Union for the control of Alteration paintshops. In the course of these struggles the membership of the Independent union gave a good ac-

count of themselves. The rank and file proved themselves militant fighters against Zausner's paid gangsters.

Zausner and his District Council No. 9 lost no time in denouncing the Communists within the Brotherhood locals as "dual unionists" whose intention it was to split the Brotherhood. . . . Zausner attempted to convince the rank and file that while their families were denied the necessities of life due to unemployment, the Communists had organized a dual union with a wage scale and working conditions below that of the Brotherhood, thus further deepening their own misery.

In the attempts to "blacken" the Communists with the material supplied to him by the Party leadership, Zausner was partly successful. Thus the prestige of the party members among the rank and file was lowered.

In the latter part of 1933 Zausner created his famous organizing campaign. Many hundreds of workers joined the Brotherhood. Had the original and correct policy of the party "into the A. F. of L." not been renounced and had the party members in the Brotherhood locals themselves developed a broad rank and file movement for the organization of the unorganized, the entire membership of the Independent union could have had the possibility of joining the Brotherhood locals and thus greatly strengthened the left wing.

Some four or five weeks ago, at a meeting of the leading building trades faction, of which at the time they were members, comrades Taylor and Terry quoted William Z. Foster's pamphlet "Organize the Unorganized", which was printed in 1926.

These comrades pointed out their agreement with the major portion of the section in Foster's pamphlet dealing with the danger of dual unions. In answer to the assertions of the comrades, the secretary of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Opposition, stated that Foster's pamphlet was written in 1926 and therefore cannot apply today! A real left winger would answer that this position was correct then and is correct now. But comrades Taylor and Terry were accused of having adopted Lovestone's position on dual unions which of course did not clear up the matter at all.

The artificial creation of rival unions has been a party policy for years. It has been the Comintern policy under the Stalin regime. Its disastrous results have been division and splits in the ranks of the organized workers, isolating the militants from the mass movement, discrediting them and strengthening the hands of the reactionary A. F. of L. officials. At this moment when the masses are actually going to the A. F. of L. unions the party is up a blind alley with its trade union policy. It is proceeding to liquidate its T.U.U.L. unions, not by an orderly retreat attempting to again entrench the militants in the mass unions, but by a route which will make the left wing elements impotent for a long time to come. Thus the failure to correct a false policy in time leads to new serious mistakes.

Bureaucracy

Some few weeks ago a member of the A. F. of L. Committee appeared at the meeting of the electrical workers opposition ostensibly to get support for a dance arranged by the committee. He immediately informed the chairman that his topic for discussion was to be "Affiliation of the Electrical Workers Group to the A. F. of L. Committee."

This raised a storm of protest from the chairman and other leading members of the opposition. The question of the electrical workers' affiliation to the A. F. of L. Committee was never brought to the attention of the electrical workers' fraction. Nor was it first submitted to the executive committee of for consideration. The leaders of the A. F. of L. Committee tried to "catch the workers by surprise," as it were.

Comrade S. is a member of the N. Y. District Bureau of the C.P. and a member of the painters' fraction.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

announces a series of 12 lecture classes by

MAX SHACHTMAN

on The History of the Communist League (Trotskyists)

Every Wednesday, beginning Nov. 14, at 8 P.M. at 144 Second Ave. The fee for entire course is \$1.50; or 20 cents for a single lecture.

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The fee for these courses is \$1.50 for the entire course or 20 cents for any single session. Registrations are taken daily at the office, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

QUESTION BOX

A. S., CHICAGO—

Question: What is the Marxian basis of the theory of the inevitability of the social revolution? Is this theory fatalistic and, being sure of ultimate victory, does it pacify the working class in its struggle against capitalism?

Answer: There is no inevitability, in Marxian theory, in the sense that the working class whether they struggle or not **MUST** be victorious. It is not only not theoretically excluded, but even a probability for the present historical epoch, that the failure of the proletariat to build revolutionary parties and seize power in time may result in the victory of reaction on a world-wide scale (fascism, destruction of the world's productive forces (imperialist wars, restriction of production to a minimum inside national boundaries, etc.) that humanity may be set back for many years. It is of course difficult to imagine that the working class will not eventually destroy the capitalist system since all the laws of motion of present day society tend in this direction. Only in this **HISTORICAL** sense can the social revolution be conceived as inevitable. There are no guarantees, however, as to when or under what circumstances it will take place.

As to any idea that Marxian theory "pacifies" the workers. Marx stated his concept as follows:

"What I did was to prove the following: (1) That the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which are characteristic of the development of production. (2) That class war indisputably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ." (Quotation by Lenin in "State and Revolution")

How can this perspective be considered as fatalistic? What is it that leads to the proletarian dictatorship? Class War! If the proletarians were to sit at home then they would not be participating in the class struggle and the failure to achieve emancipation would be assured.

Even though "he does not make it out of the whole cloth, man makes his own history. . . ."

Question: Does Social Democracy accept the theory of inevitability?

Answer: This is a rather peculiar question since the Social Democracy is not revolutionary but reformist. Since it rejects the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it certainly cannot be accused of saying that this is inevitable. However, it tells the workers that if they make proper use of the ballot box and elect to power Socialist candidates, the latter can and will then legislate the social revolution into being. One can with justice, therefore, say that the Social Democracy claims a Socialist Society to be inevitable provided that the workers don't forget to vote Socialist on election day.

B. Y., HARVARD—

Question: Shouldn't the question of "Self-Determination of the Black Belt" be left to be settled by the Negro workers themselves after the Revolution?

Answer: If the slogan of "Self-Determination" is rejected, i.e., if one accepts the position that the Negro problem in the U.S. is NOT that of a suppressed NATIONAL minority, your question, of course, becomes meaningless.

If the reverse position is adopted, however, the slogan would have to be advanced now since (1) our program is merely the formulation of the historic needs of society in every stage of its development; (2) acceptance of the slogan would imply our recognition that the Negroes have National aspirations of a progressive nature; and (3) even though the present reactionary position of capitalism makes the solution of the unfinished problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution the task of the proletarian revolution, (e.g., National Independence) it is precisely because of this fact that the struggle for these unfinished tasks becomes a lever toward the winning of proletarian power.

It must again be repeated that a direct answer to the question depends upon the attitude which one has to the slogan, and we do not wish to anticipate our national conference which will very shortly take a definite position on it.

ADAM B., CHICAGO—

Question: What part did the civil servants and the Federation des Fonctionnaires play in the French general strike of February?

Answer: We are informed by a comrade who was in Paris at the time that the civil servants were not called out, and because of the nature of the strike (a one day demonstration), there was no way of getting their attitude to it in action. Subsequent to that time, however, they have been taking a very active role in demonstrations etc. since the government's economy program is being carried out chiefly at their expense. (Pardon the delay in answering. A search through the files of both the radical and the capitalist press failed to disclose the information)

S. H., BRONX—

Question: What is meant by Bonapartism?

Answer: By this we usually mean a form of capitalist state power, without mass support, which bases itself upon the military, the police, and the bureaucracy and is able to do so because the hostile classes in society are balanced against each other, neither camp being able nor willing to upset the equilibrium which would result in a civil war, unless, as was done in Germany by the leadership of the S.P. and C.P., the opposing camp capitulates without a fight. It is usually a precondition, if a Bonapartist regime is to last for any length of time, that the classes shall have mutually exhausted each other in struggle. It is apparent from this general description of this historical phenomenon that the variety of forms which it can take are many and that it represents an unstable form of power comparable to a ball balanced on the top of a pyramid. (P.S. Haven't you read Trotsky's pamphlets?)

Acknowledgment:—Your editor wishes to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from Comrade H. Sorg, of London, England, in which he submits to us, from another source, ("Communist International" No. 1, p. 18, published by C.P.G.B.) the same quotation from Lenin's "The Third International and Its Place in History" that was sent in by Comrade J. MacDonald and published in the "Question Box" of Nov. 3rd.

Correction: An unfortunate typographical error appeared in the "Question Box" of last week. A statement which was printed as "ships of all capitalist countries including the U.S.S.R. . . ." should have read "including the U.S.A. . . ."

November New International Out

The November issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

For an Independent Movement

Our Road--The New Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

(Continued from Page 1)

by a conscious determination to get out of the propaganda circle into the broader movement. The actual fusion with the A.W.P., now on the order of the day, is in our understanding, a more decisive step on the same path; by no means a solution of the problem, for the combined forces of the two organizations are modest enough, but a real move in this direction.

In turning deliberately toward a broader mass activity through the medium of a new party we do not thereby contradict our past existence as a propaganda group, and still less do we renounce it. There was a time when the propaganda circle, as a result of the general stagnation and theoretical degeneration, was the only existence possible for those who retained allegiance to principle. The situation of the time determined the progressive nature of the propaganda circle. We understood it better than others and tenaciously stuck to our task, rejecting all magic prescriptions for short cuts to mass work. In that we were absolutely right, as subsequent experience demonstrated.

The Fate of Our Critics

Those who built on firm foundations of principle proved to be most effective in mass work directly and in establishing relations and uniting with other progressive elements which, in the nature of the case, broadens the perspective mass activity in the future. The others, who did so much talking about "mass work" and condemned our preoccupation with propaganda as "sectarianism" (Weisbord, Field, etc.), made miserable failures with mass work, with propaganda, with organization and everything else. It is an ironic commentary on these groups of professional "mass workers", plunged into internal crisis by their total isolation from the mass movement on the one hand and the fusion of the C.I.A. and the A.W.P. on the other, that they are compelled to seek some kind of a "principle" basis to maintain their "independence". They will not find it.

The propaganda circle must give way now to the political party tied up with the movement of the masses. Under the impact of the rising activity of the general labor movement thousands upon thousands of workers are beginning to awaken to political life; others, who have fallen away in the period of reaction and stagnation, are being roused out of their passivity. These new forces will not go to little groups. They will seek political expression through the medium of one of the parties. This is understood, more or less, by all the political-minded people in all the groups. They are moving to adjust their activities accordingly, and, by the direction they take, they reveal their real colors.

Lovestone moves desperately to re-attach himself to the Stalinist party, in its swing to the right, before his group falls to pieces before his eyes. Gitlow-Zam-Goldman crawl back into the Socialist party to make good the "mistake" of 1919. We, who are neither Stalinists nor social democrats, move to unite with other forces to form an independent party opposed to both. Each, according to his opinion and his inner tendency, will find his place; except those who want to continue to "clarify" themselves in a small circle. For such there is no salvation and no political life in the period unfolding now.

Dilemma of Propaganda Groups

Degeneration is the fate of all propaganda groups which are not able to transform the nature of their activity and connect themselves with the broad movement when the hour strikes for such a transformation. We are prepared by our past for a great leap forward; but we ourselves must take the leap. We fought a good fight. It was historically necessary and progressive. Against the stream for six years, against unparalleled difficulties, against slander, isolation and poverty of resources we held tenaciously to our course. We have a right to be proud of our six-years' struggle. The history of the American movement does not know another example of a group that was put to such severe tests and stood up under them so firmly. We have survived. We have a right to be proud of our six-years' struggle for principle; but it would be a tragedy if we should fail to understand that this struggle was not an end in itself but a period of preparation for the new opportunities and new tasks which stand before us now.

We must acknowledge that we are not immune from such a danger. A certain element of "sectarianism" is inseparable from the life of a group which lives a long time in isolation and is compelled by the needs of the movement, as we were, to preoccupy itself almost exclusively with theoretical work, with the intransigent struggle to clarify questions of principle. It is possible that we will have to face the decisive turn in our work with some "sectarian" hangovers in our

ranks, some hesitations and fears of the new tasks and the broader stream. Such a tendency could have only a negative influence now. We must face the problem squarely at the national conference and solve it. That means: we must not yield an inch to any kind of sectarian considerations in regard to the fusion and the launching of the new party.

Sectarianism can be a great danger in the present period of flux and change in the movement when vast new perspectives open up before us; when new opportunities to extend the basis and broaden the influence of revolutionary Marxism are ours to grasp. We shall oppose every manifestation of such a tendency with all our strength—in the League, and in the new party, also, if necessary.

Gitlow and Zam--Renegades!

But it goes without saying that our position in this regard has nothing in common with the position of those who seek to solve the problem of isolation by desertion of the revolutionary banner and entry into the Socialist party. Gitlow and Zam, by this shameful performance, only complete the evolution which began with their crusade against "Trotskyism" in the C. P. They were among the original, or at least the earliest practitioners, of the art of misusing the Leninist weapon of denunciation, hurling the epithet "renegade" at honest revolutionists until the word lost all meaning. How hollow that all sounds now. They even console themselves with the thought that the horrible misuse of epithets by the Stalinists has engendered such a cynicism on the subject of renegacy that their own return to the "party of revolutionary unity" without a program, without a banner, without--as they announce--the slightest intention to even form a faction in this "united" party, will escape the indignant denunciation of the revolutionary workers. Never mind. The sword of Lenin has been blunted, but it will be sharpened again.

A really serious analysis of the situation, the trends and the currents in the workers' political movement in the United States does not lead to the conclusion that the Socialist Party is or will be the revolutionary party of the future, or that it is the best field for the activities of the revolutionists today. Of all the groups in the S.P. there is not one that is revolutionary, that is, bolshevik. There is not one leader that deserves the name of revolutionist. As for revolutionists entering the S. P. from the outside, they cannot do it, as the case of Gitlow and Zam proved, unless they give up their program and their banner. When revolutionists do that they cease to be revolutionists. The leaders of the "Militants" who, it must not be forgotten, are the leaders of the party nationally, exalted from Gitlow and Zam a public declaration that they have no intention of forming a communist faction, or any other kind of a faction, in the party. Then, to avoid a conflict with the Old Guard over their admittance, they chivied the ex-communists over to New Jersey--to join the S. P., so to speak, as second grade members.

Mistaken Analogies

Some people attempt to find an analogy between the contemptible course of Gitlow and Zam and the action of the French Bolsheviki-Leninists in entering the S.F.I.O. as a group. But in reality there is no similarity at all. Shaken to its foundations by the crisis of the democratic state, the French Socialist party reacts to the broadest possible democracy in its own ranks; the leadership is not in a position to place limitations upon it. The Bolsheviki-Leninists are able to enter the party without any conditions; they openly retained their whole program, their name, their banner, their press. They work within the Socialist Party for the same ideas that governed their activity as an outside group, and they do it openly. What does this course have in common with the skulking, shamefaced conduct of Gitlow?

We have supported the action of our French comrades. Under the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the French labor movement we think it was the correct tactical step. But it is obvious that the situation in this country is entirely different. Here the road is open for the creation of an independent party. It is a hard road, let us not deceive ourselves about that, but there is no other for those who have serious revolutionary aims and do not shrink from the implications of a struggle for them. It will be a hard up-hill fight. Those who have no stomach for it can be expected to stand aside on one pretext or another.

Goldman's Desertion

How else is one to explain the action of Albert Goldman in jumping over the fence into the S. P. at the moment our plans for fusion with the A.W.P. and the formal proclamation of the new party were nearing completion? What is that but the act of a strike-breaker?

Goldman, like Gitlow, forswearing any intention to form a faction in the S. P. and still less to proclaim the need of a split with the black hundred gang of the Old Guard, imagines that he has discovered a new political recipe. He is going to work wonders in the Socialist party all by himself by means of personal diplomacy, back-slapping the centrist leaders, and the devil knows what other clever tricks. It has been said that he even expects to remain a "friend" of the League and the new party. We have no need of such friends. The new party needs revolutionary militants who are firm in their convictions and loyal to their own organization. We have had a good chance in recent years to find out who they are. There are enough to make a start. Others will follow, and we will train them in the same spirit.

Our road is the road to the new revolutionary party. And, by that, not to conciliation with the parties of reformism and centrism but irreconcilable struggle against them. If we are equal to our task we have the opportunity to succeed. The perspective of a rising labor movement is all in our favor; a genuinely Marxist party cannot fail to thrive in the period of labor revival and mass activity. Our rivals--the C. P. and the S. P.--are irretrievably bankrupt, as the experience of the two big strike waves demonstrated once again. Our forces are not too numerous, but they are of better quality. They are firm in principle and, taking them all together, they embody a rich experience in trade union and mass activity. The task is a colossal one. But we can accomplish it if we have nerve to begin it and the will to carry it through.

The Principles of the New Party

We need a declaration of principles that speaks out clearly on every important question. The first draft, taken as a basis, is naturally to be edited, revised and clarified on every point. The bulk of this work of improving and clarifying the program has already been accomplished by the joint committee. The second draft, embodying important amendments and reformulations, will go to the convention delegates of each organization and then to the joint convention for final revision. The work in the joint program committee has demonstrated beyond any doubt that we have a common standpoint on all the fundamental questions of principles and tactics. What remains now is primarily a literary task of formulating each and every point with such precision that it cannot have two meanings to anybody. In the program declaration of the new party there should be no trace of ambiguity. We are confident that the final draft which passes the convention will meet this Marxist test and become the charter and guide of all the revolutionary militants in the country.

If, as all signs indicate, the sixth anniversary of our struggle is to culminate in the conclusion of our existence as a separate group and the beginning of a new period of joint struggle with the members of the A.W.P. in a single party, it can only mean that we carry with us that system of ideas and methods which, thanks to our international collaboration, and above all to the aid of our great teacher, we have so firmly acquired. Our conviction is unshakable. We "Trotskyites" are convinced to the marrow of our bones that our fight was justified and necessary. We renounce nothing and repent nothing. Revolutionary internationalism remains as before our central, unifying idea. The great task now, as we understand it, is to carry this idea into the realm of organization and action. That means concretely: unite forces to build the new party of the Fourth International. We hope to contribute our full share to the accomplishment of this great historic task.

Elevator Strike Near

(Continued from Page 1)

Meanwhile a furious campaign of slander has been unleashed by the bosses in an effort to nip the strike in the bud. Five thousand scabs have been imported to fill the places of striking workers, while extensive preparations are being made by the police department to insure them adequate protection. A charge by the bosses that Chicago racketeers are in control of the union has failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the workers.

In a telegram sent to Mayor LaGuardia, the Real Estate Board warns of a "serious labor disturbance". This gives the lie to their recent assertion that the union has under its leadership no more than 20 per cent of the workers in the industry.

An offer by the bosses to submit the question of wages and hours to an "impartial arbitrator" was emphatically rejected by union leaders who first demand the closed shop.

Students Fight for Freedom of Speech

(Continued from Page 1)

upon a time-liberal and removed from superintendency of Los Angeles Public Schools for a pacifist stand during the war) of conspiracy to turn the university over to Trotsky (even quoting from the latter's book, "The Strategy of the World Revolution") and the Third International these students in reality advocated so communistic a measure as a student controlled forum.

Warned by Provost Moore to cease advocating a student forum, these students had the temerity to think freedom of speech is permitted within the sacred precincts of a University campus. The student constitution provides for the right of petition for the referendum. Dr. Moore's representative hurried to the Student Council and bore the words that if the students attempted to use their right to petition--that right would be taken from them. Shades of 1776!

Like a bolt from the blue on Monday afternoon, October 29th, the five popular and active students were suspended.

On the same day student interest and resentment began swelling. Plans were laid.

On Tuesday the students acted. Ten o'clock classes were empty. Professors dismissed their classes as 4,000 students stood before Royce Hall steps and saw uniformed police and football heroes knock down the speakers who attempted to take the stand in the behalf of the recalcitrant free-speechers.

Cops Guard "Academic Freedom"

Cries of "What are the cops doing here?", "Let him speak", "We want an open hearing" rang out. Yes, the students were learning there on those steps lessons more poignant than can be found in many classes. A cop was scuffed. Students boomed.

In the office of the university, Dr. Moore shuddered, and looking at the four young men who had been expelled and who had been summoned to appear before him, said "Get out there, you four, and break up that meeting!" No one moved. Then one spoke quietly: "Dr. Moore, you break it up. You started it."

These were brave words, but the four students anxious to get back into school had repudiated Celeste Strach, N.S.L. member because of her membership in that organization, and were later going to take the stand against "Communism" in an effort to purify their banner.

Outside--Pleading of a few "loyal" students who called upon everyone to sing the college anthem, "Hall Blue and Gold"; Earl Miller, dean of men, requests the students to go back to their classes. Back they go. But a glowing page in student action had already been written.

Support from Stanford

And support pours in from outside, from Stanford University where the editor of the organ of the students there writes a fine editorial on free speech. The University of California at Berkeley students declare a one hour strike in sympathy with the suspended students.

Here as at U.C.L.A. "Cross-Eyed Kellys" of the gridiron try to "bust things up". Los Angeles Junior College sends a petition with 750 names calling for reinstatement.

The days that have followed have seen Dr. Moore appealing to student vigilantes (here we must remember the vigilantes used during the strike in San Francisco) to drive radicalism (spelled freedom of thought) off the campus. Says he: "A well-regulated university does not have free speech". So a uni-versity is a "laboratory for experiment"? Says who?

The supporters of the "C.C.L.A. Americans" (as they call themselves) are: the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Better American Federation, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chief of Police Davis, the aristocratic Ebell Club. Cast an appreciative eye over that mob, Horatio!

But a wave of student support is starting, slowly, clumsily-directed. But, nevertheless, such a progressive wave, galvanized by demands for the reinstatement of the five students, for a student forum, for free speech that even the redoubtable Dr. Moore may be swept aside.

The latest paper carries news that 100 U.C.L.A. professors demand the ouster of this senile servant of reaction, this pitiful, broken old man.

Let letters, petitions, mass meetings all over the land swell the tide. Every school in the land will have to decide whether free speech is to be allowed at U.C.L.A., or these collegiate fascists, who helped break the longshoremen's strike, are to rule. Every college according to Dr. Moore will have to decide this problem. An avalanche of protests directed to the president of the University of California, Dr. Sproul, at Berkeley, will definitely help to decide that freedom of speech shall be safeguarded, that democratic rights shall be maintained! Dr. Moore will reap the whirlwind he has sown!

--BILL MONROE.

The Heritage of October

17 Years of the Workers State

By ARNE SWABECK

Seventeen years ago the October revolution brought the first great defeat to world capitalism. It transferred the power in a territory covering one sixth of the earth's surface from a class in decline and decay to a rising progressive force--the working class. This was then, and remains today its most fundamental aspect.

Around the working class rallied the great majority of the peasantry, cementing an alliance of mutual interests. This alliance has remained firm and found its joint expression in the Soviets, in the social and cultural institutions of the workers republic, in the Red Army and in the reciprocal relations of mutual benefits and mutual obligations between city and country. From this alliance the U.S.S.R. draws its great strength, serving in a dismal world as a beacon light of inspiration. And this also has held imperialist marauders back, although their palms are itching for the attack. The working class power has defied its foes. It has remained unshaken and stands as the guardian of the workers fatherland. To defend this fatherland remains an elementary duty for every revolutionist.

It is not necessary to make inquiries today about the accomplishments of the October revolution. We do not ask for its justification. It is sufficient to say that the world literally stands aghast, watching breathlessly every new advance in the U.S.S.R. The world watches in wonderment or bewilderment, with admiration and sympathy or with fear and hatred, but there is unanimity in the respectful attitude shown when confronting the magnitude of its developments. Even the most powerful among the imperialist nations, the United States itself, no longer dares to deprecate these developments, not to speak of making an actual comparison of conditions and achievements of the respective national economies.

The Contrast

It is true that here the scope of the productive forces still far outstrip those of the Soviet Union, but here an overwhelming percentage of its capacity lies idle and despite all the NRA code regulations the anarchy of capitalist production prevails, millions of workers remain in the misery and deprivation of unemployment, the standard of living for the class as a whole vastly reduced while bankruptcies make inroads in the various layers of the middle class. The superiority of planned economy as pursued in the U.S.S.R. has been demonstrated long ago and beyond a shadow of a doubt. There unemployment has been eliminated and the standard of living of the population as a whole is improving.

But the imperialists still cherish hopes in the midst of their deadly crisis. They know that the Soviet Union cannot stand alone. They have no illusions about the peaceful coexistence of the workers republic alongside of the capitalist powers. They still dominate world economy and never before have

they engaged so feverishly in the race for armaments in preparation for the final conflict between the two systems.

With each new marvelous achievement the Soviet Union is drawn closer into the vortex of world economy. Today this is illustrated in concrete terms of credits and of exchange of products in terms of economy and of politics. It is impossible to disregard the interdependence of the various nations in the relations of world economy regardless of whether they have for their basis a socialist or a capitalist structure. In view of this it is necessary to emphasize over and over again that the theory of a national self-sufficiency as well as the theory of Socialism in One Country is utopian and reactionary. A socialist society within the limits of national boundaries is not feasible. Socialism and national separatism are mutually exclusive.

At this particular moment, for example, reports are current of the unwillingness of the major capitalist powers to grant long term credits to the Soviet Union and of the necessity in view of this to make drastic curtailments in the next five year plan. We do not accept these reports in any sense of finality inasmuch as the capitalist powers are far from having a united front among themselves, and engage in the competitive struggle for markets. But these reports must serve as a serious warning. The economic successes recorded in the Soviet Union do not and cannot solve its problems and do not at all secure the existence of the workers republic. Their existence is directly and inextricably bound up with their position on the international arena. It is bound up with the advance or the retreat of the international revolution. This is an elementary lesson of Marxism which we can never afford to overlook or to disregard.

Struggle to the End

The relationship between the workers republic and the capitalist powers is necessarily a compromise and will remain so until the one or the other conquers. It is in no matter what the diplomatic coverings may seem to convey. The issues between them are fought out constantly in the class war and the advantage of either side is influenced step by step through the strengthening or the weakening of the position of either class on a world scale. The final victory will be determined by this position. Today the international revolution is not advancing. On the contrary, it has suffered serious reverses and defeats. It is a well known fact that within the ring of countries around the Soviet Union reaction is growing at a much faster pace than the successes of Socialist construction. The further direction of the reactionary offensive is clear and it has gained its advantages mainly due to the departure of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and the official Communist parties from the theory and practice of revolutionary internationalism. Out of this the severe defeats of the real defenders of the Soviet Union became possible. In order to prove this contention it is necessary to record once again only the defeat of the Chinese revolution, the defeat of the German workers and the crushing of their organizations when Hitler came to power, and the defeat of the Austrian workers. These were the greatest blows struck not only against the international revolution but against the Soviet power as well.

What has the Soviet Union gained in return for these blows on the international arena? From the capitalist powers it is accorded respect in outward appearance. Even the mighty dollar empire has extended its official recognition. Several powers, no doubt, would at this present stage not spurn an alliance with the Soviet Union but, as far as they are concerned, it would be only to further their own imperialist aims. The Soviet Union has entered non-aggression pacts of the kind that were declared scraps of paper in the last war. It has been taken into the icy embrace of the League of Nations. Its representatives will sit on the council in Geneva constructed by the robber bands of nations which were victorious in the last war and for the purpose of maintaining the artificial national boundaries of imperialist loot and to continue the enslavement of humanity with the "blessings" of capitalist civilization. Empty diplomatic victories when compared to the disastrous defeats flowing from a fundamentally false theory and practice. On the weak reed of such victories the Stalinist bureaucracy leans for its support to ward off the attacks upon the Soviet Union instead of placing its real reliance on the strengthening of the working class

forces throughout the world. Hence the defeat of the latter instead of their victory. But it is because of these defeats that the danger of the existence of the Soviet Union is much greater today. Its actual defense has become a much more pressing necessity.

It is for these reasons also that the defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a struggle to the very end against the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. The parties dominated by this regime have been strangled and destroyed or rendered impotent. And for the revolutionists the only course now left open is the one of creating new parties and the creation of a new International. From this we do not at all exclude the Soviet Union. But the center of gravity of the struggle against the victorious reaction is now in the west, with France at this moment as its most crucial point. In the United States, however, rapid developments of the class struggle are also in the making.

This is where we will take our part in the creation of a new international and organizing the real defenders of the Soviet Union. We hall the seventeenth anniversary of the October revolution and pledge to it our loyalty and support. For us it meant the first stage in the international revolution and the beginning of a new civilization not to be confined to one single country (it is in this spirit that we are about to take the first serious step toward the organization of the American revolutionists into the new party. It is in this spirit also that we celebrate our sixth anniversary of the Militant).

Six years ago its first issue appeared, throwing down its challenge to the organizers of defeat and making the first attempt in this country to restore the banner of the October revolution. The Militant has grown since in influence and around it has rallied a movement, still small when compared to its gigantic tasks, but firmly founded on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. On that foundation we made common cause with the International Left Opposition and set for ourselves first the aim of propagandizing its ideas. To us this could only mean a certain stage of preparation to bring these ideas into actual life in the class struggle. We have now passed that transitional stage and we feel that our efforts have not been in vain. But in the course of these developments it also became clear to us that the ideas transformed into life must find their expression in a new party. No other conclusion could be drawn from the disastrous defeats of the working class movement on a world scale, the false theory and practice of the nationally limited Stalinist bureaucracy and the dismal failure of the parties it dominates.

We now stand on the threshold of the new revolutionary party of the United States. The League is preparing to unite with the A.W.P. It will be no exaggeration to say that the new party will become one of the important factors in laying the foundation for the actual organization of the Fourth International. It will have a serious mission to perform. The further extension of the October revolution still awaits the strong hands of a revolutionary movement capable of leading to victory. It is to that task that the new party will be dedicated.

Mooney Wins Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

centimeter's hand and forced Woodrow Wilson to have his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Ever since then that Mooney had a chance for freedom, it was because the labor movement was in motion.

Today again, if the Supreme Court is not to be permitted to find a legal loophole to deny Mooney a retrial, it will only be because the militant working class is on its feet and says to the doddering judges that it will not take NO for an answer.

The cause of Mooney is the cause of the oppressed and exploited. Tom Mooney went to prison because he fought labor's battle. As long as Mooney remains in jail a cloud of shame will hang over the working class.

Fighting Mooney, never weary, never discouraged, has time and again called upon the working class for assistance. That they have not passed unheeded is a matter of history.

But now, now! more than ever before it is our duty to answer his call!

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C.L.A. & A.W.P. HEAD FOR FUSION

Wall Street Conspiracy For Fascist Coup Revealed

General Smedley Butler's revelation of a three million dollar Fascist plot right here in the United States, a home grown Nazi Putsch plan, should serve to silence those profound theoreticians who see something unique in the American nation, some national essence which will enable America to solve her problem "in her own way". While General Butler's discoveries do not reveal the Fascists as a serious menace, they indicate that incipient fascism is here and only waits its opportunity.

General Butler has been approached by no less than 42 organizations, 42 would-be American blackshirts. Most of these probably justify the General's description of "crackpot", but at least one was perfectly serious, had a plan, and claimed the necessary financial backing.

A year or so ago General Butler was approached by Gerald MacGuire, a bond salesman for a New York brokerage firm, the Grayson M. P. Murphy Co. According to General Butler's account MacGuire offered him eighteen thousand dollars to go to Chicago and speak in favor of the Gold Standard. When Butler refused MacGuire said, according to Butler, "Don't be a fool, why don't you do like Harbord (General Harbord, U.S.A.) and Sims (Admiral Sims, U.S.N.) and make some money out of it. The government doesn't care for you, so why don't you act like a business man." Butler refused and MacGuire continued, "Murphy is in Europe, but I'll have Colonel Clark come and see you."

Morgan Lurks In Picture

Colonel Clark did come to see the General and renewed the offer. Colonel Clark, by the way, is Robert Sterling Clark, who inherited a portion of the Singer Sewing Machine fortune, and who is now reputed to be worth some fifty million. In the course of his conversation Colonel Clark revealed, according to Butler, that the speech which he, Butler, was to give in return for the eighteen thousand had been written by John W. Davis. John W. Davis, one time Democratic nominee for President, is, at present, counselor at law for the firm of J. P. Morgan.

"We need a fascist government," MacGuire said, "to save the nation from the communists who would tear down all that has been built up in America. The only men who have the courage to do it are the soldiers, and General Butler is the man to do it."

"All General Butler would have to do to get a million men would be to announce the formation of an organization and tell them it would cost a dollar a year to join."

Offered Three Million

"It wouldn't be any trouble at all to raise \$1,000,000. I could go to any number of people right here in New York and get it. (At one time MacGuire offered General Butler \$3,000,000 "on the line".) MacGuire intimated that the arms necessary for the movement could be obtained from the Remington Arms Co. on credit from the Dupont family, which owns a controlling interest of the company.

"I think the President could be persuaded to name Butler head of the CCC camps and that would give him the basis of an organization. However if that doesn't work I have no doubt the general could enlist 500,000 men in a very short time."

"What we really need is a man on a White Horse to save the capitalist system. We might go along with President Roosevelt and do with him what Mussolini did with the King of Italy."

"Roosevelt hasn't the real solution of the unemployment situation, but we'll put across a plan that will really be effective. All unemployed men will be put in military barracks under forced labor, as Hitler does, that would soon solve the problem. Another thing we would do would be to register all persons in the United States, as they do in Europe. That would stop a lot of Communist agitators wandering around loose."

Army Generals Involved

In the course of his various conversations, both with General Butler and with the reporter for the N. Y. Post who was privy to the conspiracy, MacGuire mentioned General MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army as a possible alternate for Butler, and Hanford MacNider, former commander of the American Legion as a third alternate. He also intimated that Louis Johnson, of West Virginia, another former National Commander of the Legion, and Henry Stephens, of North Carolina, yet another former National Commander were "interested" in the plan.

MacGuire was called before a secret hearing of the Congressional committee investigating un-American activities after General Butler had testified. His testimony was

(Continued on Page 4)

Weavers Set Deadline for Walkout

Keller's Pussyfooting Aids Bosses Against Strike

PATERSON, Nov. 22.—A motion was overwhelmingly passed at the Broad Silk membership meeting here that a strike of all silk workers be called, setting the deadline at 12 midnight Wednesday.

The only voices against it were raised by the pathetic supporters of Eli Keller, General Manager of the Paterson, Local of the U.T.W. How his activities play into the hands of the bosses is best illustrated by the manner in which the yellow Paterson press has utilized Keller's stalling tactics in order to sow confusion in the workers' ranks. Thus, the Paterson Sunday Eagle, under the scarehead: **WORKERS IN SILK INDUSTRY SET DAY AND HOUR TO QUIT BUT CHANGE THEIR MINDS**—reports as follows: "The silk workers at yesterday's meeting were not over-anxious to agree to the new strike order, many of them feeling that the time was inopportune for employees to leave the mills and join the dye workers." Who were the "many"? Keller, Keller, and Keller. The same Keller who early this week announced that the workers should "be glad that the bosses agree to discuss with the workers."

Keller's Stalling

By his stalling, wishy-washy tactics Keller is playing directly into the hands of the silk bosses whose aim is to isolate the dyers from the rest of the industry. Instead of militancy he is preaching subservience—this in the face of the tremendous drive of the mass of the silk workers to join hands with the striking dyers.

But the silk workers will not be stalled by Keller, or the maneuvers of the bosses. They instructed their delegates to the national silk convention to fight for a general strike in the silk industry; they formed a special committee last week to appear before the Joint Board and demand decisive action on the strike in Paterson.

Expelled Members Reinstated

Last week the Joint Board of the A.F.S.W. local here reinstated to full membership all those who were expelled some five months ago through Keller's machinations for their participation in the Roy (Albert) Shop strike. The reinstated members participated in the Broad Silk Department meeting of last Saturday. Among them were Felix Giordano, Eddie Sweezy and Bill Huhlian, well known for their militancy. They received an ovation. The action of the Joint Board—(about which incidentally, none of the reinstated was informed except by word of mouth just prior to Saturday's meeting)—can be construed only as a repudiation of Keller's policies in general and in particular his entire course in the Roy situation—which has been so rabidly defended and misrepresented by the Lovestonettes.

At the Broad Silk Department meeting 10 delegates were elected for the coming A.F.S.W. national convention, scheduled to open this Saturday in New York at the Woodstock Hotel, 127 West 123rd Street.

Once again Keller was repudiated—and this time by the entire membership of his local. He appeared at the meeting with a recommendation from the Joint Board that he,

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Youth Greet Convention

The Spartacus Youth League of America warmly greets the delegates to the national conventions of the Communist League and the American Workers Party which will open in New York City November 26. We feel confident that the comrades fresh from different phases of the class struggle, on the basis of varied experiences will help to forge the instrument of revolutionary struggle: the new workers' party.

The accomplishment of this great task rests upon your shoulders. You will be called upon to take the first step in the building of the new party, by merging the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America.

The young militants of the Spartacus Youth League have and will continue to aid in the achievement of this aim. At our national convention to be held in New York City December 3-4-5, our delegates will confront the problem of the next steps in this struggle. They will consider the relation of the Spartacus Youth to the new workers' party, if it is formed, before our convention.

The Spartacus Youth will watch your deliberations with great interest. Accept our comradely greetings as a pledge of unrelenting struggle for working class revolution.

For a revolutionary Marxist party!

For the world workers' party, the Fourth International!

National Committee, Spartacus Youth League of America.

Easley Plots Against Nine Negro Boys

Chronicle of Scottsboro Case Reveals I.L.D. Role

Next week the Supreme Court of the U. S. will be asked to reverse the Alabama verdict which condemns two of the nine Scottsboro boys to die. The world at large is still mystified as to whether the court will consider the cases of both Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, or whether the former is "out of court" for technical reasons.

The world is also mystified as to who will appear as counsel in the Supreme Court hearing. The I.L.D. continues to maintain that its attorneys, O. Frankel and W. Pollak, will make the appeal. Samuel S. Leibowitz has said nothing for a couple of weeks, but anybody who thinks he has shot his last arrow is making a bad guess.

The N. Y. Nation reports that the State of Alabama is out to arrest Ruby Bates for perjury. Ruby Bates is the girl who was bribed and bulldozed by the Sheriff of Scottsboro, three years ago, to swear she was raped by the nine young Scottsboro boys. She later reversed her testimony. Now Alabama wants to get her in a jail cell, pound her plenty, and make

(Continued on Page 4)

Last Minute Call

The Convention of the Communist League opens on November 26 and will last through the 29th. This will be followed by the Fusion Conference, November 30 through December 2. The Spartacus Youth League convention will open Dec. 3 and last through the 5th. All the conventions will be held at Stuyvesant Casino.

We expect 50 delegates for the C.L.A. convention and about 30 for the Youth convention. This means that we have to feed these comrades, in addition to the A.W.P. delegates during the three days of the Fusion Conference.

Arrangements have been made to take care of the feeding. Our own comrades will attend to the cooking. We also have to accommodate the delegates with sleeping quarters.

In the last issue of the Militant we called for donations of food stuffs. Two of our sympathizers have responded. Comrade Pauline M. has offered us 10 loaves of bread daily and comrade Harrison of Brooklyn is sending us some bakings. Paul King, member of the downtown branch of New York will give some butter and eggs. Harry Strang of New York, donated \$50 to help.

We still need coffee, sugar, potatoes, etc.

CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO HELP FEED THE DELEGATES?

Write to the office of the Militant. We also need about 10 more sleeping accommodations.

Delegates Meet to Decide on New Party at Conventions

Labor history will be made in New York City this coming week. The eyes of every revolutionist and class conscious militant in the United States will be turned to the conventions of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

At these conventions, to open on November 26th and to conclude on November 29th, the momentous step for the organization of a new revolutionary party in the United States will be debated and decided.

On November 30th, given a favorable outcome at the respective conferences of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A.—and every indication points that way—the representatives of both organizations will meet in joint convention and there hitch the wagon of revolution to a new star—the Workers Party of the United States.

Delegates from all parts of the country are pouring into New York. A galaxy of the most distinguished representatives of the working class, from the class war battle fields of the glorious Minneapolis strike,

from Toledo, from the scene of the Frisco general strike, from the coal fields of Illinois and West Virginia, from the unemployed movement in the heart of America, from every major industrial and political center from coast to coast, from Canada to the Gulf, are gathering to make a decision that will mark a turning point in the course of the American proletarian.

Not sleek, self-satisfied bureaucrats such as are seen at A. F. of L. conventions but fighting militants fresh from the picket lines—these are the delegates that will be seen at the conventions of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P.

They are coming not in Pullmans with luxurious sleepers, not in limousines. Far from it. On freight trains, on the highways, "thumbing" a ride, in ramshackle automobiles, the delegates are beating their way to New York.

All of them will be present and the best of them represented on the platform at the mass meeting to greet the conferences of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. which will be held on December 2, 8 P.M. at Germania Hall, 160 Third Ave., N. Y. C.

The list of speakers is a first class trust for the New York working class: Vincent Dunne, Miles Dunne and Carl Skoglund—leaders of the Minneapolis drivers' strike; Ted Selander and Sam Pollack who led the picket line that broke the injunction in Toledo; Arnold Johnson, Bill Truax and Anthony Ramuglia, leading militants in the unemployed movement; Gerry Allard from the Illinois miners movement; Brant Scott from the West Virginia coal fields; Negro militants from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; Joseph Carter, National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League; Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, spokesmen for the Workers Party of Canada.

The convention of the American Workers Party opens on November 28 and ends November 30. For details see the current issue of Labor Action which is on the press at this writing.

The convention of the Communist League, marking the third in its history and the consummation of six years of struggle, will open at the Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth Street and Second Ave. at 10 A.M. Monday, November 26. More than 50 delegates from approximately 20 cities will be represented.

The convention will hear reports from members of the National Committee on the Situation and Perspectives of American Imperialism, on the Negro question, the international situation and the work of our international organization, on the proposed programmatic statement for the new party which it will discuss, amend and revise as it sees fit. It will draw a balance of years of factional activity which saved the banner of Marxism from the disgrace of Stalinism. It will center its attention on moving out into the class struggle and on forging the best instrument for this purpose. Here the question of fusion with the American Workers Party will be democratically discussed and a decision arrived at.

The conference of the Communist League will be open to delegates and members of the organization only.

The Fusion Convention, beginning on Nov. 30 at the Stuyvesant Casino and ending December 2 will be open to all members, friends and sympathizers.

Revolutionary workers all over the world will watch the proceedings with keen attention and await the results. The successful culmination of the fusion will be a milestone on the road to the Fourth International.

The formation of a new party in America means the dawn of a new era in the history of the world proletariat. Forward!

MASS MEETING

To Greet the National Conferences of the American Workers Party and the Communist League

SPEAKERS:

JAMES P. CANNON A.J. MUSTE

MINNEAPOLIS: Leaders of the Famous Strikes of Local 574—

Vincent Dunne

Miles Dunne

Carl Skoglund

TOLEDO: Organizers of Mass Picket Line that Broke the Injunction

Ted Selander

Sam Pollack

MINERS: Outstanding Leaders of the Militant Left Wing—

Gerry Allard

Brant Scott

of Illinois

of West Virginia

UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT: Leaders of the National Unemployed League—

Anthony Ramuglia

Bill Truax

Arnold Johnson

NEGRO STRUGGLES: Outstanding Negro Militants—

James Watson

E. R. McKinney

of Philadelphia

of Pittsburgh

DEEP SOUTH:

Jo Drake Arrington

of Gulfport, Miss.

SPARTACUS YOUTH National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League—

Joseph Carter

CANADA: Leaders of the Workers Party of Canada—

Maurice Spector

Jack MacDonald

CHAIRMEN:

Max Shachtman

Louis F. Budenz

SUNDAY, DEC. 2nd, - 8 p.m.

Germania Hall 16th St. & Third Av.

Admission 25 Cents

What the Inner Regime of the Communist Party Looks Like

The Communist party of the U.S. is beyond doubt the worst example, in any capitalist country, of the devastating effects of Stalinism in the working class movement. One question has persistently perplexed the average militant: How is it possible for the leadership to go from one blunder to another, to chalk up defeat after defeat for the Communist party and the working class, to commit the greatest enormities and crimes, without generating a rank and file rebellion that would fling the leadership on to the scrap-heap? An intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the Stalinist machine, as exemplified by its American section, will supply the answer to this question. The documents and facts which we have at hand will shed a revealing light.

In considering a normal working class organization, it is customary to start at the bottom and follow the superstructure which is built up on it. That's exactly what would be a fatally wrong and misleading approach to the Communist party. The reason? It is not a normal working class organization, but one of the most unique in modern times. Every last vestige of workers' democracy has been destroyed in it, root and branch. It can be analyzed and understood only by starting from the top and moving downward, just as you would if you had to set about digging a ditch. It is with the intensely bureaucratized leadership that the beginning must be made.

Inventing Miniature Stalins

The Stalinist theory and practice of leadership and organization has prevailed in the Third International for quite some time. It has not reached its highest point, or rather, its lowest depth. The first principle of the central Stalinist machine, in whose hands are all the controlling threads, is to find, manufacture, groom or invent a thoroughly reliable "national leader". He becomes a miniature Stalin, on a national scale. Just as Stalin has established the significant practice of never having the party leadership referred to any way except as "the Central Committee with comrade Stalin at its head", he likewise arranges matters for those whom he appoints in each country to serve him with what the Germans call "Kadavergehorsamkeit"—the obedience of a corpse. Thus the German Stalinist must repeat every day, like a pious Mohammedan, "the Bolshevik Central Committee with comrade Thaelmann at its head". The Frenchman must make his ritualistic obeisance to "the Bolshevik Central Committee with comrade Thorez at its head". In the United States, the "head" is Earl Browder, General Secretary and almighty poobah of the party.

After the expulsion of the Lovestonites who jumped over the fence in time had the majority. No general secretary was appointed in Moscow for the simple reason that Stalin was taking no chances with unknown quantities; he wanted to be sure of his man first. Little by little, the wedding-out process was gone through. Recalcitrant Fosterites, particularly the not entirely house-broken "Leftists", were relentlessly eliminated, or to put it

more simply and bluntly, they were exiled. Bittelman, for example, was sent to cool his heels in the desolate parts of Russia, and to this day he has not been reinstated to an important position. At the Cleveland party convention early this year, Browder merely laid down the law, and Bittelman—once a terror in the party but now a broken reed—was not even elected to the Central Committee. Johnstone, another Leftist suspect who was for "cleaning out" all the Lovestonites, was sent packing to India. Zuck was spirited away to the warm climes of Latin America. Krumbein was sent to England and Bell to Ireland. After a period of testing and re-testing, Stalin finally hit upon the least talented, and consequently the most degradable, of the former Fosterites, Browder. Redacht, a post-1929 convention period member of the secretariat, was pensioned off into the I.W.O. Minor, another secretariat member, was brutally driven out of any political work of directorial importance and sent to make speeches. The secretariat became a thing of the past. The time was ripe for a General Secretary, and the proper candidate was at hand. Browder got the job.

The Rubber Stamp Pol-Bureau

Browder is responsible to absolutely nobody but Stalin, who, like the Lord himself, giveth and taketh away and must be praised—constantly. The Political Bureau of the party, once an important, responsible and representative body, is today a hand-picked institution which has no actual control over the General Secretary. Its only possible function is a potential one. That is, should the time come when Browder (god forbid!) gets too presumptuous, or if he must be made the scapegoat for some catastrophe which cannot easily be explained away, the Political Bureau, upon order from the Stalin machine, will automatically remove him into oblivion. The fate of his predecessors proves that no simpler problem exists in the world than to "eliminate over night the artificially manufactured 'leaders' of the Stalinist parties."

Just as Browder is personally picked by Stalin, so he in turn personally picks the Political Bureau, whose composition and activities are unknown to nine-tenths of the party membership! Here too is to be found a unique aspect of the Stalin internal regime. The Political Bureau must not be made up of the leading, most experienced and most qualified party members. That might be necessary if there were any policies to discuss, or political problems and disputes to thrash out collectively. But under Stalinism, the "line" is simply handed down from the Moscow secretariat to its agent in New York. He is directly responsible. He sits in the center of the Political Bureau and, like a Delphic oracle, interprets the transmitted "line". There is no discussion, and above all, no dispute. How can there be? To deviate to the Right or Left of a decision is just about the most dangerous thing a party bureaucrat can do, as so many have learned. The surest way of being right, and staying where you are, is to nod your head solemnly and wisely,

The New Party—The Answer to Stalinist Corruption

Following is the second of the series on what is going on behind the scenes of the Communist Party of the United States. The startling facts revealed in the article are sufficiently explained and consequently require no introductory comment. Every argument made is substantiated by authentic facts, reliable information and official documents. No revolutionary worker can read this amazing revelation and not be revolted at the combination system, including the worst features of the Roman Catholic Church and the ugliest sides of Tammany Hall, which prevails in a party that calls itself "Communist".

Without fear of contradiction we can say that least of all are the members of the Communist party familiar with the inside information we are herewith disclosing. Without ever discovering the truth about the inner regime thousands of workers join it only subsequently to get out as fast as they can, many

being forever lost to the revolutionary movement.

This regime has blinded the eyes of hundreds of otherwise sterling militants to the real crimes of Stalinism. Plunged into hectic but very futile activity, made the scapegoats for the false policies of the leadership, blamed for failures which were the natural result of the political line, the membership has been led from defeat to defeat like driven cattle. The revision of the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin, the disastrous policies leaving a trail of catastrophes over ten years and throughout the world—the party membership was oblivious to all this. The Stalinist system of "education" has two results: either the workers leave the party or they are inculcated with a blind faith and unquestioning discipline, more worthy of church disciples than of revolutionaries.

If the inner regime of the C.P. closed the eyes and the ears of the workers in it to our theoret-

ical criticisms this revelation of the real situation in the ranks of American Stalinism ought to be an eye-opener. The disgraceful picture of what is going on in their own back yard should have a rousing effect on even the most rabid member of the C. P. It should clearly point to him that a party of this kind, corrupt to the very marrow, cannot lead the American revolution. It can only put the brakes on it and then lead the working class to defeat.

Instead of walking out of the party and then the movement the militant should turn his feet in the direction of the new revolutionary party. Initiated either with the crimes of Stalinism or its Jesuitical system, the new party will lead not to defeat but to victory. Every policy will be weighed and discussed by every member, every leader will be democratically chosen and controlled by the ranks. With such an internal regime based on the foundations of Marx and Lenin victory is assured.—Ed.

and keep your mouth shut. That is why the present Browderian Political Bureau is the strangest one the party has had since its inception. It is composed of Browder, Stachel, Ford, Hudson and Foster. The latter being ill and unable to attend meetings without seriously aggravating his malady, his place is taken by Haywood. Astonishingly enough, neither Hathaway, Weinstein, Minor, nor Redacht, Bittelman, Zack, Amter nor Krumbein, are Political Bureau members. None of them is needed, however much they all would like to occupy the coveted place.

Political Bureau meetings are positively weird affairs. The four neophytes are called into the Royal Presence, and summoned to give their reports. They do. Browder takes notes. Then he takes the floor and hands down the decisions. The meeting adjourns. And that is all. No questioning, no discussing, above all no disputing. That has been tried before, openly and covertly, and every venturesome soul came to a bad end.

Rife with Intrigues

For example: Stachel knows that, for this reason and that, he can never hope to take Browder's place as The Leader. But he has a cordial dislike of Browder's instincts and would give a pretty penny to see him thrown to the lions. On at least two occasions he has intrigued with Hathaway and Weinstein, especially with the latter, to put the boots to Browder. But the system remained intact, and with it, its secretarial incarnation. In effect, the ambitious Hathaway was kicked down the steps and given a post which is of no political importance at all in the party nowadays, the Daily Worker editorship. As punishment, he is not even a member of the Political Bureau. Weinstein, whose first attempt to realize his ambition earned him an enforced and prolonged stay in Moscow, was simply kicked out of New York, the center,

when he tried it a second time; he was sent off as district organizer in Detroit. Browder got the necessary pretext for this exile by ukase when Weinstein allowed himself to state that the Washington bonus demonstration was an "adventure" and that the veterans were nothing but "marching bums". Stalinism's internal regime, which inevitably produces such intrigues, suppresses them with a mailed fist so as not to undermine its autocratic system of leadership and the theory of papal infallibility which is inseparable from it.

Stacked with Ple-Card Artists

Control of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat automatically guarantees control of the various districts and all the important conventions which are, in passing, held rarely enough. Browder has surrounded himself with a sturdy and highly subservient central staff—the core of the bureaucracy. Its overhead is a bit breathtaking. The confidential financial report of the Central Committee to the Cleveland Convention showed, according to "Exhibit B" that in 1932, the C.C. alone paid out in wages exactly \$25,584.45 or over one-sixth of its annual expenditures, whereas in 1933, it paid out in wages the sum of \$24,374.15, or almost exactly one-fourth of its annual expenditures, with more than an additional \$30,000 going in the form of subsidies to the district organizations and other bodies.

To this Central Committee bureaucracy is attached a faithful group of lesser functionaries who owe their political existence to appointment from above. In spite of the fact that time and again, for the past few years, official resolutions have vowed that the next task of the party is the reduction of the number of full time paid functionaries, the number continues to rise. Thus, the well-known "Open Letter" in the middle of 1933 called for a cut in the apparatus. Eight months later, things were worse

than before. Thus, "Chart D" on the "Organizational Status of the Party" handed out for the Cleveland convention shows that "BOL" (Before the Open Letter) there were 82 full time district functionaries, and 86 "now" (i.e., February 1934). "BOL" there were 66 full time section organizers, and "now" 67. "BOL" there were 12 "other full time section functionaries", whereas "now" reports 38! In addition, the chart shows 231 "mass full time functionaries".

With this as a compact machine (and these figures are only a part of the whole apparatus), the inner regime is guaranteed the perfect unanimity, monolithism and homogeneity of the graveyard.

We have seen how the General Secretary and the Political Bureau are handpicked. Let us trace the system further.

The Political Bureau (read: the "Gen-Sec") appoints all the district organizers. If Browder is a paper-backed pamphlet edition of Stalin, the district organizers are leaflet editions of Browder. They select their District Bureaus. In turn, these actually appoint each section organizer, who picks himself a section bureau subject to the critical eye of the higher body. Thus it runs down to the last rung in the ladder.

Hand-Picking Convention Delegates

But the party conventions—hasn't the membership a chance then? Does it not elect the delegates? It does, and it doesn't; essentially, it doesn't. In the first place, conventions are increasingly rare. Where as in the old days—the period of the Lenin International—conventions were held every year and sometimes more often, even when the American Communist party was underground and illegal, the intervals are far greater now. The Third International has held only one congress in the last ten years, whereas in the three first years of its existence (the Lenin period) it held four of them. So in the Am-

erican party: four years went by before a national convention was held. In the second place, party democracy has been so thoroughly eradicated, that the conventions are fixed and settled well in advance by the bureaucracy, and every little detail is so carefully arranged beforehand that every single aspect of the outcome can easily be foretold by Browder. Here is how the conventions are manufactured:

The section or local conference elects a "nominating committee" which has been prepared for it in advance. After looking over the field, this committee recommends a slate for approval by the convention, which, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, automatically "elects" the slate. It almost looks democratic. The delegates, for the most part, are not aware of the fact that both the "nominating committee" and the slate for the District Committee have been arranged in fine detail by the officialdom. It is true, of course, that additional nominations are allowed by that unusual phenomenon, the "independent" or the uninitiated delegate. But such nominations very, very rarely alter the slate, which is pushed through with all the pressure of the united bureaucratic apparatus. What happens at the district conventions is repeated faithfully at the national conventions. Before the Cleveland convention met, and before even the district convention met which elected the delegates to the national gathering, Browder was in a position to know the name of every delegate who would attend—practically to a man. He knew with even greater exactitude and certainty just who would be "elected" to the incoming Central Committee. The "nominating committee" and the slate were arranged in advance. And just as is the case with a Democratic party candidate in Mississippi or Alabama—nomination is equivalent to election. In the deep and truest sense of the word, the central party bureaucracy appoints the delegates to the extremely rare party conventions!

But why do the members tolerate such a despotic regime? The answer is that most of them do not tolerate it.

Barracks Discipline

Workers are attracted to the party because of its militancy and its activity, although its activity is about as effective as churning up a lot of tepid water in a bowl. First, and usually the only principle they are taught in the party is obedience, disguised under the name of "discipline". Lenin's axiom that revolutionary discipline is based upon understanding, upon freely and democratically organized discussion, is considered a petty bourgeois prejudice in the party today. In his unit, the new party member is loaded with a number of tasks, the reasons for which are not clearly explained to him, if at all. Problems and policies are not democratically discussed in the units under any circumstances. The "line" has already been settled up above. Just as it was transmitted to the "up above" by a still higher officialdom, so it is transmitted further down, where a barracks discipline and not a revolutionary proletarian discipline is enforced. The initiative, the resourcefulness,

the intellectual and political development of the ranks are thus choked off from the very outset. "They're not to reason why; they're but to sell Daily Workers or go to demonstrations or shout 'social-Fascist' today and the opposite tomorrow."

This is the horrible situation which the official plenum and convention resolutions of the C.P. refer to when they speak of the "poor inner life" of the party. You can't pick up a resolution without finding that phrase in it. All sorts of remedies are proposed, but not one of them touches the heart of the problem, the basic cause. Nor can the Stalinist bureaucracy propose a fundamental remedy, for the simple reason that bureaucraticism, the abolition of party democracy, is the direct and immediate cause of the "poor inner life".

Leaps In—Bounds Out

"Chart B" in the statistical material given the Cleveland party convention delegates deals with "Party Growth—Fluctuation". It gives the membership of the party, month by month, from January 1931 to February 1934, along with the figures of what the membership would have been "if recruits would have remained in Party". Thus, at the beginning of 1931, the C. P. had 8,519 members. In February 1934, it records 22,344 members. The chart further records the fact that "if recruits would have remained in Party", the membership in that month (Feb. 1934) would have been 56,595. In other words, from the beginning of 1931 to the beginning of 1934, the C. P. took in 48,076 new members, a steady average of more than 1,300 new members every month for three years. Of those 48,076, there remained in the party only 13,825; the rest, 34,251, quit the party. Which means that out of every four workers who joined the C. P. in the last three years, three left the party and only one stayed in it! In 1918, Lenin said about the peasants who were quitting the trenches and refusing to fight any longer, that they were voting against a continuation of the war with their feet. For the most part, it can be repeated today, the workers who quit the party in such a hurry are voting against the bureaucracy and its regime with their feet. Those who stream into the C. P. are living testimony that the American workers can be won to Communism by the thousands. The mass exodus from the party of those workers who get a small sample of the regime and its policies, is tragic witness to the ravages caused by the pestilence called Stalinism.

The curse of bureaucraticism has doomed its victim to irremediable disintegration. The putrescent obstacle of the C.P. must make way for the lusty new movement which will grow all the more healthily and strongly because of the lessons it learns from the decay of bureaucratic Stalinism.

The next article in this series will deal with the phenomenon of corruption in the Stalinist party, again on the basis of documents, concrete facts and examples, and reveal how this festering sore is inseparably connected with the suppression of party democracy under Stalinism.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

So You Can't Take It, Mr. Young!

Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, counseled the students of an Arkansas college against the fast tempo of modern times. "Recent events," he articulated with a benign air, "have gone so fast as to get out of hand. Today we do not see great masses of people orderly and intelligently moving upward (bless me Hannah, but what does the dear old gen mean?), but millions of people in every land hanging on in panic to this treadmill of terrific speed, which no one seems able to control."

Is There Any Possible Connection Department?

On Tuesday of last week the papers carried headlines to the effect that the war between Bolivia and Paraguay had taken on a new ferocity. On Wednesday of the same week, tucked away in a corner of one of the most respectable of the morning papers appeared the following item: "The announcement of the international tin committee in London of an increase of 40,000 tons in Bolivia's quota means more than \$15,000,000 in Bolivian revenue. Before the increase Bolivia was exporting 14,000 tons, the rev-

enue permitting her to finance the Chaco war without any extra taxation." ... Get the connection.

Friend or Foe—We Want to Know

The Stalinists have squeezed a new curl in their peripheral wig. "This time it is an organization known as 'The Friends of the United Front'." Now this column is a stickler for accuracy. We want to know, are they friends of any kind of a united front? Are they "the friends of the united front from below" or are they "the friends of the united front from above?" There should be no secret among "friends".

For a Nickel on the Drum You Get a Strikebreaking Bum

(Just a parenthetic remark to the readers—Forgive the poetic headings. . . It's the Spring that's in the air these days). Now to the story.

In this week's A. F. of L. Bulletin we find Mr. William Green exchanging felicitations with the Salvation Army. Had Mr. Green taken a few minutes off from felicitating exchanging and spoken to a rank and file member of the A. F. of L. he might have found out that the Sal is one of the most distinguished recruiting agencies for strike-breakers in this country. Needless to say Mr. Green did not such thing. So we find the notorious Baptist writing to Evangeline Booth, Commander of the Salvation Army: "The well wishes, sympathy and support of the A. F. of L. are extended to you. . . We will follow your work with unusual interest and I assure you that we will endeavor to give the Salvation Army our continued cooperation and support."

Leaving Mr. Green for a moment in the act of "cooperating" with the S.A. we turn to the notorious and self-advertised strike-breaker par excellence, Mr. P. L. Bergoff. Turning to strike-breaker Bergoff we find that in his articles for the

New York Post he tells how on being stuck for scabs on one occasion he trotted down to the Salvation Army and there after a few words with the captain in charge Mr. Bergoff was given the run of the shelter. So splendid was the "cooperation" of the S.A. that he was able to enlist over 200 scabs in no time at all. Looks like the good old double cross or is it double play? . . . From Bergoff to Booth to Green.

Meet the Gang!

Would you like to meet the lead-

ers of the Minneapolis truck drivers strike? Would you like to meet the delegates to the League convention coming from all parts of this country and Canada and probably Mexico? Would you like to dance with us and eat with us and drink with us at this festive occasion? Of course you would. Well—don't tell nobody but your best friend and your best friend's friend that we are throwing a little shindig at our headquarters this Saturday night. Come as guests of the column.

—GLEE.

SIX MORE WEEKS TO GO!

The special offer ends December 31st. Now you can secure a book or pamphlet for yourself or a friend and a subscription to the MILITANT at a substantial saving. Even though many new subs have come in since this drive was started, we cannot yet say that our campaign is a huge success. Only the response of our readers can make this a true success. Send in your subscriptions now.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

Upturn Hangs Fire

The oft-heralded upturn in American business continues to hang fire with the depression and stagnation taking on a prolonged character. It was the consensus of opinion of economists that the summer slump which dragged the business indices down to record lows would continue on into the fall. Now there are again predictions that the upturn will have to wait till next spring despite the holiday season at the year's end. The heavy industries, the durable goods industries, have failed to show improvement. All the efforts to get housing construction going in order to create heavy demands on the basic forces of production have not as yet proved effective. Through the building trades the bourgeoisie is preparing a new offensive against the standards of living of the working class—under the pretext that high labor costs are the obstacle in the way of a real construction boom.

Under these circumstances the American bourgeoisie, far from confident of the future, have reached a stage where they begin to make up their minds that in order to save the capitalist system it will be necessary to resort to extreme measures. With utter dismay they read in a recent bulletin of the League of Nations that since last May the United States is eleven on the list of countries in rate of recovery as measured by indices of industrial activity. Only four nations—Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Austria and Poland—made a poorer showing. Not the least factor in pushing the finance capitalists toward the road of violent reaction is the growing evidence of working

class militancy. The second of the two strike waves that have swept the entire country recently, showed far greater readiness to battle on the part of the proletariat than did the first, although the strikes were for the most part failures so far as achieving actual gains for the workers was concerned. Already there are evidences of a third strike wave ahead, possibly to be heralded in by the building trades workers.

Danger of Fascism

What is going on in the minds of the moneyed interests is strikingly revealed by General Smedley Butler. There can be not the slightest reason for doubting his story, whatever his motives for making public the truth. Butler was approached with offers of tremendous financial support by Wall Street financiers in order to have him "build up a national fascist force for the purpose of establishing a fascist dictatorship. MacGuire acted as the go-between for his employer Colonel Murphy, and for Clark, inheritor of the Singer Sewing Machine millions. Murphy, who served with Butler in the army, is an ideal figure to bring together the actual drill-sergeants of the forces of bloody reaction and the financial backers, belonging himself to both camps. He is connected with an imposing list of corporations, among them the Foreign Credit Corporation, United States Distributing Co., Guarantee Trust Co., Aviation Corporation, Liberty National Bank, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., Interborough Rapid Transit Co., New York Transportation Co., Bethlehem Steel Co., Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., Cuba Cane Sugar Co., etc. Names to be conjured with in the fields of banking and business, companies reeking of reaction and imperialism. It is not difficult to discern, as is barely hinted in the press, the ominous figure of Morgan just back of Colonel Murphy. Butler reveals that

the same interests were to approach General MacArthur, head of the United States Army, and MacNider, former head of the American Legion. Undoubtedly the fascists will seek close connection with the staff of the army, through whom they will be able to secure arms and drill masters all the more readily (witness Italy and Germany). It need not be thought that these public disclosures will deter the bankers and big capitalists from their chosen task. The negotiations with the possible timber for the "man on horseback" will now become all the more secret and hidden from view—that is all.

Our Task

No worker can fail to realize the significance of the few facts that have thus become known, more or less by chance. The situation in America is ripe for the attempt on the part of the capitalists to wipe out all working class organizations, political parties and trade unions. The vast army of unemployed, continually on the verge of starvation, can no longer be fed illusions in place of bread. The impoverished middle class cannot be satisfied any longer with promises. We may look forward to the repetition of the damage of European fascism in the attempt of finance capital to ensnare the strata of desperate workers and petty bourgeoisie in the net of reaction. Hence it becomes the duty of the vanguard of the proletariat to meet the challenge of fascism, to intensify its effort to establish a working class United Front of Action against fascism. It becomes the duty of every class conscious worker to help build a new revolutionary party, the only force that can defeat fascism. The new Workers Party shortly to be launched will dedicate itself to this task and deserves the support of all workers.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

H. D. BRONX—

Question: The draft programmatic thesis of the C.L.A. presents as a perspective the possibility that the working class movement in the United States may skip, or very rapidly pass through, the reformist stage. What is the basis for this? In this connection, would you explain the reason for the differences between the working class movement here and in Europe?

Answer: In Europe, at the time of the advent of capitalism as the dominating mode of production and the transformation of the state power to this mode, practically all the land was private property, to which, primarily, is due the sharpness to which class lines were drawn. Only exceptional proletarians could climb out of their class inside the State boundaries. The "surplus" proletariat or the landless sons of farmers who sought a way out could find it only by migrating to the colonies of America, Africa, or Australia, where, by opening new land, mines, etc., the class relationships were renewed. In the "mother" countries, however, the class consciousness brought forth by the relative rigidity of class lines resulted in comparatively large organizations of the proletariat.

In the United States all this "colonization", because of free land, took place within the state boundaries so that class relationships were in a constant flux, blurring the class lines and resulting in small working class organizations.

This entire development occurred while capitalism was in its progressive stage, and at a time when it had the possibilities, with super profits extracted from the colonies, to bribe certain sections of the proletariat, to create an "aristocracy" of labor, upon which reformism bases itself and by means of whom reformism seized both the large European (we exclude Russia) and the small American labor movements.

However, times have changed. The material basis for the blurring of class lines, free land, in the United States no longer exists. (The number of farms in this country which increased from 1,449,073 in 1850 to 6,448,343 in 1920 declined to 6,288,648 by 1930. In 1910, 12,338,300 people, 32.5% of the total, were employed in agriculture. By 1930, these had declined to 10,471,998 or 21.4% of the total.) The ending of this material basis for the political backwardness of the American worker, corresponds in point of time with the decline of capitalism internationally, and, with this decline, the end of the conditions which make reformism possible, as European experience so eloquently testifies.

This is the "combined" development to which we refer and which makes possible not only a rapid tempo of working class development in the country but a "skipping" over of the stage through which the European workers have gone.

To a great extent, of course, this will depend upon the ability of the new party to influence events in a revolutionary direction.

S. B. NEW YORK—

Question: Certain Socialists, with whom I discuss, claim that the Austrian experience is proof that armed insurrection against the capitalist state is futile. How would you answer this?

Answer: One thing the Austrian experience does prove: To attempt almost any struggle, not to speak of armed insurrection, against capitalism, under the paralyzing leadership of the Social Democracy, is futile.

Actually, the relationship of forces favored the Austrian workers according to both Deutsch and Otto Bauer. Even if the reaction could count as reliable all the troops, police, Heimwehr, etc., it could muster no more than 60,000 men as against 80,000 Schutz-bundists. Two thirds of Vienna, 90% of the workers (i.e. the control of production, transport and communication), and 40% of the total Austrian population were Social Democrats, to which must be added the organs of local government of which the party disposed. Had the Austrian Marxist leadership wanted it, the procuring of arms would have been a comparatively simple matter under the circumstances.

Why was this immeasurably superior force defeated? It was betrayed. The enemy was systematically presented with the best political and material positions by the leadership of the Social Democracy, who placed their faith not in the masses but in Dollfuss and Miklas.

One could go into great detail to prove our point but let the following statement of Otto Bauer himself suffice: "We could have answered that (the dispersion of the Parliament in 1933.—Ed.) on March 15 with the general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favorable as on that day."

The working masses awaited the signal to fight. The military organization of the government was far weaker than in February 1934. At that time we might have triumphed." (See Review of Otto Bauer's and Deutsch's pamphlets in the New Internationalist of July 1934 for further facts.)

The Austrian experience also proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is impossible for the proletariat to come to power by parliamentary means. Fascism will strangle the proletariat before it receives 51% of the votes. Armed insurrection is not only necessary but inevitable, if the working class is not to go down in defeat. The Austrian events showed that not the armed insurrection—not that which there can be no hope of the workers taking power—but the mealy-mouthed, treacherous leadership of Austro-Marxism was futile and disastrous for the proletariat.

JOINT DANCE

Saturday, Dec. 15th 9 p.m.

Entertainment - Music

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Plaza and 15th Street

Admission Tickets 30c. :: 40c At Door.

Auspicces: Communist League of America and American Workers Party.

November New International Out

The November issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

Who Are the Defenders of the U.S.S.R.?

The International Secretariat Replies to the Calumnies of the French Stalinists

from above and only the commands from ranks and pretends to infallibility.

The Marxist method of the united front presupposes the right of every party to give its critical opinion on the attitude of its ally. It is only thus, in action, that the masses can be educated. The Stalinists, in rejecting the most elementary lessons of Marx and Lenin, have connected with the abandonment of reciprocal criticism. This is the only method at their disposal to preserve the myth of their infallibility and one must look here for the explanation of the hatred and their fear of the "insignificant quantity" of "Trotskyists" whom they are very far from neglecting.

For eleven years we followed step by step the entire policy of the Comintern. Whether it concerned the pretended "workers and peasants" parties for the Orient, the Chinese revolution with the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeois party of the Kuo Min Tang, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the attitude of the Polish Communist party which supported Pilsudsky's coup d'etat in 1926, the policy of the third period with its adventurist ravages, the theory and practice of social fascism which led to the catastrophe in Germany, the same policy in Austria and Spain where it condemned to impotence the sections of the Comintern, finally the present policy which opposes the creation of the workers' militia—in all these decisive questions and in many other important cases we have always counterposed the Marxist policy to the Stalinist policy and predicted the fatal consequences of the latter. Let every conscious worker compare our proposals and our prognoses with the

March of events and he will know on whose side the truth rests. It is this situation that makes it unacceptable and impossible for the Stalinist sections to face us before an international proletarian forum. From the moment when the walls of infallibility begin to crack the entire Comintern bureaucracy will fall to pieces. That is why the Stalinists carefully avoid contact with an organization which is deeply familiar with their history, their mistakes and even their crimes.

But whatever the psychological explanation for their attitude, it is politically impermissible. The very meaning of the united front consists in that one does not demand from his allies a preliminary recognition of ideas and opinions which they do not hold. If the "Trotskyists" are the open enemies of the U.S.S.R., this should inevitably appear in common action and we will thus discredit ourselves in the eyes of the proletarian vanguard. If the Stalinists truly believe in what they advance they should welcome our appearance beside them in an international working class forum. But no, they are far from taking this road, and they are right, not as a revolutionary organization but as a conservative bureaucracy: open and candid discussion will leave not a trace of the prestige of infallibility.

The international proletarian vanguard has the greatest interest in hearing a clear opinion on this question, on which the development of the world revolution depends in great part. Abusing the prestige of the workers' state, which we are the first to recognize and to support, and wasting its practically inexhaustible material, the apparatus of the Comintern blocks the road to all revolutionary

education, which can only be inculcated by free criticism in an atmosphere of loyalty.

We would seek in vain this loyalty in the attitude of the Stalinists, even after their last turn. Only yesterday they declared that the French Socialist party was the twin brother of fascism and the I.L.P. left social fascists. Today they denounce our French friends who joined the S.F.I.O. in order there to work loyally on the basis of their principles and their methods as the wreckers of the socialist party. They "fraternally" warn Leon Blum and Paul Faure that our "sham maneuvers" threaten the unity of the S.F.P. and at the same time in the official publications of the Comintern they denounce us as lackeys of Leon Blum and by that fact of Doumergue, and so on.

We believe that even the organizations which are quite hostile to the Bolshevik-Leninist conceptions have the supreme duty of refuting with every ounce of energy the pretensions of the Stalinists of putting the workers' world under the revolver of an atmosphere and poisoning the atmosphere of the united front by slanders and dishonest intrigues instead of assisting it by frank criticism and loyal collaboration.

The proletarian vanguard always and especially now after the terrible defeats needs revolutionary clarity. We are far from contesting the right of the Stalinists, even the bureaucrats, to participate in common actions, but they should stop considering themselves as a special caste above the plebeian proletarians and above all they should use arguments and not insults. In the name of all our sections, which grow in influence and in number in nearly all the countries of the world, we declare ourselves ready to face the Stalinists and their acensations before any national or international forum.

—The International Secretariat of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists)

Spiking a Canard in the Daily Worker

A STATEMENT BY JOSEPH FOX ON HIS RESIGNATION FROM THE C.P.U.S.A.

To the Comrades in the C. P. and Workers in the Food Industry:

The stool-pigeon tactics to which the leaders of the Communist (Stalinist) Party resort against workers who disagree with their rotten policies and tactics of splitting the working-class is best illustrated in the "Workers Enemies Exposed" columns in the Daily Worker.

There was not one single iota of truth in the slanderous accusations against me, and I would have never bothered answering it were it not for the fact that that statement plays into the hands of our worst enemies, the Department of Justice. Furthermore, it gives the officials of the A. F. of L. justification for my expulsion, gives them ample reasons to refuse my reinstatement into the local, and helps the bosses to spread the blacklist against me, thus depriving me of the possibility of earning my bread and butter.

I resigned from the Communist Party because I am in total disagreement with its trade union policies and tactics, particularly with the policies the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union.

They advised and ordered me to carry out a line in Local 302 of the A. F. of L. which resulted in imprisonment of a half and five others for three and a half months in jail, expulsion of myself and 12 other oppositionists from the A. F. of L., the loss of our jobs and means of livelihood and the strengthening of the racketeering officials in the local to a position of absolute dictatorial power.

Today the leadership of the "Industrial Union" are in league with the worst strike-breakers and racketeering officials in Local 302 and work hand in glove with them.

I have demanded to know on many occasions from the leaders of the Industrial Union, why they did not even in a single instance raise the question of our reinstatement into Local 302, and their replies were tantamount to a direct refusal.

I have in my possession a letter dated June 11, 1934 and signed by the Secretary of the Food Workers Industrial Union addressed to "Dear Comrade Fox" wherein, amongst other things, he states that "I would therefore like to talk matters over with you as to what we could do in order to rectify some of our previous mistakes made!" This flings the ugly word "liar" into the faces of the stool-pigeons in the C.P. who are responsible for issuing the "expose" against me in the Daily Worker.

I have issued a signed statement to my unit on the night of my resignation (four months ago) in which I explained my disagreements with the political line followed by the C. P. and C. I. and which Section No. 5, according to all indications, has suppressed to this very day.

The comrades in my unit have had only the highest regard and esteem for me, and up to date are still on the most friendly terms

Out of C. P. - For New Party

The influence of the new party movement, taking form in the approaching fusion of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., is being felt in all sections and tendencies of the labor movement. Even the case-hardened, bureaucratic cell that is the Communist party is beginning to stir. Several weeks ago a leading Negro militant of the Philadelphia district of the C. P. joined our ranks. Last week we published the statements of two outstanding New York trade unionists placing the cross on their connections with Stalinism. Below is a declaration of two rank and file C. P. members declaring for the Fourth International and calling on other Communist party members to follow their example.

We are certain, that as the new party gains in force their example will be followed not by individuals but by tens and hundreds of workers disgusted with the rotten inner regime and the fatal policies of Stalinism.—Ed.

Nov. 20, 1934

Dear Comrades:

We the undersigned members of the Communist Party realize now that the mistakes of the Communist Parties of the world, arising out of Stalin's theory of building socialism in one country, have brought only defeat to the working class and have converted the Third International into a reactionary force in the working class movement.

Stalin's theory of the four class party in China resulted in a direct betrayal of the Chinese proletariat; Warski, the official leader of the Polish Communist Party, called upon the Polish workers to support Pilsudski and played into the hands of the reactionary forces

of Polish Fascism; the miserable theory of the united front from below and social fascism were responsible in great measure in defeating the working class of Germany and facilitating Hitler's rise to power.

We find from our experience that the Communist Party is controlled by a bureaucratic clique who expel all members who dare question its policies. The minute we raised our voice, protesting against some of the policies of the party, we were promptly labelled "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" and isolated from the party membership.

Because the party members are stifled by this bureaucratic apparatus and the party is therefore unable to learn from its past mistakes and to correct these mistakes, we came to the conclusion that the downfall of the German Communist Party without a struggle spelled the death of the Third International as a revolutionary force, just as August 4th, 1914, revealed the bankruptcy of the Second International and the necessity of building new revolutionary parties and a new International.

As honest revolutionists, our duty dictates that we place loyalty to the world revolution above party loyalty and join the ranks of those who are fighting for new revolutionary parties and a new, Fourth International. Such a party is now being launched by the fusion of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We feel that it is our revolutionary duty to join the ranks of this party and urge all our fellow Communists to follow our example.

—S. GREENBERG
I. GREENBERG
Unit 2015.

N.Y. Organization Notes

Our young Spartacus group in Newark has shown that Newark is an organization composed of real, two-fisted fighting young workers, who don't take no gaff from nobody; neither the Stalinists, the Socialists, the police, nor anybody else.

After our Spartacans initiated a united front against fascism, they were quickly ducked by the Young People's Socialist League who shamefully capitulated to the ultimatum of the Young Stalinists: "United either with them or with me."

They realize that the failures in the unit are due to the stupid policies that they are forced to carry out.

I have spoken to many workers in the A. F. of L. with whom I worked as a class conscious oppositionist in Local 302 and they are ever ready to attest their signatures to a statement about my revolutionary character and loyalty to the interests of the working class.

It is high time that the honest Communist workers put a stop to such open stool-pigeon tactics of the leadership of the C.P.

—JOSEPH FOX.

WORLD OF LABOR

THE L.S.I.-C.I. NEGOTIATIONS

The Events in Spain and the Fourth International. We are constrained to note that the L.S.I. (Second International) and the C. I. continue to view the question of the united front on an international scale not as a matter of revolutionary action but as a game of hide-and-seek and political alibis.

This time the C. I. has the edge, having addressed a letter to the Bureau of the L.S.I. it succeeded in obtaining a refusal.

Previously the Comintern was opposed to every international proposition of the L.S.I. and favored common action of national sections only.

Today the L.S.I. prefers the national united front. It has been taken in by the Stalinist maneuver. This has to be said not for the purpose of excusing the miserable answer of Vandervelde and Adler but to understand the full significance of these negotiations. They have nothing in common with revolutionary internationalism.

Insofar as the real existence of the Second International is concerned there are few illusions remaining in the left wing of French socialism. The comrades of Bataille (Battie, organ of left wing in French S. P.) recognize the necessity of a new international, but label us as sectarians or superstitious people because we cling to the number four. The number is of little importance, says la Bataille.

We fear that it is not merely an arithmetical difference. When we say Fourth International we mean by an international whose platform will assimilate the positive and negative experience of the Second and Third Internationals. Not a balance sheet of mistakes but a guide to action on solid foundations.

For this we have no faith in the L.S.I. Their "internationalism" is always limited to a warm exchange of telegrams.

An international consisting of elements evolving in directly opposite directions can only exist on paper. While the Dutch social democrats rally to reactionary positions the old ministers of the Spanish bourgeois republic lead the armed insurrection.

But this very fact, that wherever there has been an armed uprising against the bonapartist or fascist reaction, we find the left socialists, with its progressive side and also its defects in a predominant role, leads us to pose the question: What has happened to the international appointed to lead the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, the Third International?

We have heard it said that the C. I. played a "leading role" in the Spanish events. However, every militant must avoid talking as revolutionary internationalism, theatrical proclamations after the battle, or the fearful hypocrisies of a Cachin on the dilatory response of the L.S.I.

What must be taken into account is the policy of the C.I. for preparation and support of the Spanish revolution.

In the September issue of the Communist International we are given a very clear answer on this question.

It really appears that the C. I. understood that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat would lead it to the brink of insurrection. The International speaks abstractly of these eventualities and declares that the small communist party is better prepared for them than the big socialist party.

What were the directives of the C. I. in preparation for the insurrection? They try to pick a quarrel with Largo Caballero. They reproach this ex-reformist with neglecting the struggle for "partial" demands. To abandon them, they say, means "to retreat before the enemy."

"The continual capitulation of the Austrians before fascism consisted precisely in that", in other words, in a revolutionary period one must be careful to be more reformist than the reformists.

On the other hand they abstractly pose the slogan of soviets, while they ignore the workers alliance as the organ of struggle, as the possible embryo of the organs of power. The Stalinists must baptize every mass committee as soviet, and no matter what happens they continue to shout "Soviets Everywhere!"

In this connection let us recall the appreciation of L'Humanite for July 3rd, 1934 on this workers alliance, printed in bold face: it concerns itself with the tasks of the Catalan C. P.

"It is also necessary for it," said Peri, "to denounce the necessary Workers Alliance of Catalonia, a bloc of renegades from the party, of Trotskyites, anarchists, social fascists who fraudulently cloak themselves in the mantle of unity, but in reality support the policy of the Generalitat."

Besides this there is nothing in the article of the Communist International which allows us to believe that the "revolutionary leadership" prepared the masses for the general strike and the armed insurrection. Nothing specific on the necessity of building the fighting organizations, the militia. Not a slogan on the arming of the workers. All that is left to the tender mercies of Largo Caballero and Prieto.

The lessons of October are transformed into abstract and pedantic propaganda. It is no longer part of the life of the Third International.

In these conditions, the necessity for a new revolutionary International, the Fourth International, becomes obvious. By its evolution towards revolutionary positions the left wing socialists are passing over the abstract hallelujah of the Stalinists. It is our duty to accelerate this evolution by a firm and intransigent struggle for the principles of Leninism. Then the "Road of October" will no longer be a mere phrase for reviews of the epigones.

—La Verite, Nov. 2, 1934.

"REPUBLICAN MILITIA" MARCHES IN CHILE

The rising wave of Fascism, that sweeps through Europe, reaches South America also. A Fascist movement is developing in Chile under the protecting wing of the "liberal" Alessandri regime. The recent march in Santiago de Chile of several thousand members of the "Republican Militia" was a demonstration of force by the blackest reactionary elements of that country and a direct threat to the Chilean proletariat.

The Chilean Communist Left, conscious of its role as the workers' vanguard, took the initiative in building up a serious united front movement that included the Socialist party and numerous trade unions, for the carrying on of an active struggle against the Fascist menace. A general strike and counter demonstration were called by our comrades. A number of the factories in and about the city were tied up as was also a large part of the construction industry. The local Stalinists contributed their share by impeding the spread of the general strike to the more basic industries.

Impromptu Dance

To Greet Delegates Coming for League Convention
At Our Headquarters 144 2nd Ave.
Sat. Nov. 24th 8 p.m.

WANTED

The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the conventions, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.

Newark Anti-Nazi Protest Split by Stalinists, YPSL

On Sunday night, Nov. 18, Lawrence Dennis, fascist, came to the Universalist Church in Newark to speak on the "Coming Fascism". About 150 were in the mass picket line to protest his speaking, a demonstration called by a united front between the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. However, the organization that set on foot the united front in Newark and played a militant part in the picket line was excluded from the united front negotiations. Following is a factual account of the united front negotiations and of the demonstration Sunday night, and of the part the excluded Spartacus Youth League played throughout.

Sept. 15.—Spartacus Youth League (S.Y.L.) delegates in a discussion with two E.C. members of the Y.P.S.L. on the united front, proposed a joint letter of Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. to the Y.C.L. asking the latter to participate in a united front on specific issues. They were invited to discuss the matter before the next E.C. meeting of the Y.P.S.L.

Oct. 2.—At Y.P.S.L. E.C. meeting our delegates repeated the proposal, stressing the necessity of a broad united front of all working class organizations, especially as in Newark there was a strong fascist youth movement. The E.C. voted to send a letter to their N.C. to ask authority to send the joint letter with the S.Y.L. to the Y.C.L. for the purpose of effecting the united front in Newark. The N.C. gave them this authority. (They voted to send a joint letter with the S.Y.L.)

Nov. 8.—The S.Y.L. received a communication stating "We realize that the S.Y.L. is anxious to bring about a united front, and we extend to you the hand of comradeship", inviting us to send delegates to a united front conference at their headquarters (Y.P.S.L. on Nov. 11). The Y.C.L. was invited through a similar letter.

Nov. 11.—The Y.C.L. sent no official delegate to the conference because the "Trotskyites" were invited. Karlson, Y.C.L. organizer, appeared however, to present their viewpoint to the Yipsels. His main arguments were that we were insignificant and we should prove our revolutionary sincerity by not opposing something so important as a united front. Our speaker pointed out that something insignificant could not prevent something as important as the united front. Further, that in the last two years they had entered five united fronts with us in New York alone, and that as sincere revolutionaries it was our duty to determinedly fight for a broad united front including all working class organizations, as against the sectarian united front policy of the Y.C.L. More, that the national policy as stated by the Y.P.S.L. N.C. is: "All subdivisions are instructed to refuse to agree to any arrangements which barred any group from the united front that is willing to cooperate in support of the joint program." Obviously, the national policies of the Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. are directly opposed to the national policy of excluding certain organizations from the united front, the latter being the program of the Y.C.L. Karlson stated that the Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. both had their national policies and that there would be no united front if we were included, at least with the Y.C.L. participating. A Y.P.S.L. delegate stated that they were considering a state-wide united front and that the S.Y.L. would automatically be excluded from the first negotiations, as they are not a state organization, but that the Y.P.S.L. would insist on their inclusion in the united front. This latter would apply locally, that is, to Newark. The meeting broke up here, and the S.Y.L. delegates left.

After we left a united front was formed on the same day on a local scale between Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. against the speaking of the fascist Dennis. We knew nothing about this until Thursday night. On Thursday a joint leaflet appeared on the streets of Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. calling for a demonstration to stop the fascist Dennis from speaking. Thursday night an S.Y.L. delegate approached two members of the joint committee for the demonstration asking to be included in it. The Y.C.L. refused, saying we would have to march under their banners as individuals; the old "United Front from Below" again!

Friday night a special meeting of the S.Y.L. decided to participate in the demonstration under their own banners. On the night of the demonstration a picket line of about 150 marched, about forty of whom were under our banners. Our slogan "For the United Front of all Working Class Organizations" and "No Platforms for Fascists" echoed up and down the picket line. When a Spartacist was mugged by a cop, Y.C.L.ers and Yipsels shouted "Hold your ground, Leo". After the mass picketing an anti-fascist rally was held in a nearby hall. Our delegate asked the chairman for one of our speakers to be allowed the floor. He spoke about expenses. We agreed to share it. We were refused a speaker, and our banners were removed from the front of the room. The Wobblies, incensed at the exclusion of what they termed the "militant pickets", wanted to start a demand for an S.Y.L. speaker from the floor. However, we did not want a recurrence of the Madison Square riot. The Wobblies went outside and in a street meeting condemned strongly the splitting tactics of the C.P. The I.W.W., A.W.P., Lovestonites and the C.L.A. publicly condemned the sectarian exclusion of the S.Y.L. from the demonstration.

The fascists are strong in Newark and drill often. They are armed. New broad united fronts must be created. A "United Workers Guard" is on the order of the day, which must be representative of all labor organizations. We call upon all workers everywhere: Against sectarianism! For the united front of all working class organizations!

—ARNE COLTS.

Spartacus Youth Convention

Frisco and Los Angeles delegates to the first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League, to be held in New York City beginning December 3, are already on their way. In addition, delegates are expected from Minneapolis, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Newark, Philadelphia, New Haven, Toronto, Canada, Chicago and New York. Fraternal delegates are expected from such cities as Detroit and Columbus, Ohio.

The first national convention will coincide with the third anniversary of the publication of *Young Spartacus* and the beginning of our youth movement. On the basis of the experience accumulated and the forces assembled in this period the Spartacus Youth are now ready to go forward to greater deeds.

Provisions are being made for sleeping quarters and feeding of delegates. All friends able to house a delegate, contribute food or money should write to: Rose Karsner, 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

The convention agenda will include reports on all the draft resolutions—covering every important phase of youth work, the planned fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. and election of a new national committee.

Most of the branches of the S.Y.L. have had intensive discussions of the draft resolutions. In fact discussion on the basic problems of the revolutionary youth movement has been taking place for over a year in the ranks of Spartacus Youth on the basis of the draft resolutions on youth work sent out by the national committee at that time.

Weavers Set Strike Deadline

(Continued from Page 1)
Keller, be elected delegate to the convention. A motion was made and overwhelmingly carried to reject this recommendation. Subsequently when Keller ran for delegate he received only a handful of votes.

In the face of the determined resistance and unbroken ranks of the striking dye workers, the bosses found that their trump card, the resort to open force—was just a duce. NOT A DYE PLANT IS NOW OPERATING IN THE AREA COVERED BY THE STRIKE. And not a plant will continue to operate until the bosses meet the workers' demands. So now the bosses are again resorting to "talking with the workers". And the yellow press is again howling that the strike will end "this week". Not on your terms, gentlemen.

A monster parade was held last week in Passaic. This week another will be held in Paterson, despite all the obstacles the bosses are trying to put up. The ranks of the silk workers are not to be confused or disorganized this time. Whether the bosses like it or no, whether Keller is sad or glad, this time the issues are going to be faced and fought squarely—Paterson and the entire silk industry demand a UNION SHOP—and not a piece of paper and an arbitration board to maintain unbearable working conditions. The silk workers demand the 30-HOUR WEEK—and not production on the stagger plan with discrimination against all militant and active union men. They demand wages on which men who work can at least maintain a decent standard and not starve.

TWO ANNIVERSARIES

One aspect of the recent celebration of October in Moscow has been insufficiently dwelt upon by the revolutionary press in the United States. It remained for the bourgeois press, particularly the New York Times, to feature the quiescent, non-international, non-revolutionary character of the 17th anniversary.

It will be remembered that it was not long before November 7 that Karl Radek's interview with the Post correspondent, in which he spoke like a labor faker about the hopelessness of the revolutionary movement in bourgeois America, gave the cue of Soviet pacifism to the bourgeois correspondents in Moscow.

Neither Radek's statements to the Post, nor the Denny dispatches on the celebration, have elicited a counter statement from Stalinist quarters.

Let it be thought that the bourgeois press is slandering Soviet politics, turn to the New Masses of November 13, 1934, and find buried in the editorial paragraphs their only comments on the anniversary of the Revolution:

Consolation in Figures

"The most gratifying way we know of celebrating a Soviet anniversary is a careful perusal of Soviet graphs and figures. No oratory, no rhetoric, no poetry can convey the grandeur of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction as can the simple matter of fact statements of Soviet arithmetic."

After citing many really heartening figures the Stalinist sage continues: "Add to this the tremendous gains in the realm of culture; and to this again, the triumphs in international relations during the past twelve months, and you have a record of achievements unparalleled even in the unparalleled history of the Soviets."

The Daily Worker simply prints its own description, which ignores the political angle, while singing a lyric to "Socialism". Such doping of the American proletariat calls for the belladonna of sharp criticism.

Revisionism with a vengeance. No one is surprised at these things any longer. Each year as the Soviet Union grows in mechanical strength, the more graceful is the Stalinist cutesy to the ruling bourgeoisie of the world, the less thought of, and the less heeded to, is the world proletariat. Arithmetic proletarian revolution along with faith in "the triumphs in international relations" (the League of Nations!) express revisionism with a vengeance.

Several early anniversaries could be cited to show the contrast between Leninist and Stalinist birthdays. But, to compare the fairest historical example, let us go back to the fifth anniversary.

Twelve years ago the Soviet Union was just raising itself out of

the ashes of civil war. Cities lay in ruins, the population was poor and exhausted, necessitating the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the sharpest right turn ever made in Soviet internal policy.

On November 1, 1922, Mussolini was received by the King in Rome as a hundred thousand blackshirts were given the key to the capital. The American C. P. was underground. In Germany the revolutionary tide was ebbing.

Celebrating October Under NEP
And in Moscow preparations were made to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Revolution... by the assembling of the 4th World Congress of the Communist International. That is the significant difference between the two anniversaries—1922 and 1934.

Charles Ashleigh, writing in the Communist Review (England) of January, 1923, describes the opening celebration of the Communist International in Petrograd. Two special trains carried the delegates to the Communist Congress, the Congress of the Red International Labor Union and the Congress of the Young Communist International, party workers and labor journalists, from Moscow to Petrograd.

There "in the gigantic Uritsky Square a stand had been erected for the delegates. We took our places, and the march past began. They came in at one end of the square, marched past the stand, and left at the other end. We stood there, our hats in our hands, receiving the greetings of the Petrograd proletariat who had come out, on their national revolutionary anniversary, to salute their comrades of the Communist International."

"They passed on and on for hours. And their faces were raised towards us as they passed and ever they cheered. And we cheered back."

Then the Communist International received the salute of the Red Army.

C. I. and Soviets in Joint Session
On the evening of the celebration, the Communist International and the Petrograd Soviet sat in joint session. Thus, "in the midst of unexampled enthusiasm on the part of the masses of Petrograd and Moscow, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International began its work on the Fifth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia." (Communist Review, March, 1923.)

Many revolutionary leaders came to greet the Fourth Congress—and to aid in its deliberations. Lenin explained the New Economic Policy. Trotsky warned of the right danger of social pacifism in the Communist International.

Today what a difference! Would anyone have dared in 1922 to predict the conditions of the 17th anniversary? Not Stalin himself could then have faced the logic which flowed inexorably from the position he has always held.

Last week a million men went through Red Square while the world proletariat writhed in defeats. No Congress of the Communist International was assembled to cheer, or to be heartened for further revolutionary struggle. No messages were sent to the bereaved martyrs of Germany, Austria and Spain. Instead Franklin D. Roosevelt was sending his greetings to Kalinin. In New York "in the comfortable patrician atmosphere of the east Sixties, Leonid N. Tolstoy, Consul General of the Union of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republic, celebrated "with canapes and cakes".

That is diplomacy. But what was happening in Moscow?

Under the Cloud of Reaction

"Gone was most of the truculence of other years. The old appeals to the proletariat of other lands to hurl down capitalism were almost entirely lacking from the banners and the proclamations and speeches of the leaders. The lampooning of individual capitalist countries in the effigies carried by workers' delegations was reduced to mild take-offs on German fascism and Japanese imperialism, as if, since the Soviet Union has been recognized by the United States, admitted into the League of Nations and has formed close diplomatic ties with other countries, a ban had been placed against overly exuberant attacks on capitalism."

Emphasis on Soviet Defense

"The emphasis today was on the internal upbuilding of the country and on defense against attacks from without. On the front of the old 'traders row,' across the square from the Kremlin, enormous red flags were inscribed simply, 'Workers of the World, Unite', in a half dozen languages, including English."

"Today provided a visible demonstration of the new attitude toward the capitalist world that has recently been becoming more and more apparent in Moscow. This is that world revolution will come but not in the way that was foreseen when bolshevism first entrenched itself here."

"The new conception is that if war should break out between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries it would be on the initiative of the latter and that war for which the capitalist world seems to be feverishly preparing will result in the downfall of capitalist regimes and in the victory of the proletariat that had been expected to follow the World War. And so the role of communism would be not that of capitalism's executioner—for capitalism would commit suicide—but of its grave-digger."

"This was the theme of today's celebration as evidenced in articles by leading Communist party spokesmen in the Soviet press and in the anniversary declaration by the executive committee of the Communist International. (N. Y. Times, Nov. 8.)

Capitalism would commit suicide! Did not the bourgeois correspondent guess well? Is that not the kernel of Stalinist fatalism: the wish fulfillment of Socialism in one country?

Easley Plots Against Boys; I. L. D. Role Revealed

(Continued from Page 1)

her go back to the false yarn she was induced to tell at the first trial. This is only one of a dozen miserable schemes now being concocted behind the scenes, while the I.L.D. and Samuel S. Leibowitz contest each other's right to represent the boys in court. The worst of all is a rotten deal between Leibowitz and the State of Alabama!

The Militant is in a position to state authoritatively while the details of Mr. Leibowitz's arrangements are still secret, they have the aid and blessing of none other than Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation, perhaps the most vicious, bloodthirsty and unscrupulous red-hunter and reactionary in the entire United States! The sort of campaign which Leibowitz is soon going to loose upon the world is clearly indicated by his association with such elements.

We understand that Leibowitz has endeavored to cover his intentions by drawing into his vest-pocket "American Scottsboro Committee" leading members of the Socialist Party. We are told that one Socialist flatly refused to go in because he got a sniff of Easley in the offing. This does honor to him... but Easley is far from being the only thing wrong with the Leibowitz set-up.

Some weeks ago, the Militant printed a general characterization of how the I.L.D. brought Sam Leibowitz into the case, how he behaved in it, how the I.L.D. behaved to him, and what the prospects were. The Militant is now in a position to give more concrete data on the secret history of the relations of the I.L.D. to Sam Leibowitz. The following chronological account stands on its own feet:

Jan. 1933.—Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party and W. L. Patterson, Secretary of the I.L.D., propose to retain Samuel S. Leibowitz, noted defender of gangsters, for new trials of Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, National Executive of I.L.D., against opposition of the I.L.D. National Bureau, instructs Patterson to retain Leibowitz, only if the latter agrees to limit himself to discussion of legal and factual questions, to make no attacks on the view that the case has general social significance, to make no concessions to Southern Bourdon anti-Negro attitudes, and to offer no opposition to efforts to win militant mass support for the boys.

Jan. 7.—On orders from Browder, Patterson and the I.L.D. National Bureau flout the N.E.C. instructions and retain Leibowitz unconditionally, giving him a free hand to express opposition to the views and activities of all militant enemies of Southern white chauvinism.

Jan. 9.—Leibowitz writes I.L.D. that he accepts in order "to help keep sacred" such "ancient shrines of our civilization and our national life" as "our Caucasian sense of even-handed justice". Demands that the I.L.D. "match" the following views:

"I do not believe it has ever been the desire of the people of the South to deal unfairly with the Negro. . . . Parsons of substance in the Southern states have recognized for many generations a moral obligation toward the simple and generous folk whom slavery first brought them as chattels. . . . I cannot believe that the people of Alabama will be false to their great heritage of honor and to those brave and chivalrous generations of the past in whose blood the history of their State is written."

I.L.D. suppresses this letter and its reply. Tacitly "matches" Leibowitz's views. National Bureau ceases to call N.E.C. meetings to discuss Leibowitz' question because it fears to report its violation of the N.E.C. resolution.

March 25.—First criticism of Leibowitz's activities on behalf of the "ancient shrines" appears in The Militant. (The Militant alone warned in advance of the dangers involved in the I.L.D.'s deal with Leibowitz.)

Jan. 14.—Leibowitz attacks "reds", radicals and mass defense, and declares confidence in "the sincere desire of the good people of the great South to give every living thing on God's green earth a square deal".

March-April.—Retrial of Heywood Patterson in Decatur, Ala. In open court Leibowitz continues praise of Bourbonism. While affirming defendants' innocence, he endorses principle of lynching for "guilty". Patterson convicted, Leibowitz publicly denounces poor white jurors in the following terms:

They are "lantern-jawed morons . . . whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like a frog's, whose chins droop tobacco juice, belch-whiskered and filthy."

Simultaneously, he praises the entire system of Bourbon justice in the person of the trial judge.

April 7.—Executive of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (ally of the I.L.D.) adopts unanimous resolution criticizing Leibowitz for his reactionary expressions and maneuvers, and calling on the I.L.D. "to reply concretely and uncompromisingly to the harmful state-

ments Stalinist faction begins campaign of abuse and slander of those who proposed criticizing Leibowitz. I.L.D. refuses to ask capitalist press to print criticisms of Leibowitz, vigorously defends Leibowitz in article in the Daily Worker, and denounces the Militant for criticizing Leibowitz and the I.L.D.'s deal with him.

April 28.—Wm. L. Patterson induces packed meeting of the N.C.D. P.P. to refuse vote of confidence to Executive which unanimously asked criticism of Leibowitz. C.P. factionalists denounce critics of Leibowitz as saboteurs, white chauvinists, aids to lynchers, counter-revolutionaries and Trotskyites. Frank Spector, I.L.D. national organizer, who endorsed the April 7 resolution joins in denouncing those who wrote it.

May 8.—Ten members of the N.C. D.P.P. (including half a dozen members of its Executive and three of the N.E.C. of the I.L.D.) resign on the ground that their work has been made impossible by the Stalinists' attacks. "Fearing to harm defense movement", they suppress their letter of resignation. Communist League of America alone continues to expose Leibowitz's rotten opportunism.

Oct. 1933.—Leibowitz uses Scottsboro prestige to aid Mayor McKee's campaign in Harlem; I.L.D., backing Communist Party ticket, makes first genuine attack on Leibowitz—not for his Scottsboro policy, but because he is still a Democrat!

Oct. 1934.—I.L.D. attorneys arrested in Tennessee, charged with attempted bribery of Scottsboro case witness. Leibowitz seizes this occasion to break with I.L.D., republishing his customary attacks on mass movements and radicals, and his customary praise of white chauvinism and Bourbonism. "Surprised" and "disappointed", the I.L.D. denounces Leibowitz as a traitor, and sharply attacks him for expression of views it long ago gave him full permission to express. Leibowitz orders I.L.D. out of case, affirming he is retained by all boys.

Nov. 1934.—I.L.D. and Leibowitz dispute right to represent boys in next trials. Boys, in desperation, shift allegiance from one worthless "ally" to another several times. Mass defense movement almost dead. Leibowitz continues fulminations against "reds", and eulogies of patriotism and Southern white justice. Wins support of our reactionary Negro parsons and one Harlem Department Store publicity agent who makes money out of Scottsboro Sales, and makes deal with Alabama prosecutor to eliminate death sentences in return for a smashing court-room attack by prosecution and "defense" on all "radicals" and a hymn to patriotism and "the ancient shrines".

Dec. 1934.—WILL A NEW MOVEMENT BE LAUNCHED TO RETRIEVE THE HORRIBLE MESS PERPETRATED BY THE I.L.D. AND SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ? IT IS UP TO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

Wall Street Conspiracy

(Continued from Page 1)

called "unconvincing" by Congressman Dickstein, the chairman of the Committee, who promises further and more interesting revelations.

Trying to Laugh It Off

The various figures implicated in the plot rushed into print the day after the interview broke in a suspiciously universal attempt to laugh it off. J. P. Morgan said the scheme was a preposterous fabrication. John W. Davis denied that he had written the speech. General MacArthur called the story the "best laugh of the year". And Little MacGuire, following the general trend, had the plumb to claim that the whole business was a "publicity stunt". (A publicity stunt for whom? J. P. Morgan and Co.?)

The whole idea of a coup d'etat is, of course, preposterous. Fascism must have mass support. It receives this support from the middle class which sees no hope for its salvation from the revolutionary movement. The plot is interesting as a forecast of what will occur in America when the working class really awakens, when working class revolution becomes a real threat. Unless the working class, when it starts to move, moves steadily and forcefully along toward revolution, unless the revolutionary party is able to carry through a definite and unequivocal revolutionary policy, the petty bourgeoisie will be distracted, as they were in Germany to the wily toils of fascism.

General Butler will bear watching. The Fascist conspirators made no mistake when they picked him as the ideal leader of a fascist movement in America. Whether General Butler exposed them for political reasons, hoping to strengthen his own reputation for honesty, or whether his repudiation was the result of a sincere distaste for Fascism must remain a moot question for the present. General Butler's revelation was, in any case, hardly voluntary, for there were several disinterested persons aware of the conspiracy.

N. Y. Student Strike Slams Robinson

Tuesday's demonstration at City College was one of the greatest demonstrations that ever shook an American college campus. Over two thousand students participated in a two-hour protest strike which culminated in the burning of an effigy of Dr. Robinson, President of the College.

The strike was called to demand the reinstatement of 21 expelled students, to demand the reinstatement of the suppressed Student Council, and above all to demand the immediate and unconditional removal of Dr. Robinson, sometimes known as "Fascist Freddy" Robinson.

The 21 students were expelled for protesting the reception of a delegation of Italian Fascist students by Dr. Robinson several weeks ago. At that time the students of C.C.N.Y. turned out en masse, packed the reception hall, and turned the reception into a heated protest against the Fascist toadies of bloody Mussolini.

An Honor to Be a "Gutter-Snipe"

At that meeting Dr. "Umbrella" Robinson censured the protesting students for their "discourtesy". (Come, come, boys, let's all be gracious to that dear, sweet man, B. Mussolini!) and labeled the protesters "gutter-snipes". Since that day the "gutter-snipes" faction has grown by leaps and bounds as the students rally to the anti-fascist banner, until Dr. Robinson bids fair to be the only non-gutter-snipe left.

The administration, headed by the aforesaid "True Story" Robinson was deeply insulted by the "discourteous" behavior of the militant anti-fascists, and proceeded to discipline them in a manner highly reminiscent of the great Mussolini himself. The student council, elected by popular vote, was dissolved; suspensions became commonplace; and the mildest parlor pinks were cross-examined by an administration "red squad".

Students Expelled

A movement to oust Dr. Robinson was initiated, and met with wide approval. While the squelch Dr. Robinson movement was getting under way the faculty met to discuss final disciplinary action. By a 50-40 vote it was decided to expel the 21 students, and to suspend certain others.

Dr. Robinson, the inimitable scholar of Spinoza, hastened to the press. Unable to find sympathy in the more "respectable" metropolitan papers he embraced the yellow sheet Hearst press, and published a scholarly fulmination under the title "Punish Student Reds." His lapse into yellow journalism only intensified his unpopularity among the student body and contributed to the success of Tuesday's strike.

The strike itself was dramatic, reaching a climax in the burning of a two-headed effigy of the Doctor. On one face Dr. Jekyll Robinson, garbed in his professorial robes, clutched a True Story magazine, on the other his alter ego, Dr. Hyde Robinson proved to have a suspicious resemblance to Signor Mussolini. The two faced monster was burned with the approval of all and to the appropriate strains of the Funeral March.

Class Struggle Reaches Campus

This campus struggle, which finds a counterpart in other campus movements all over the country, is an encouraging sign. The campus has long been considered a stronghold of reaction, where no economic issues could disturb the benign repose of the scholars. But under the pressure of continued depression, of growing unemployment, of Fascist advance, and of imminent war, the struggle is penetrating even into the halls of "learning".

With Fascism sweeping Europe, with threat of war growing daily the need for a united front of all groups, including trade unions, workers' organizations and students becomes acute. Students can no longer stand passively on the sidelines; they must take their stand; either with the working class, or with the fascists. The students of C.C.N.Y. have shown the way.

The class in "State and Revolution" with Jack Weber as instructor meets every Monday night. The class in ABC of Marxism every Friday night.

HELP!

Is Needed at Once

Thanks to the Minneapolis and Plentywood, Montana branches, this issue of the Militant was able to come out without any emergency appeal to the New York comrades. Comrade Boulds of Plentywood, who is making a special effort to secure subscriptions on the new drive, sent us \$8 and says that this is only the beginning. "I am leaving today for another county on a Militant sub drive," he writes, and adds: "As soon as I can raise a little gasoline money, I am going to the home of every farmer in the section."

Chester K. Johnson of the Minneapolis branch says:

"The Minneapolis branch has launched a sub drive for the Militant and is now going full steam ahead." He enclosed \$10 on their bundle account and \$5 for new subs.

Jefferson Hall, of Bryan, Ohio, comes back with another dollar on his pledge to help the Militant in its present crisis, \$1 on his bundle and 25c donation from a local reader of the paper.

Doughty of the Los Angeles branch sends by air mail \$3 to help us.

From an S. P. member of Bryan we received a \$1 donation.

R. of Akron says: "Enclosed find \$5.60 to be applied as follows: \$3 for Militant fund, \$1 for a sub and \$1.50 for the Minneapolis Organizer file. Will see what can be done here towards getting subs for the Militant and increasing the fund."

"Enclosed please find \$5 as my contribution to your appeal in the Militant," signed Max H., sympathizer of Chicago.

Fred B. of Balston Spa sends \$1 "to support the Militant".

We thank the above mentioned comrades and branches for their special efforts, and hope that next week the list will be twice as big. THE MILITANT IS NOT OUT OF DANGER YET.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

FOR THE NEW.
FOURTH,
INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME VII, NO. 48, [WHOLE NO. 252]

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LAUNCH WORKERS PARTY OF U.S.

Third Convention of League Draws Balance Sheet of Six Years

Bringing the Third National Convention to an end, the delegates of branches of the Communist League of America from coast to coast, and a packed visitors gallery of members of the New York branch, sang with a solemnity arising out of deep conviction the classic chorus:

"The Internationalist Soviet shall be the human race."

Comrade Max Shachtman announced the adjournment of the Third and last national convention of the C.L.A. There penetrated everyone present a profound realization that a period had ended and a new one begun. The Convention had unanimously voted to disband the C.L.A. by merging it with the American Workers Party in the Workers Party of the United States.

Six years of successful activity as a propagandist group came to an end. The balance sheet was written:

The ideas of Marx and Lenin, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the theory of the permanent revolution, had been kept alive and vital in the U. S. by the League.

Cadres had been built, armed with the intellectual weapons that alone, when combined with organized proletarian masses, can bring capitalism to an end and introduce the communist order of society. The groundwork had been laid for the country's sole revolutionary proletarian party—the Workers Party of the United States, a current in the international movement sweeping toward the foundation of a new, the Fourth International.

The Third Convention reported substantial gains over the Second League Convention held in October 1931 in New York City. Three years ago the Communist League (Opposition) was a skeleton organization with branches in only a few major cities. The report of the national secretary, Arne Swaback revealed that the membership had been doubled and that there existed 21 branches in the major industrial centers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These branches were represented by forty-three delegates. Four delegates from four mid-western cities were unable to be present because of financial difficulties. Six fraternal delegates came from the Workers Party of Canada.

A large proportion of the delegates had been in the C.L.A. since its inception, others had been in the Communist Party many years before they joined the League. Still others had come from various sections and tendencies of the labor movement. The composition of the delegates was overwhelmingly proletarian, many being deeply rooted in the trade union movement.

Second of the achievements recorded at the convention was the maintenance of the Militant as a weekly paper. In six years the Militant had gained the respect of the entire revolutionary movement of the world for its honesty, its clean methods and above all for the clarity and correctness of its policies.

The New Internationalist is the third stone in this mosaic of accomplishments. Although still very young, it has already made a name for itself as the outstanding theoretical review in the revolutionary labor movement.

The Minneapolis strike, symbolizing the truth that sound theory merged with sound practice can bring victory to the working class, stood out among the achievements of the League.

The League convention was no solid monolith artificially held together by a bureaucratic whip, but a genuine Communist gathering. It had been preceded by three months of free, untrammelled discussion in branch meetings and internal bulletins. Minorities were accorded every democratic right provided in the constitution and given proportional representation at the convention. The debates and discussions at the conference, often sharp but always comradely, were many-sided and thorough.

The convention was absorbed with two major questions. The discussions centered on the report by comrade James P. Cannon on the international question, primarily the recent Plenum of the International Communist League to which he was a delegate and the so-called "French question". The other report was by comrade Max Shachtman on the question of fusion with the American Workers Party. International and American, two sides of our struggle, these questions were indissolubly connected.

Comrade Cannon reported on the events in the revolutionary movement since the triumph of Hitler; the declaration for the Fourth International, the Pact of Four, the

(Continued on Page 4)

Spartacus Youth Meets

The National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League is now in session at Stuyvesant Casino, New York City. Discussions have revealed unanimous sentiment for the constitution of the Spartacus League as the youth movement of the Workers Party of the United States, politically subordinate to and organizationally independent of the adult revolutionary party.

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the W.P., addressed the convention Tuesday on behalf of the National Committee. Max Shachtman, a pioneer leader of the Young Workers League which first established the Communist youth movement in America, addressed the convention on behalf of the outgoing National Committee of the C.L.A. Next week's issue will contain a full report of the convention.

Workers Of N.Y. Rally To Support Party

The first mass meeting held by the Workers Party drew twelve hundred workers as, winding up a week of conventions, the Party made its first public appearance at Germania Hall Sunday night.

Addressing the largest group of workers brought together by a political program in recent years outside the reformist and Stalinist ranks, representative leaders reflected in their appearance and addresses a cross section of the proletarian foundations of the Workers Party.

Insurgent leader of the coal miners for two decades, founder of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, leader of the famed Logan County march of twenty thousand armed miners across three counties in 1921, which was stopped only by the Federal troops, Brant Scott blazed away at the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and declared that only the Workers Party could smash the John Lewises and build the fortresses of the working class.

Trade Unionists Speak

Vincent R. Dunne, one of the three brothers all of whom were leaders of the Minneapolis drivers in their victorious strikes earlier this year, told of the rising progressive movement in the labor unions throughout the Minnesota district, and the role the Workers Party must play to bring together the shattered left wing in the American Federation of Labor as an essential step in preparing the overthrow of capitalism.

The Toledo auto workers' strike of last summer was represented by Ted Selander and Sam Pollack. Leaders of the Lucas County Unemployed League, they smashed the injunction against picketing, organized and led the mass picket lines in a series of bloody battles against the National Guard, and so aroused the labor movement that, faced by threats of a general strike, the bosses surrendered.

The need to include in the ranks of the revolutionary working class movement the decisive sections of the twelve million Negro masses was brought to the fore by three leading Negro delegates. They were Ernest Rice McKinney, member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, national vice-president of the Unemployed League, and spokesman of the Negro workers of Pittsburgh; James Watson, head of the International Labor Defense in Philadelphia until his recent break with Stalinism; and Simon Williamson, delegate from Kansas City.

Unemployed Leaders Speak

The transformation of the unemployed from potential scabs into the

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers Party Facts

Temporary National Headquarters of the Workers Party of the United States: 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. Phone AL-gonquin 4-9058.

National Secretary: A. J. Muste.

Official Organs: The New Militant (weekly); 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C., Phone Gram-ercy 5-9524; The New Internationalist (monthly), P. O. Box 119, Station D, N. Y. C. These addresses hold until further notice.

The full text of the declaration of principles and the constitution of the Workers Party of the United States appear on pages two and three of this issue. They will be available in pamphlet form at low cost within a few days.

C.L.A. and A.W.P. In Fusion Convention of U.S. Revolutionaries

The Workers Party of the United States has been formed! Amidst scenes of wildest enthusiasm, the unity convention of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America completed its historic task Sunday afternoon in Stuyvesant Casino, New York City. Out of its labors and deliberations has arisen the only revolutionary party in the country.

On the ratification by unanimous vote of the fusion agreement, comrades James P. Cannon of the C.L.A. and A. J. Muste of the A.W.P. announced for the two organizations that henceforth they owed allegiance to the Workers Party of the U. S. and to no other organization. The entire audience was on its feet and the strains of the International shook the rafters. The historic work was completed!

Minneapolis and Toledo, exemplifying the new militancy of the American working class, were the stars that presided over its birth.

Under the most favorable auspices, the new party launches into its tremendous undertaking: the overthrow of capitalist rule in America, and the creation of a workers' state.

A. J. Muste will be the national secretary of the new party. J. P. Cannon will be editor of the official weekly, the New Militant, with Harry Howe as associate editor. The theoretical organ, the New Internationalist, will be under the editorship of Max Shachtman and an ex-A.W.P. member. Eleven comrades of the A.W.P. and eleven from the C.L.A. will comprise the national executive, from which will be chosen the political bureau of 10 members. Louis Budenz and Arne Swaback will be the national organizers.

These, and other important organizational agreements were reached in the opening session, which moved with Bolshevik efficiency and dispatch. Sleepless delegates, without rest from the all-night sessions of their respective organizations, shook off their weariness to speed the foundations for the new party.

The speeches were short and to the point.

"We are not repudiating our pasts, rather we are looking towards the future," A. J. Muste said in opening the session.

An ovation greeted Vincent Dunne, one of the leaders of the strike of the Minneapolis truck-drivers, and chairman of the opening session.

"In view of the immediate work that lies before us, and the heavy responsibility we have assumed; namely, the organizing of the working class on a militant basis, for the overthrow of capitalist rule," Dunne said, "we may dispense with speechmaking."

Fusion Endorsed

With this as the keynote, the session moved swiftly. In a short space of time, and despite the utmost liberty allowed in discussion of all matters not previously settled by the separate conventions, the convention heard and approved the appointments of committees, elected the important organization, trade union and unemployment committees, and passed upon the organizational agreement reached between the executive committees of the A.W.P. and the Communist League.

At the second session, Sam Pollack, active in the unemployed movement in Ohio and Illinois, and one of the leaders in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, presided. He, too, was warmly received by the delegates.

The second session passed upon the constitution of the new party as proposed by the joint negotiating committee, with a few amendments from the floor. It also sanctioned the party-building report brought in by Max Shachtman, the trade union report read by Arne Swaback, and the report on work in the field of the unemployed, presented by Anthony Ramuglia, national president of the National Unemployed Leagues.

Resolutions were passed in support of Tom Mooney, and on behalf of Happy Holstein, whom the hangers-on of the Citizens Alliance in Minneapolis are trying to frame on a murder charge. A resolution also endorsed the proposal of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, for the creation of a permanent labor defense organization. The text of the reports and resolutions will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Here ended the main business of the convention. Fraternal greetings were extended to the convention by Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, representing the Workers Party of Canada.

The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

Old Guard Threatens S.P. With Split

Boston, Mass.—At the very moment when American workers feel the inspiring effects of the merger of the A.W.P. and C.L.A. to establish the new revolutionary Workers Party of the U. S., the Socialist Party enters a new stage in the development of the crisis which has been threatening it for several years.

Hard on the heels of the halting by the Gitlow group of the S. P. as "the party of revolutionary unity," comes the announcement that the meeting held here this week by the national executive of the S. P., the right-wingers ("Old Guard") offered the "Militant" majority now in control the alternatives of swinging back to pure reformism from their newly adopted centrist platform, or a split in the party.

One of the main points on the agenda of the present meeting of the S. P. leaders was the question of a united front with the C. P. A. C. P. delegation led by Hatcher, Ford and other Stalinist bureaucrats appeared to beg for a chance to sit down around a table with those whom they yesterday called the working class's worst enemies. The S. P. militant majority, toying with the idea of a united front based on a non-aggression pact and a program of passivity and noise, did not dare to receive the Stalinist delegation because of the objections of the Old Guard.

Old Guard Delivers Ultimatum

The Old Guard prefers its noise and passivity in close relations with the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and feels that it may not be able to do this if the C. P.-S. P. united front is consummated.

Minneapolis Bosses Plot Frame-Up of 574 Leaders

Minneapolis, Minn.—Seventy trade unions have united in a defense committee to give organized labor's militant answer to a frame-up campaign launched by the Citizens Alliance through its class instrument, the municipal police headed by Bloody Johannes. The frame-up campaign, directed primarily against the leaders of General Drivers Local 574, has as its object the terrorization of the whole local trade union movement.

Several weeks ago an attempt to frame Harry Hussman, organizer of the Machinists Union, and to deport him, was smashed. Now, however, the Citizens Alliance is trying a bolder step. They are at the heart of a plot to hang on leaders of Local 574 responsibility for the death during the May drivers strike of Arthur Lyman, a capitalist who played at being a strike-breaking deputy sheriff.

Happy Holstein, Chippewa Indian and truck driver who was a leading figure in the Strike Committee of 100 both in May and July, is now out on bail after being arrested for the murder of Lyman. In addition, a stool-pigeon has been found who is trying to involve unnamed leaders of 574.

The latest and third victim in the hands of the police is a 10 year old boy, Philip Scott, who was picked up through a "very clever police trap," according to the Min-

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This Issue is Last of "The Militant"

This is the last issue of the Militant which, for six years as the weekly organ of the Communist League of America, kept alive in the haze of confusion brought upon the vanguard of the American working class by Stalinism, the clear flame of Marxist and Leninist ideas.

With the founding of the Workers Party of the United States, the Militant gives way to the New Militant, the official organ of the country's only revolutionary party. All readers of the Militant will continue to receive the new paper. Workers, read the New Militant!

Party to Act On Defense

The founding convention of the Workers Party unanimously adopted three resolutions on defense questions, including one endorsing the idea of setting up a broad, militant labor defense organization. It is interesting to note a leading comrade of the W. P., James I. Cannon, was secretary of the International Labor Defense from the time of its founding until the Stalinist regime transformed it from a class instrument into a puppet of the Communist Party. Other W. P. leaders have been active in defense work.

The resolutions adopted at the convention are the following:

RESOLUTION ON MOONEY

In the history of the American class struggle there has been no more striking illustration of capitalist oppression and class justice than the case of Tom Mooney now completing the eighteenth year of his martyrdom in San Quentin Prison in the State of California. Imprisoned there at the behest of the capitalist class of California, after his life had been saved through the intervention of the organized revolutionary workers of Russia who demanded his freedom, he has steadfastly refused to concede to the proposal that he obtain liberty at the cost of whitewashing the criminal conspirators of the judiciary who placed him in jail.

Tom Mooney's freedom will be realized solely through the organized expression of that profound indignation felt by all workers that one who should be at liberty and leading in the struggles of the day, is kept in confinement year after year. The organization of a great campaign for the liberation of our class brother is a solemn duty and a vital need of the whole class. The Workers Party of the U. S., at its founding convention, pledges its unremitting efforts in a struggle for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

To Tom Mooney himself this convention sends its warmest comradely greeting and a solemn pledge of solidarity.

RESOLUTION ON HOLSTEIN

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. has been informed of the plot instigated by the capitalist class of Minneapolis acting through the labor-hating Citizens Alliance and Police Chief Bloody Mike Johannes, to railroad militant trade unionists to their death in order to deal a blow to the trade union movement of Minneapolis and especially to General Drivers Local 574.

To Emanuel Holstein, falsely charged with murder, and whose only crime has been that shoulder-to-shoulder with thousands of his trade union brothers he has gone forward on the picket line to defend the rights of labor and to gain for himself, his family and his class brothers a standard of living above the starvation level, we send greetings and a pledge of solidarity.

To the Trade Union Defense League of Minneapolis, organized to defend Happy Holstein, we pledge our untiring support.

This Convention gives to the N. C. of the Workers Party of the U. S. the mandate to communicate immediately with the Trade Union Defense League and with Happy Holstein and to arrange measures whereby we can assist in his defense.

RESOLUTION ON LABOR DEFENSE

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. takes note of the fact that the rising tide of labor struggles is logically accompanied by a wave of persecution of labor militants and revolutionaries throughout this country. Hundreds of workers are today in prison or jail, or so threatened, solely because of their political or economic views or activities in the labor or revolutionary movements. It is only a few weeks since a close friend of our movement, Antonio Bellussi, was deported from this country by the "liberal" Roosevelt regime because he is a confirmed fighter against Italian Fascism and its offshoots in this country. Today members of our party active in trade union struggles in Minneapolis are in danger of arrest on a frame-up charge of murder inspired by the labor-hating Citizens Alliance of that city. Not long ago comrades A. J. Muste, James Cross and H. Mayer were indicted in Belleville, Ill. and Comrade Louis Budenz and others in Toledo, Ohio, for the crime of assisting workers in a strike struggle. Comrades Cannon and Shachtman were jailed in Minneapolis. Delegates to this convention have failed to reach their destination because the police of various cities have arrested and detained them.

While the heaviest blows of the capitalist oppressors naturally fall upon the most revolutionary elements of the class and particularly members of the revolutionary party, these blows are also directed against all militant and class-conscious workers and in times of great crisis against all elements of the population who dare to express opinions or engage in actions inimical to the interests and plans of the capitalist exploiters and their executive committee, the government of the U. S. and its subdivisions.

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Workers Party of the U.S.--Declaration of Principles

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following Declaration of Principles to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A.

THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism in the stage of decline and decay as a world system, subjects the masses everywhere to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. The present world crisis marks much more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking new outlets for uninvested capital and new possibilities for capital accumulation, as well as cheap raw materials and profitable markets for the goods which their own population could not purchase, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist stage of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for new capitalist outlets, for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the capitalist nations are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition among themselves. The capitalists strive to shift the burdens of the crisis and the decline to other classes, especially the working class and the colonial peoples. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class for its own emancipation.

FASCISM

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. In the period of capitalist decline the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the dispossessed majority and presently plunging them into war. When the social crisis thus generated approaches a climax, and the working class, as the result of the lack of a strong revolutionary party, fails to act decisively for a revolutionary solution, it suffers internal demoralization and loses the confidence of the middle class masses ruined by the crisis. Under the domination of finance capital, fascism then succeeds in mobilizing the desperate middle class elements and even certain demoralized sections of the working class on a reactionary basis. "Stabilization" is thus temporarily achieved by the destruction of the workers' organizations, the wholesale murder of working class militants and the suppression of all forms of independent class expression.

Under Fascism democratic rights are suppressed, all the forms of democracy are abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated. The standard of living of the masses is steadily driven downward. Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionaries but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Fascism sows division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations back into barbarism and savagery.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. It assumed this leading role at a time when capitalism everywhere was in decline and conflicts between the great Powers were therefore intensified. American imperialism cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions in the U. S., Latin America, Europe and Asia whom it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. In extending its power throughout the world, U. S. capitalism thereby introduces the instability of the capitalist world system into its own foundations. The economy and politics of the United States depend more and more upon crises, wars and revolutions in all parts of the world. These circumstances profoundly shake all the classes in the country, change the relations between them, sharpen and accelerate political differentiations, and open the way for a stormy revolutionary development of the working class. In the very nature of the power of U. S. imperialism, lie those irrepressible conflicts that herald its collapse.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machinery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument against dissatisfied sections of the population at home and as an agency of American imperialism interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one alternative to capitalism—to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, Fascism, war and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. That alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position among the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state and effect the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. It will, however, need the support of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. Sections of the middle class, the debt-ridden farmers, the Negroes as a persecuted

race, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. It is only in the social revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population, can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny.

THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which members of society live, are outside the control of society as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power and suppresses the working class. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

CONQUEST OF POWER—THE WORKERS' STATE

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis of capitalism, led by the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

The fundamental mass instrument of this struggle for power, forged in the course of united actions of the workers, will be the Workers' Councils (Soviets). The Workers' Councils, representing the interests of the majority of the socially productive elements of the population, are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, which represents the interests only of the capitalist minority, that the workers will overthrow the capitalist class and take power. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing a new social order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state, based on the Workers' Councils. The workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies.

ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

For the victory of the workers a revolutionary political party is all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies, by separatist interests of caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. Without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the ranks by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers can be victorious only on the condition that the Marxist party has gained the confidence and support of the majority of the working class and leads it in the attack. The united front of different parties and organizations of the workers, welded together in the Workers' Councils, can mobilize the workers and conduct partial actions even when the revolutionary party is yet supported only by the minority. Its leadership in the Councils, however, are a prerequisite for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime and the consolidation of the workers' rule.

The revolutionary party likewise of necessity leads the working class in the consolidation of its power after the victory, in the organization of socialist economy, in the suppression of internal counter-revolutionary enemies, and in wars of the workers' states against capitalist states. The role of the party as the leader of the class continues until all forms of class organization, including the state and the party, are finally dissolved in the classless society.

THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the "October Revolution"). The Workers Party conducts as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States—the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U. S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests. Proceeding from these principles, the Workers Party of the U. S. will use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history, and adapt its tactics to the concrete situation and the relation of class forces in the United States.

The Workers Party is a voluntary organization of the class conscious vanguard whose members are united by a system of ideas set forth in this Declaration. Its organization principles are: democracy, centralization and discipline. Freedom of discussion of party problems and freedom of criticism, including the criticism of the leadership and its policy, is the inalienable right of every party member. The leadership, from the lowest unit up to the National Committee, is freely elected by the membership and subject to its control and removal.

The party Convention is the highest authority of

the party; its decisions are binding on all members. Every member is obligated to observe discipline in action. The administration of the party is centralized. Lower units are subordinate to the higher units. The National Committee as the representative of the entire organization, elected at the Convention, has full authority to act for the party and to enforce discipline of subordinate units. Party members working in non-party organizations are subject to the control and direction of the respective party bodies.

At all times and under all conditions the Workers Party maintains its organizational and political independence. In relations with other political organizations, in united front actions or other forms of cooperation, the party, while obligating itself to discipline in common action, reserves its right of criticism and rejects in principle all "pacts of non-aggression".

FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and and; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless communist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

The working class can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of world division of labor and world cooperation. The Workers Party aims not merely to lead the working class of the U. S. in revolution but to unite with the workers of all other countries in the international revolution and the establishment of world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, cannot, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient development of productive forces and the artificial restrictions of national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-development to all nations and all individuals. World-socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

CRITICISM OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present Declaration is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International.

b. The Communist Party

The adoption of a nationalist, and therefore non-revolutionary theory and practice, associated with the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitutes the root cause of their decline and degeneration. Having left the firm ground of revolution-bankrupt. The problem of international organization

any principle, the Stalinist bureaucracy of the C.P. S.U. which mechanically dominates the Third International and its sections, has everywhere followed a centrist zigzag policy, which in the U. S., for example, has ranged from opportunistic efforts to cooperate in the formation of the LaFollette "Third Party" of middle-class radicalism to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-leftism.

No semblance of party democracy obtains in the international or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which "non-aggression pacts" with reformist parties are concluded. They have resorted to low, vicious tactics in the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucracy reigns supreme.

The C. I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the bureaucracy of the C.P. S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing the work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the U. S. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that a socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union alone (the theory of "socialism in one country") even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in these countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the S. U.", pacifist agitation "against war and Fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the real defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as was so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. The effective defense of the Soviet Union today and the support of those revolutionists in the S. U. who fight for the reform of the Soviet State and the revival of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and workers' democracy depend therefore upon the building of new revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries and a new revolutionary international. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party in the United States.

c. Centrist Political Groupings

The Workers Party of the U. S. firmly opposes centrist organizations and tendencies on the national and international fields, which try to reconcile or to find a middle-of-the-road position between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. While ready to cooperate with organizations and groups evolving from reformism or centrism to revolutionary Marxism the Workers Party will not tolerate any conciliation with reformist or centrist policies.

d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a fairly "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is the task of the revolutionists to build their own party, not to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. The Workers Party will work out its tactics toward these groups and movements in the light of its basic principles. The masses in the movements must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve capitalism, and hence are inimical to the interest of the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity and independence.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The workers' revolution by its very nature is international in character. Beginning in one or more countries it must be extended progressively to others until it embraces the entire world and establishes socialism as a world system. The revolutionary party must therefore be an international party with sections in every country. We are therefore committed to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world and their union in a New International. The needs of the working class movement in earlier periods of capitalist development led to the formation of the First and later the Second International, and demanded the establishment of the Third International when the Second betrayed the working class in the war and post-war crisis. Today the existing Second and Third Internationals are

Workers Party Declaration of Principles

cannot be met by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or by an International based on a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. A new, i.e., a Fourth, International, based on the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, representing the historic continuity of the international revolutionary movement, and applying these basic principles to the historical realities of the present stage of capitalist decline, must be built. The W. P. is prepared to establish fraternal relations with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own and to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is to the interest of the workers to support defense of the (capitalist) "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible.

Under no circumstances will the W. P. give any support, directly or indirectly, to any war conducted by the capitalist government of the U. S. On the contrary, it will actively fight such a war and work not for the "victory" of the capitalist government but its defeat. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of workers' states against capitalist states, of the enslaved peoples against their imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who suffer under the yoke of a ruling caste. The policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", etc. is completely futile as a means of struggle against imperialist war, regardless of the sincerity and courage of those who resort to it. The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution.

This policy holds good also in the event of a military alliance between the U. S. and the Soviet Union (an alliance which under certain circumstances the U. S. might be unable to avoid). In such a case the W. P., unreservedly supporting the Soviet Workers State, would expose the treacherous aims of the government of U. S. imperialism in the alliance, call for its overthrow and its replacement by a revolutionary workers' government which alone would be capable of making a loyal alliance with the S. U. and giving it unqualified support in the war.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that planned socialist production is manifestly superior to capitalist production even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist attack is an elementary duty of every worker. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Fundamentally this real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W. P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the struggle against capitalism and the preparation for its revolutionary overthrow. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance, fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W. P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns, without, however, sowing the fatal illusion that the workers can accomplish their emancipation by means of the ballot box. Election campaigns will serve primarily as a means of revolutionary propaganda. Our candidates elected to Congress or other governmental bodies will utilize their positions for the purpose of exposing the sham of capitalist "democracy" and promoting the development of the mass movement of the workers. It will carry on constant propaganda to educate the vanguard workers in the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Everywhere, it will seek to demonstrate in action the applicability of its principles and tactics and the competence of its leadership in the mass movements of the workers.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the elementary and basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those of the workers in the large shops, mills, factories and mines of the basic industries.

With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicizing their struggles. The main aim of the W. P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. To this end it will wage an irreconcilable struggle against the reactionary officialdom of the trade union movement. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. The W. P. stands for rank and file control and trade union democracy. It will take the initiative in organizing the left and the progressive forces to fight for a militant, class-struggle policy and leadership in the trade union movement.

The W. P. stands for trade union unity; a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and Fascism. The Workers Party is opposed to the Communist Party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W. P. favors the organization of workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. wherever possible, since the A. F. of L. represents the main mass of organized labor and the trend of workers now moving for organization is in the same direction.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation officialdom has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft union forms. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by outright betrayal of strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeering and

other evils. Where the masses are forced to form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W. P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. We are firmly opposed to the present maneuvers of the Communist Party for the arbitrary and mechanical liquidation of independent unions, regardless of the circumstances that called them into existence, their mass base, or the will of the membership. Where the A. F. of L. is unable or unwilling to organize the unorganized workers, especially in the basic industries, the W. P. will assist them to form independent unions on an industrial basis. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This policy, nourished and supported by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to prevail, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and undermining the workers' power of resistance.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual servitude and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "Holiday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. These struggles, however, can have a consistently progressive character and can achieve lasting results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only by allying themselves with the working class in the struggle for a socialist society.

NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the workers of the Negro and other oppressed racial groups, such as the Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. The elementary and basic task is to unite the workers regardless of race in economic and political organizations for a common struggle. The W. P. stands for the complete equality of the Negroes and all other races and will fight against every form of race discrimination—economic, political, social, against wage differentials, lynching, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from discrimination, exploitation and tyranny.

COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unequalled and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhampered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U. S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

The revolutions in the colonies, semi-colonies, and "spheres of influence" of U. S. imperialism will play an important part in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the imperialist exploiters at home, and vice versa. A successful revolution in the United States would be decisive for the emancipation of the toiling masses throughout Latin America. On the other hand the revolution beginning in one of the Latin American countries, or in one of the colonies or semi-colonies of the United States, can spread throughout the continent and powerfully accelerate the development of the class struggle and the revolution in the United States. The struggle against U. S. imperialism at home and throughout its vast empire is thus indissolubly linked together. The Workers Party will actively support and endeavor to coordinate all the manifestations of this struggle.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W. P. will help to build up economic organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations. It will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be a prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to Fascist demagoguery. The Workers Party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed, will constantly stress the community of interest between them, and will show

Constitution of the Workers Party

Resolved, That the following document be adopted as the CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, and be it further

Resolved, That all members of the American Workers Party and of the Communist League of America, as certified by the Secretaries of the respective organizations, shall become Charter Members of the Workers Party of the U. S. upon signifying their desire to do so, and are eligible for election or appointment to all offices, and be it further

Resolved, That all persons applying for membership within sixty days after the first Convention, and whose applications are accepted, shall have the status of Charter Members, and be it further

Resolved, That the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S. in the period between the initial and the second National Conventions, is empowered to increase its membership up to and including thirty by two-thirds vote, and to elect additional members accordingly, likewise by two-thirds vote.

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be the WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (hereinafter referred to as "the Party").

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The purpose of the Party is set forth in its Declaration of Principles.

ARTICLE III: INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

The Party, at its launching, is affiliated with no other group, party, or organization in the United States or elsewhere. Its National Committee is empowered to enter into fraternal relations with groups and parties in other countries, and, if they stand on the same fundamental program as its own, to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the new revolutionary International. Action on any organizational affiliation must be submitted to a National Convention of the Party.

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERS

Section 1. All those who accept the Declaration of Principles adopted at the First Convention, who agree to abide by the discipline of the Party, and to engage actively in its work, are eligible to membership.

Section 2. Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the Party in the locality where he resides, if such a branch exists. In localities where no branch exists, members shall be admitted as members-at-large.

Section 3. Applications for membership shall be acted upon by the local branch concerned, in accordance with the general regulations laid down by the National Committee, and subject to review by higher units of the Party. Applications for membership-at-large shall be acted upon by the National Committee, or by such committee as it shall designate.

Section 4. An official Membership Card shall be issued to each member.

Section 5. A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to his branch for permission, and receive a transfer card, which is to be deposited with the branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall remain a member-at-large.

Section 6. The National Committee is empowered to accept groups or organizations of individuals, eligible under Section 1 of this Article, as members en bloc, and to assign them to the proper branches.

ARTICLE V: ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The basic unit of the Party shall be the branch. A branch shall consist of not less than 5 nor more than 50 members. When a branch achieves a membership of 50, it shall be subdivided into two branches. Exceptions can be made only by permission of the National Committee.

Section 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

Section 3. In such cases as may be decided by the National Committee, District Executive Committees, comprising delegates from a given group of local branches, shall be formed.

ARTICLE VI: ADMINISTRATION

Section 1. The highest governing body of the Party is the National Convention. Its decisions shall be binding upon the entire membership.

Section 2. Between National Conventions, the authority of the Convention, subject to the decisions of

in action how the fight of employed and unemployed against their common oppressor can be united. It supports and helps organize the struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction under Fascist reaction or war. The working and student youth will find in the Workers Party which aims at the establishment of a socialist society the constant champion of their interests. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist party in the "united-front-from-below." Likewise the W. P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformists and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence develop the mass power of the workers, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionary and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the revolutionary unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power.

the Convention, is vested in the National Committee elected by the Convention.

Section 3. The National Committee shall be comprised as follows:

Par. 1. There shall be twenty-two members.

Par. 2. The National Convention shall elect also six alternates, to all vacancies in the National Committee in the order decided upon by the Convention.

Par. 3. Members of the National Committee may be dropped from the Committee and/or from the Party only by vote of the National Convention. Members of the National Committee may, however, be suspended from membership and be barred from all rights as members, pending final decision of the Party Convention, by vote of two-thirds of the membership of the National Committee.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the Party, decides all questions of policy in accord with the decisions of the Convention, appoints subordinate officers and sub-committees, including the Political Committee, and, in general, constitutes between Conventions the functioning authority of the Party.

Section 5. The local governing body of the Party shall be the Local Executive Committee, or, where only one branch exists, the Branch Executive Committee. Where District Executive Committees shall be constituted, the National Committee shall decide their relation to the Local and Branch Executive Committees.

Section 6. The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected by the membership of the branch, and is subordinate to the branch membership. Its duties are to direct the activities of the branch, and to act with full powers for the branch between branch meetings. This section applies likewise to Local Executive Committees.

ARTICLE VI: INITIATION FEES AND DUES

Section 1. Each applicant for membership (other than Charter Members) shall pay an initiation fee of twenty-five cents, which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Office. The entire initiation fee shall be paid to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay monthly dues of fifty cents which shall be received for by dues stamp furnished by the National Office through the Branch Treasurer, and affixed to the membership card of each member. In addition, all members are expected to make regular voluntary contributions according to their means. In special cases, the National Committee may authorize a reduction in the amount of monthly dues, not more than fifty per cent, upon application by the party unit affected.

Section 3. Where branches are joined in Local or District Committees, one half of all dues payments shall go to the National Office; where Local or District Committees do not exist, two-thirds of all dues payments shall go to the National Office. In the case of members-at-large, the entire amount of dues payment shall go to the National Office.

Section 4. No members are exempted from the payment of at least the minimum dues. In special cases, however, local branches are at liberty to provide payment for individual unemployed branch members from the branch treasury, upon vote of the branch. The National Committee is, however, empowered to exempt a branch, and its members, from this requirement, and to issue special unemployed stamps.

Section 5. Housewives, not employed, who are members of the party, may, on request, be granted unemployed exempt stamps.

Section 6. Dues paying members of the youth organization who are simultaneously party members shall, on request, be exempted from the payments of dues in the party branch.

Section 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing, and shall be so notified by the Branch Executive. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls of the Party.

ARTICLE VI: DISCIPLINE

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party are binding upon the members and subordinate units of the Party.

Section 2. Any member or unit violating the decisions of a higher unit of the Party shall be subject to disciplinary actions up to expulsion by the body having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the Branch Executive Committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The Branch Executive Committee shall submit a recommendation to be acted upon by the membership of the Branch. Charges considered by higher units of the Party shall, however, be acted upon by the said units.

Section 4. Disciplinary action by a higher unit of the Party shall be initiated in the local branch. Failure of the branch to act, or branch action deemed improper by the higher unit, may be followed by direct disciplinary action by the higher unit.

Section 5. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher unit, up to and including the National Convention. Pending action on the appeal, the decision of the Party body having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII: QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION

Section 1. Except in the case of newly organized branches, members of Local and Branch Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for at least three months.

Section 2. Members of the National Committee must have been members of the Party for at least one year.

ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Section 1. The National Convention of the Party shall be held once a year. Special Conventions shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or Local Executive Committees representing one-half of the membership.

Section 2. The Call for the Convention, together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be issued at least sixty days before the date of the Convention for discussion in the local organizations and in the official publications.

Section 3. Representation at the Convention shall be proportionally based upon the membership in good standing at the time of the Convention Call.

ARTICLE IX: FRACTIONS

Members of the Party in trade unions and other mass organizations shall organize themselves into fractions for common work within such organizations. The work of a fraction within a given mass organization shall be under the direction and control of the Party unit having jurisdiction over the Party members constituting the fraction. The members of a fraction must work as a unit under all circumstances. Violations of fraction discipline shall be reported to the proper organization of the Party for action.

ARTICLE X: AMENDMENTS

Amendments shall be made to this Constitution by majority vote of the National Convention.

Minneapolis Frame-Up Attacked by Dunne

(Continued on Page 1)

immediately called for his re-arrest on the trumped-up charge of having murdered Lyman.

The following day at a meeting of 70 representatives and officials of the trade union movement of the city, which had been called to plan to fight the Citizens Alliance for control of the city government, resolutions were introduced by the leaders of local 574 which resulted in the meeting being converted immediately into a defense rally for Happy Holstein.

The Minneapolis Labor Review of Friday, Nov. 23, devotes its front page entirely to a discussion of that meeting—characterizing it as "the greatest outpouring of business representatives and officials of unions that has occurred in several years."

The next day the Trade Union Defense Committee brought Happy Holstein out of jail on \$10,000 bail, procured by placing the property of the Milk Drivers Union at 340 Fifth Street, N.E., under bond.

The Labor Review says: "Organized labor is in an ugly mood at the attempted framing of Happy Holstein."

"Trade unionists have not forgotten how Henry Ness and John Heller, valiant members of Drivers 574, were slaughtered and more than 40 others shut in the back. That there has been no effort to apprehend or indict those big shot higher-ups responsible for giving the order for their slaying while Happy Holstein, a humble worker, is being attempted to be framed is convincing the workers more than ever that the so-called machinery of justice is the machinery of class justice and not of even handed justice."

V. R. Dunne Promises Fight

Commenting on the attempted frame-up of union leaders, Vincent R. Dunne, leader of General Drivers Local Union 574 of Minneapolis, now in New York City to attend the founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S., made the following statement to the Militant:

"We have heard of such confessions before in the history of frame-ups against members of trade unions who dared to behave like honest union men. We are not frightened by this one."

"If the Citizens Alliance wants a fight, they will get it. Seventy Minneapolis unions, all of the American Federation of Labor, have leagued together to fight these frame-ups and their instigators. I am confident that the Workers Party will make one of its first activities the rallying of its members throughout the country to organize a nation-wide defense movement."

"Before we get through with the Citizens Alliance similar plunder organizations in other cities will think twice before they try to railroad an honest trade union militant to his death."

Party to Act on Defense

(Continued from Page 2)

sions. In the struggle against reaction, against Fascist and semi-Fascist trends, against the suppression of civil liberties and the rights of labor to organize, strike, picket and otherwise defend its interests, against deportations, against the oppression of aliens, Negroes and other minority elements of the population, the entire working class has a common interest. It is the task of the revolutionary party to make clear to the class this common interest and to bring about united action on behalf of this interest. In such action on an honest, fighting, united front basis, labor will advance step by step against its class enemy and out of the fires of the struggle will come new revolutionary elements and an ever-larger militant movement.

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. notes with regret that there exists no organization capable of giving continuous and organized expression to this common interest. A broad, class-conscious militant defense organization does not exist today. Its creation is a crying need. To it should rally all class-conscious elements, regardless of political differences. It should be partisan only of the class as a whole, including all militant workers and fighting on behalf of all working class victims of capitalist oppression regardless of their political beliefs or affiliations. It should combine with skillful legal work, the organization of mass campaigns so that the capitalist courts and administrative agencies will learn to fear the anger of the class and be compelled to abandon their plots against the workers.

The founding convention notes with approbation the proposals made some months ago by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and discussed on several occasions with representatives of the American Workers Party, the C.I.A., the Socialist Party and other elements of the labor movement. The convention authorizes the N. C. to carry these discussions further and to hasten the establishment of a militant, class-conscious, non-partisan defense organization as a primary need of the working class in a period of intense struggle and bitter reaction.

N. U. L. Led Thousands On Nov. 24

National Unemployed Day, November 24, is an established historical date in the labor movement of the country.

A complete account of the demonstrations in all localities is here impossible. It would read like a city and town directory of the nation. But reports still coming to the national office of the National Unemployed League, which initiated the movement, are indicative of ferment in the working class everywhere.

Were More than Parades
The demonstration of 1,000 white and black workers, unemployed, marching in the city of Guilford, Miss., was classified by the press as tantamount to insurrection. They marched to the relief headquarters demanding a solution of the unemployment evil—not at all. That, in the deep south, is more than just a parade. The same is true of Ashland, Ky., where two thousand workers, white and black, marched to present demands to the authorities. In High Point, North Carolina, the authorities were "scandalized" by an unprecedented outpouring of the unemployed.

From Dallas, Texas, Carl Brannin reports that more than 2,000 marched to the city hall, demanding that the city manager endorse the National Unemployed Day demands, and that he write President Roosevelt to that effect. A banner in the march called for the abolition of capitalism, bag and baggage. In Texas a "scandalous" performance.

In Ohio, particularly in the interior, the day was a holiday of protest. Newark, Ohio, saw a super-demonstration. Twenty thousand poured through the streets. The sheriff and the business men decided it was "Red Saturday." The chief of police came to the Newark League the day before, apologizing for an American Legion "incident" some two months previously, assuring the League members that there would be no interference with the demonstration. And most assuredly there was none.

Authorities Stand By
In West Virginia, Kanawha, Wayne, Boone and Putnam counties, miners and their wives, National Unemployed League members, marched, while the authorities were content to stand by, watching for undue bulging of clothing indicative of fire arms. There was no trouble.

In Butte, Montana, 1,200 jobless marched, demanding relief from the misery of unemployment.

In Milwaukee, Des Moines, Tampa, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, New York City, in all the battle scarred centers of labor, there were great demonstrations.

Delegation Visits Washington
On November 26, a committee of 16 representing the organized unemployed demonstrators, the National Unemployed League and other organizations cooperating on November 24, journeyed to Washington and met with the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Ed McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor and A. F. of L. big-shot, was there to receive us. Smiling and jovial, he shook us all by hand, was glad to see us—he said—and told us he too had known lean days at one time, etc., etc. Good soap, Mr. McGrady.

He assured us that the government in Washington was "really ours as well as other people's." Madame Perkins listened impatiently to the demands of the unemployed. She injected many remarks, just to explain things, but on the matter of cash relief and higher rates she stated she was not qualified to declare for or against that demand!

Perkins Doesn't Know
On the chief question, that of the government providing work through an extensive works program—well she was not competent, she said, to pass judgment as to whether that was the manner to deal with the unemployment problem or not.

On the demand that war funds be turned over for unemployment for relief—well, that was a matter for the House Ways and Means Committee to determine. Just at this juncture, the time was up, and the delegation left Madame Perkins for the office of Mr. Hopkins.

We told Hopkins we were fed up with evasiveness. Mr. Hopkins didn't mind that, it seemed, as he proceeded to give us some more.

On demand number one—work instead of relief for the unemployed—Mr. Hopkins agreed, but not on the 30-hour week and \$30-week minimum. On the point there was a sneering, hard boiled and categorical No. Asked for his reasons, Mr. Hopkins declared he did not believe in an "economy of scarcity."

DANCE
Music Entertainment
Saturday, Dec. 15, 9 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 15th St.
Tickets 30c 40c at door
Admission: Workers Party of U. S.

Tony Bellussi Quits U.S.

Antonio Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist sentenced by the U. S. government to deportation to Italy because he refused to compromise his views, has left for South America. An announcement by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which was in charge of Bellussi's case during recent months, states that he has obtained a visa after a long fight.

The N.P.L.D. took over the Bellussi case after the I.L.D. had botched it. Bellussi repudiated the I.L.D. when the Stalinist bureaucrats running that organization tried to make him disavow his friendliness to the C.I.A. The N.P.L.D. had the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union in the efforts to save Bellussi from Mussolini's dungeons.

After a protracted struggle the N.P.L.D. was able to arrange Bellussi's departure to South America. The State Department and Mussolini were thus cheated of another victim. A full report of the Bellussi case, including financial aspects, is promised for the near future.

S.P. Old Guard Talks Split

(Continued from Page 1)

It has other grievances—a whole series of them. Led by Louis Waldman, patriotic N. Y. lawyer, and other right-wingers from a dozen eastern states, the Old Guard appeared before the national executive and put the knife to its throat. Waldman presented a list of ten demands backed by the N. Y. state S. P.

One of these demands was that "the National Executive Committee shall announce in clear and unequivocal language that it will neither consider nor discuss any proposals that may come from Communists for a united front, for any purpose, nor will it consider embarking upon any negotiations for such a united front, and will also advise State organizations to so instruct their locals."

Another demand was that the declaration of principles recently adopted by the Socialist party, and opposed by the right wing, be binding only upon those States whose membership approved the declaration in the recent party referendum. New York State rejected the declaration as in contradiction with Socialist principles.

The memorandum demanded also the reorganization of the national office of the party in Chicago, the removal of Clarence Senior as national secretary and his replacement by "someone who has the confidence of both party factions."

The memorandum demanded the addition of four members of the right wing to the N.E.C., and the dissolution of all factional groups now functioning within the party such as the "Militants" and the Revolutionary Policy Committee. The Old Guard, however, would maintain its faction!

"We do not desire to minimize the crisis within the party. Worse than a split is the great danger of the party's disintegration. Here is a bold threat of split!

"Militants" Have Cold Feet
The famous "Militants", led by Thomas, Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee and Leo Kryszek of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and themselves on the spot. Consequently, the "Militants" on the national executive refused to receive the Stalinist suppliants. They did, however, give a hearing to Jay Westmore, famous attorney for the Stalinists, who desires a return to the policies of the Anglo-Russian Committee, that is, a non-aggression pact of passivity.

The truth is that the militants are scared to death. They don't want to see the Old Guard take away from them the Rand School, the Forwards, the New Leader and other party properties. They don't want to see the exodus from the party of the gang of clever lawyers and influential A. F. of L. bureaucrats (not only Dubinsky, Rieve and such types will quit if Waldman and Co. quit, but the "Militants" are none too sure even of Kryszek and such elements in the event of a right-wing split) and "practical politicians" such as Jasper McLevy, Mayor of Bridgeport, Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, and Charlie Solomon of New York.

Stated even more pitifully, the "Militants" don't feel they have the "right" to take over the leadership of the S. P. They feel in their bones that "after all" the S. P. is identified with these old timers and belongs to them. "Who are we," they ask themselves, "to throw them out and take over the party? What can we do?" They have no confidence; their bones are stuffed not with marrow but like those of all centrists and Mensheviks with vacillation and self-distrust.

"The Militants" have had a long respite since the left-wing drift began within the S. P. They have had to worry only about the Old Guard. No Socialist worker considered the Stalinist party as an alternative, even when he began to abandon the influence of reformism and centrism. Now, however, every leftward moving S. P. member fixes a hopeful eye on the Workers Party. The "Militants" are at length being forced to a choice:

Either they must capitulate to the Old Guard, in which case a whole mass of S. P. workers will start moving toward the W. P., or, without taking a revolutionary position, they will try to swing the S. P. a few degrees further in its left-centrist course in order to stem the tide of revolutionary thought and sentiment.

The W. P. must not be passive in this situation. A genuine opportunity exists. It is our duty and opportunity to lend every possible aid and comfort to the genuinely revolutionary elements within the S. P., to push the S. P. as a whole into actions in which the inner conflict will be sharpened and a solution forced that will throw all the healthy elements of the S. P. into the camp of revolution, into our camp. For this, comradely criticism, endless patient explanation, an insistence on militant united action on immediate issues of concern to the members both of the S. P. and the W. P., a campaign to expose the centrists leaders at the top, are essential.

The party of Hillquit can never become the party of Marx and Lenin. But thousands of members of the party of Hillquit can and will in the near future become members of the Workers Party, the revolutionary instrument of the American working class. The developments of the week at the Boston meeting of S. P. leaders opens the door to our members to begin an intensive campaign of agitation in Socialist circles. Let us seize the opportunity and build the W. P.!

—HARRY STRONG.

Independent Unionist Resigns From C.P.

(Ed. Note.—We print below the resignation from the Communist Party of Robert Strong, General Secretary of the Independent Building Trades Council of New York which has been reported by the Stalinist publications as more than 20,000 in and around New York. Strong has the solid support of the Council and its affiliates in his standpoint, with the exception of a part of the alteration painters.)

New York, Nov. 26, 1934
To the Central Committee of the Communist Party:

After having been a member of the C. P. since 1925, helped to build it up and active for years especially in its trade union work, and after mature consideration of what the party has become since Lenin's death, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot remain in the party and remain a Communist.

I therefore hereby declare my withdrawal from the C.P.U.S.A. I am particularly in disagreement with your present trade union policy which, in my opinion, represents a clear departure from revolutionary principles, and which is being put into effect in complete disregard of inner democracy, both of the party and the trade unions, and behind the backs of the membership.

The disagreements I have on this question, however, might not have led to my withdrawal were it not for the fact that in the course of the controversy I had to realize that the Leninist principle of inner democracy had been done away with in the Communist parties for a long time.

Party Democracy Dead

Under the regime now prevailing in the C. P., there is no way of voicing one's views without being slandered, pounced upon, removed, etc. The rights of the membership under the principle of democratic centralism have been abolished in practice. It is futile, therefore, to attempt to influence or bring about a correction of the party line from within.

Basic policies are changed overnight, and unless one discards his

crats (not only Dubinsky, Rieve and such types will quit if Waldman and Co. quit, but the "Militants" are none too sure even of Kryszek and such elements in the event of a right-wing split) and "practical politicians" such as Jasper McLevy, Mayor of Bridgeport, Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, and Charlie Solomon of New York.

Stated even more pitifully, the "Militants" don't feel they have the "right" to take over the leadership of the S. P. They feel in their bones that "after all" the S. P. is identified with these old timers and belongs to them. "Who are we," they ask themselves, "to throw them out and take over the party? What can we do?" They have no confidence; their bones are stuffed not with marrow but like those of all centrists and Mensheviks with vacillation and self-distrust.

"The Militants" have had a long respite since the left-wing drift began within the S. P. They have had to worry only about the Old Guard. No Socialist worker considered the Stalinist party as an alternative, even when he began to abandon the influence of reformism and centrism. Now, however, every leftward moving S. P. member fixes a hopeful eye on the Workers Party. The "Militants" are at length being forced to a choice:

Either they must capitulate to the Old Guard, in which case a whole mass of S. P. workers will start moving toward the W. P., or, without taking a revolutionary position, they will try to swing the S. P. a few degrees further in its left-centrist course in order to stem the tide of revolutionary thought and sentiment.

The W. P. must not be passive in this situation. A genuine opportunity exists. It is our duty and opportunity to lend every possible aid and comfort to the genuinely revolutionary elements within the S. P., to push the S. P. as a whole into actions in which the inner conflict will be sharpened and a solution forced that will throw all the healthy elements of the S. P. into the camp of revolution, into our camp. For this, comradely criticism, endless patient explanation, an insistence on militant united action on immediate issues of concern to the members both of the S. P. and the W. P., a campaign to expose the centrists leaders at the top, are essential.

The party of Hillquit can never become the party of Marx and Lenin. But thousands of members of the party of Hillquit can and will in the near future become members of the Workers Party, the revolutionary instrument of the American working class. The developments of the week at the Boston meeting of S. P. leaders opens the door to our members to begin an intensive campaign of agitation in Socialist circles. Let us seize the opportunity and build the W. P.!

—HARRY STRONG.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

former opinions when ordered to do so and becomes a mere automaton he cannot remain and live in the party. No person who is a real Communist and not a rag can go along with a system of this kind. To give an example: In the case of the trade union policy, the C. P., after following an ultra-left course for years (1929-1933) of creating paper unions in almost all industries, has now switched completely over to the ultra right, seeking to liquidate overnight not only the paper unions which never should have been created in the first place, but also those independent unions which have a mass base and which have come into existence through mass revolts against the reactionary bureaucrats.

It does not matter to the party leaders that the independent union movement in the country has grown enormously in these years and is now bigger than at any time in the history of the American labor movement. The party leaders, being afraid to face the opposition of the membership on this question, and swelled up with usurped authority, are attempting to put their essentially reactionary policy across from on top, without discussion, by back door methods, piece meal, first the weaker unions then the stronger ones. Individual party members who might oppose it or at least demand a discussion of the question, are done away with silently by the dry guillotine. The slogan of "unity" is used to sugar coat the process of delivering these workers over to the corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

A. F. of L. Fetishism
The party leaders conveniently repudiate their past policy and put it aside as if it never existed. After making a principle of dual unionism for years they now brazenly claim that they never advocated it (Stachel's article in the November "Communist" which calls for the liquidation of the independent building trades unions which the C. P., as in the case of other such unions, sponsored in the first place). Right now the party leaders are joining hands with William Green and others of this stripe in outlawing the right of workers to organize independently of the A. F. of L. under the slogan of "no dual unionism". Foster's letter to the A. F. of L. Convention, printed in the October issue of "Labor Unity" represents a complete right-about-face from what he had been telling us for years and destroys the moral basis for unions outside the A. F. of L., setting up a platform to run these unions back into the A. F. of L. which he and all the rest of you told us for years was a "company union" outfit.

Stachel's article in the November "Communist" goes even further. It lays down the perspective of pell-mell liquidation of the weaker independent unions and the return of the stronger ones to the A. F. of L. regardless of circumstances which have called them into existence. With the liquidation policy already well under way (Mining, Textile, Auto, Steel, Needle Trades, etc.), the Pol-Buro, not without equivocation and "diplomacy" even now, finally come out openly for the "new" way back to the A. F. of L. The fact that all this is being done without the say-so of the membership shows that the rank and file of the party has lost control over the party leadership. The membership of the party is reacting instinctively, many of them consciously, against these methods by dropping out of the party en masse—"voting with their feet" against the party bureaucrats.

Members Quitting
Discipline without inner democracy is nothing but bureaucracy and has nothing in common with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It cannot serve revolutionary purposes. The attempt to sneakily abolish the independent unions without the consent of the members under cover of "discipline" is reactionary. So is discipline without inner democracy. It is a method, a regime, alien to Lenin's concept of the party of the working class and is bound to result in the degeneration of the movement. Such discipline, therefore, has no meaning for me. The international party that Lenin created, and on the basis of whose principles I joined, has nothing in common with what prevails now.

—ROBERT STRONG.

C.L.A. Endorses Fusion Program

(Continued from Page 1)

changes and the crises in the parties of the Second International since the Austrian events, the eminence of Fascism in France and the deep ferment in the S.F.I.O., the entry of our French comrades into the S.F.I.O., and the road to the Fourth International.

This, he pointed out, could not be stereotyped or blue-printed. Different roads would be taken according to conditions in each country. In the United States and Holland by the independent road—the merging of revolutionary groups into new parties. In France, on the other hand the road to the new Communist Party leads through the Socialist Party. Intransigence of principle and flexibility of organization policy was the keynote of comrade Cannon's speech in pointing the road to the new revolutionary international.

Serious disagreement arose on this question. A minority of comrades maintained that it was neither necessary nor correct to enter the French Socialist Party, that this road was full of pitfalls and would lead to international disaster for the organization. The discussion on this question lasted two full days and concluded with an overwhelming majority of the delegates voting for the policy endorsed by the international plenum.

Following this was the report by comrade Shachtman on the policy in America for the new party. Beginning with its declaration of a year ago for the new party, in which the C.L.A. set as its goal the founding of this revolutionary instrument by fusion on a revolutionary basis with other groups independent of the Second and Third Internationals.

The bulk of his speech dealt with the negotiations with the American Workers Party and the joint draft Declaration of Principles. Barring minor differences on past methods and tactics and secondary corrections on the Declaration of Principles, the convention was unanimously for merger with the A.W.P.

The Third and last convention of the Communist League, marks the end of its struggle for Marxism, not the revision of its ideas, but the shifting of its field of activity from that of a propaganda group to mass work, to transformation into a political party based on the tried and tested ideas of Marx and Lenin. The convention came to an end, after an all-night session, with ringing cheers from the delegates:

Long live the Workers Party of the United States!
Long live the Fourth International!

—GEORGE CLARKE.

resents a complete right-about-face from what he had been telling us for years and destroys the moral basis for unions outside the A. F. of L., setting up a platform to run these unions back into the A. F. of L. which he and all the rest of you told us for years was a "company union" outfit.

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The C. P. is no longer the party of the Communist workers but a private apparatus of corrupted bureaucrats. I therefore sever my relations with this organization, deeply convinced that it cannot serve the interests of the working class. There is no other way now for an honest revolutionist who has come to realize the actual state of affairs.

—ROBERT STRONG.

Canada Hails W. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

workers' movement of Canada, the W. P. also faces the danger of police suppression.

The influence of the Stalinists is beginning to wane while that of the Workers Party is on the upgrade. The W. P. has already established firm connections in most of the organized trades, including the building, clothing, shoes, and metal workers unions. A few of the members are in leading positions in these unions.

The prestige and power of the Stalinists is ebbing fast. Following their new policy upon the international field, they have consummated the most unprincipled alliances with all kinds of petty bourgeois and pacifist liberal elements, which has succeeded only in discrediting them further among the class-conscious workers.

The Stalinists took the lead in organizing the unemployed in Canada in the first year of the crisis. Their unemployed organization, however, has now almost completely disintegrated. The W. P. is gaining a greater foothold among the unemployed groups, controlling a considerable part of the leadership in Winnipeg and having complete control of a newly formed mass organization in Toronto.

The major part of Stalinist activity today revolves around the Canadian branch of the League Against War and Fascism, largely petty-bourgeois in composition as in the U. S. A large number of local meetings have been held along the lines laid down by the Amsterdam Congress, culminating in a National Anti-Fascist and Anti-War Congress held at Toronto a few months ago. The representatives of the W. P. participated in and presented their program to the local meetings, and later attempted to present a resolution embodying their viewpoint to the Congress itself. The steering committee of the Stalinists, composed of members of the Stalinist Polcom and clergymen, repelled their attempt and after a bitter struggle refused to put it before the Congress.

Build New Party
There is no well-organized Socialist Party in Canada. Although there are several small local groups which adhere to the ideas of the Socialists, they have no political significance. The road to the formation of the new party in Canada was a comparatively easy question to decide and course to embark upon.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.), organized about two years ago, is the biggest "left" party in Canada. Its base is the farmers of Western Canada, particularly in Alberta, and it embraces various labor and lower middle class groups throughout the Dominion. At the time of its inception, labor organizations were to

be taken into the Federation as a whole. This policy was reversed when it was seen that the working class units were putting forward too radical demands for the majority to accept and all organizational connections with the trade unions were broken. Today workers can join only as individuals. Several of the Western labor members of the C.C.F. are in the Federal Parliament.

Comrade MacDonald concluded his summary of conditions in Canada by stating that the fusion between the Communist League and the American Workers Party into the Workers Party of America should give a tremendous impetus to the Workers Party of Canada. "Workers in both countries," he said, "are in the closest connection with each other. Political as well as economic conditions in the United States exert an immediate and powerful influence upon its neighbor. The two new Workers Parties with the same name and a common revolutionary Marxist program are bound to be of great aid to each other and a potent force in the coming struggles of the American and Canadian working class."

Franz Bobzien Murdered

Franz Bobzien is dead—foully murdered in a Hamburg prison by Hitler's gunmen.

This revolutionary young worker was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist League in Germany. In February 1934, he was deported to Germany from Holland where he was attending an international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, together with four comrades.

Delivered into the hands of the Nazis by the Dutch police, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for "high-treason", and then murdered in jail.

Refusing to participate in the international movement of protest, the Stalinists share in the guilt of his execution.

We swear to carry on until his executioners will feel the heavy hand of proletarian retribution!

Weisbord Group Breaking Up

On Sunday, December 2, a general membership meeting of the Weisbord group was held for the purpose of a final vote on a thesis prepared by the "National Committee" (Weisbord), on many events of importance to the revolutionary movement. It was known from preliminary discussion that six out of a total membership of fifteen were in opposition to the above mentioned thesis.

In the well-known Stalinist method, in the interval between the preliminary discussion and the final vote, one comrade was expelled, and others suspended, so as to allow Weisbord a free hand at the meeting of December 2. Knowing that some comrades would attend the meeting to present a minority statement, Weisbord placed a guard to keep the door closed from the inside, and obtained the assistance of the building owner to keep out those who insisted on participating in this meeting.

Unable to get the slightest hearing on the discussion of the thesis in such a boogian atmosphere, the comrades were forced to leave the building. Undoubtedly the "thesis" was thereafter "unanimously" accepted.

A further statement concerning developments in the Weisbord group will appear in the Militant in the near future.

—X.

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N. Y. Workers Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

most important ally of union labor was the thrilling story told by Arnold Johnson and Anthony Ramaglia, the national leaders of the National Unemployed League. The responsibility of the Workers Party in revolutionizing the unemployed, for whom above all there is nothing left under capitalism, was one of the most important messages brought to the mass meeting.

Bringing the greetings of the national convention of the Spartacus Youth League on the eve of its convention, Joseph Carter declared that in its three day session the League would lay the foundations for a powerful mass youth organization, organizationally independent but owing political allegiance to the Workers Party.

A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon's speeches together gave a picture of the ten months' collaboration which led to the fusion and founding of the Workers Party. After ten years of splits and disintegration, they both pointed out, the Workers Party begins the counter-process of re-unifying the revolutionary movement. "Many in the fusion convention were at the founding of the Communist movement in 1917," declared Cannon. "Then and now they follow the red guiding star of the Russian Revolution. We have nothing but contempt for those who usurp Lenin's name and falsify his doctrines. Our six year's struggle in the movement symbolized by Leon Trotsky brings forth now its first fruits."

A. J. Muste dwelt on the clear and principled basis, carefully enunciated in the Declaration of Principles, on which the Workers Party is founded. The meeting closed with terrific applause and the singing of the International, as Comrade Muste called for the building of a new, Fourth International. A collection was taken which, with the sale of tickets, totalled \$400.

A.W.P. Votes Fusion Plan As Drafted

Fulfilling the mandate given it by the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago, the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party laid before the delegates to the A.W.P. convention held November 28 to 30 detailed proposals for immediate merger with the Communist League of America as the first step toward the building of a new and effective revolutionary party in the United States and a revolutionary international.

They were adopted substantially without change after the fullest discussion. The A.W.P. vote for merger came late in a session that lasted for a score of hours into the early morning and was unanimous. The Provisional Organizing Committee was instructed to call a unity convention of the two groups on the next day for the final ratification of the proposals and the formal creation of the new Workers Party of the U. S.

Historic Occasion
This was the last and most important act in the career of an organization that within the few years of its existence initiated and led some of the most significant and militant struggles of the American proletariat, blazed the trail in the trade unions of honest, militant, left-wing leadership, built the greatest of existing unemployed organizations and won for itself an impressive niche in the history of the working-class march to power in America.

"This convention is an historic occasion," A. J. Muste said in the opening address. Muste reported for the P.O.C. to the convention, tracing the party's history and growth from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago.

"We have a great many times described ourselves as not slaves to tradition. We have often spoken of a new or American approach, and we have insisted that we be realistic and experimental."

The report to the convention gave the history of the Communist League of America and the negotiations leading to the merger.

Much of the discussion at the convention centered on the Declaration of Principles prepared by the joint Negotiating Committee of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., the theoretic foundation of the new party. Section by section and paragraph by paragraph the Declaration received the most careful and detailed discussion by the 50 delegates from all parts of the country. Every theoretic proposition was immediately matched by the practical experience of the delegates, all active leaders of trade union and unemployed movements.

When the discussion ended it was felt that the Declaration represented a body of clear revolutionary principles. Minor changes adopted by the convention were referred to the joint negotiating committee for an early formulation.

Adopt Organization Proposals
Concrete proposals for the organization of the new party were adopted without change. The most important of the proposals included the Constitution of the new party which was accepted on principal and referred for final action to the unity convention; the officership of the new party on a 50-50 parity with suggested names on the part of the joint negotiating committee and the set-up of the National Committee of 22 with 6 alternates on the same parity.

The convention voted unanimously to accept the names of A. J. Muste as National Secretary of the Workers Party and of J. P. Cannon, editor of the new party paper. Because the A.W.P. had no youth organization, it was decided that while youth members of the party were to be placed on the executive committee of the Spartacus Youth League (to become subsequently the youth organization of the new party) it would not be carried out on the 50-50 basis.

—LOUIS BREIER.

THE MILITANT

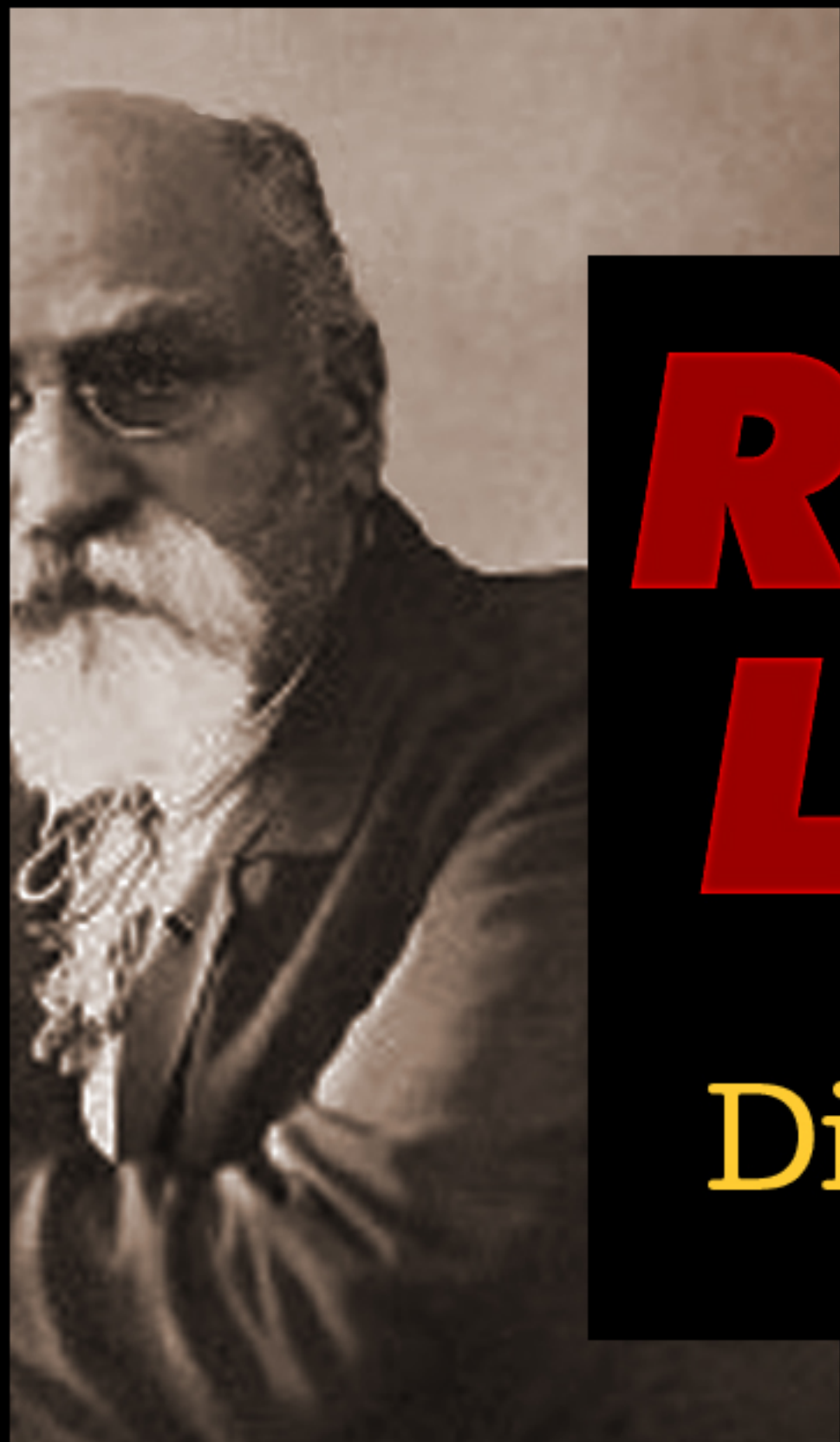
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